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ORIGINES HEBRÆÆ:

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE HEBREW REPUBLICK.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

- I. The Idolatry of the *Hebrews*,
- II. The Ceremonial and Judicial Laws.
- III. The Arts and Sciences, professed by the *Hebrews*.
- IV. The Canon and Writers of the Old Testament, and the Apochryphal Books; with an Account of the Translation of the *Septuagint*, the Version of *Aquila the Jew*, and the *Targum*, or *Chaldee Paraphrases*.

By THO. LEWIS, M. A.

VOL. III.


LONDON:

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THE PREFACE.

 Have nothing to offer in Defence of the two Volumes that follow, but that my first Inquiries into the *Antiquities of the Hebrews* were received with that Favour, which gave me sufficient Encouragement to pursue the Work; and I have (I thank God) finished it with this Satisfaction to my self, that I have done my utmost, to do Justice to a Subject so divine and useful, and have endeavour'd to recommend the Study of the Holy Scriptures, which without Exception, must be acceptable to all Persons, who have a due Esteem, either for true Learning, or Piety. Those who value the former, and are well acquainted with it, will readily give their Suffrage here, and proclaim to the
A World,

World, that *Scripture Learning* exceeds all others; that the Original of most Arts and Sciences is to be derived hence, and that a Library without the Bible, is an imperfect Thing. And such as have a Sense of the latter, will be as forward to assert the Pre-eminence of these Writings; for here is the Source of all Religion, and no Man can be Devout and Pious, who is a Stranger to them. How meanly soever I have performed this Task, I believe verily, that some who turn over these Pages, will from them be inspired with a proper Regard and Reverence, with an untire Love and Veneration of the holy Writ, and be persuaded to converse more intimately with it themselves, and encourage others to follow their Example. This would, in a short Time, make a great Change in the World, and the Bible it self, would be read in the Lives and Behaviour of Mankind. The understanding of the Scriptures would be esteemed the highest Accomplishment; and though many Refinements have been attempted in Philosophy and Religion, it would appear evidently, that the Sacred Volume was alone sufficient for us, if all the Books and Libraries in the World were destroyed.

What

What is now Published, is divided into four Books: The *First* contains the History of the false Worships, or Idolatry of the *Jews*, a Subject very Curious, and that comprehends great Variety of Matter; wherein many learned Men have been employed among Foreigners, as well as in our own Nation. The great Mr. *Selden* has written an excellent Tract upon the *Syrian Gods*, and *Gerard Vossius* has a large Work upon *Idolatry*, which I conceive would have been a much better Piece, had the Author thought fit to intermix less of Philosophy with the rest. My Business has been to avoid the Errors of others, but especially to go in search after Truth; and the nearest resemblance to Truth, with all possible Precaution. I greatly reverence the Labours of learned Men, and consider them as Fathers and Teachers, from whom I have freely borrowed whatever served my Designs; notwithstanding which, I judge it possible to extend our Discoveries further; for in Matters of this Nature, the most Learned are not always the most Successful, and in Conjectures, a certain Quickness and Penetration, are, at least, as necessary as Learning. As therefore I have always been forward to receive Instructions from others, so I have been some-

times obliged in particular Passages, to make use of my own Conjectures, where I conceived the antient Opinions could not take Place.

The *Second* Book principally treats of the *Ceremonial* and *Judicial* Laws. It may seem, perhaps, that this Part might have been finished with much more Ease than the former, because of the Assistance that might have been expected from the Books of *Moses*, not to speak of the Observations of modern Authors; and the Commentaries and Glosses of the *Talmudists*, who have made this Point, the chief Foundation of their Religion and Learning. But I certainly found as much Trouble in this, as in any other Part of the Work; for to separate and digest those Laws under their proper Heads; to examine the Sentiments of Expositors, among *Jews* and *Christians*, and to discover the Appearance of Truth among such Variety of Opinions, was really difficult and laborious.

The Arts and Sciences, practised and studied by the *Hebrews*, are chiefly included in the *Third* Book. This indeed was an unbeaten Road, never that I know of, attempted wholly by one Writer, though for what I have collected, I am obliged to many eminent Authors, who have professedly treated of
the

the *Antiquities* of the *Jewish* Nation. Perhaps, this Part of the Work may not afford equal Delight with the other Books ; but I was resolved, as far as I was able, to exhaust the Subject, and am satisfied, that my Endeavours in this Place, will be of Use to younger Students in sacred Learning, and Candidates in Theology ; though I can promise no great Advantage to Proficients, who are of a higher Character.

I have inquired in the *Fourth* Book, into the Canon of the holy Scriptures, which contain the whole System of the *Jewish* Religion ; and have offered to evince the Truth and Certainty of those Writings, to the unbelieving Part of Mankind. I have laid down the several Divisions and Orders, wherein the Books of the Old Testament were ranged by the *Jewish* Church, have given an Account of the Authors that compiled them, and of the Language wherein they were written. The Design of the Atheism and Infidelity which now reigns, is to strike at the Genuineness and Authority of *these Scriptures* ; for as long as the Bible is looked upon as the Word of God, and of divine Inspiration, it will be a lasting Testimony against the Principles of these Apostates ; who, if they demand a present Miracle, to confirm their Faith, may

only behold the People of the *Jews* for more than sixteen hundred Years, wandring and disperfed into all Corners of the Earth, despifed, hated, and persecuted by all Nations; and tho' mingled and confounded with them, ftill diftinguifhed in their Laws, Customs, and Religion, remaining a ftanding Evidence of divine Vengeance, upon *Unbelief*, and an indelible Monument of the Truth of *Christianity*.





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THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
Hebrew Republick.

VOL. III.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

*The Rise and Ceremonies of Idolatry
among the Hebrews.*



BEFORE the Destruction of the first Temple by the *Babylonians*, the Hebrew Nation was often over-run by Idolatry, but it was scarce so much as heard of after their Return from the Captivity, though it was succeeded by a more pernicious Practice, which was a violent and superstitious Zeal for their corrupt

Vol. III. B Tradi-

Book V. Traditions. Before the Captivity they had no Synagogues for publick Worship, no Places to resort to for Instruction, unless the Tabernacle, the Proseucha's, the Temple, the Cities of the *Levites*, or the Schools of the Prophets, and therefore through Ignorance they were easily seduced into the Idolatrous Usages of the neighbouring Nations ; but when they were recalled from *Babylon* they had Synagogues erected in every City, where the Law was constantly read, and from the Time of the Persecution by *Antiochus*, they had the Writings of the Prophets delivered and explained to them, by which means they were secured from mistaking the proper Object of their Worship, and continued in a commendable Obedience to the Institutions of *Moses*.

So various are the Thoughts of Commentators concerning the Beginning of Idolatry, that it is difficult to fix the Time when it first appeared.

Tract. de Idol. *Maimonides* gives this Account, (which is likewise followed by many learned Christians) That
c. 1.

Gen. iv 26.

De Dis Syris,
Prolegom. 3.

Levit. ix. 12.

Maimonides gives this Account, (which is likewise followed by many learned Christians) That in the Days of *Moses*, Men began to consider that God created the Stars, and the Host of Heaven to govern the World, therefore they built Temples and offered Sacrifices to them ; and *Enos* himself was concerned in this Delusion. And this Opinion is defended by a Passage in Scripture, where it is said, *To Seth there was born a Son, and they called his Name Enos, then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord*: Which Remark of *Moses* is expounded by Mr. *Selden*, to signify, then was there Profanation by invoking the Name of the Lord ; for the Word which we translate *Began*, in another Place of Scripture signifies *Profaned*, so that by this Construction the Meaning is, that the most holy Name which belongeth to the Creator, and Possessor of Heaven and Earth, was now impiously given unto Creatures ; but this Interpretation is opposed with much Judgment by Expositors of Note, who either content themselves with the marginal Translation in our Bibles,

then

then Men began to call themselves by the Name of *Chap. 1.*
the Lord, in Distinction from the Posterity of Cain,
or else imagined that God was now first called
upon by the Name of *Jehovah*, or that some Im-
provements were made in the Offices of Religion;
for the *Arabian* Christians represent this *Enos* as
an excellent Governor, who, while he lived,
preserved his Family in good order, and when he
died called them all together, and gave them a
Charge to keep God's Commands, and not to
have any Correspondence with the Children of
Cain, who had vilely corrupted themselves upon
the Earth.

It is certain that *Terah*, the Father of *Abraham*, *Josh. xxiv. 2.*
was an Idolater, and as *Suidas* asserts, was a Sta-
tuary, and a Maker of Images, which he declared
to be Gods; and *Abraham* himself, as most ima-
gine, was educated in the same Idolatry; and, ac-
cording to *Maimonides*, was converted to the
Worship of the Creator in the forty eighth Year of
his Age. In *Egypt* the *Israelites* were corrupted *Ezek. xx. 7, 8.*
in their Religion, and in the Wilderness they
prostituted themselves to the Worship of Images;
under the Government of *Joshua* they privately
served strange Gods, and under the Judges, by their
Familiarity and Inter-marriages with the People of
Canaan, they publickly adored the Gods of *Syria*
and *Palestine*, and the neighbouring Countries,
whom they never wholly abandoned till their
City and Temple were destroyed by the *Chal-*
deans.

Many and different were the Ceremonies made *1 King. xix. 18.*
use of in the Exercise of Idolatry: There was
bowing the Knee, and Prostration; and Kis-
sing the Idol was likewise an Act of Worship.
This Rite was performed several Ways, either by
applying their Mouth immediately to the Image
(as *Cicero* against *Verres* relates of the Image of *In Verr. lib. 5.*
Hercules) or kissing their Hand before the Image,
and then stretching it out, as it were, throwing
the Kiss to it, or by kissing the right Hand, and
B 2 some-

Book V. sometimes the Feet of the Image it self. Incense was burnt, and Sacrifices offered to these false Gods ; and the Worshipers would partake of those sacrificial Feasts in Token of their Communion with the Deity to whom the Victim was offered, and these Festivities were usually attended with Drunkenness and horrid Debaucheries ; for nothing inticed Men to Idolatry more than those filthy Pleasures that were a Part of that Worship : These *fœderal* Entertainments were always attended with Musick and Dancing, and other Expressions of Joy ; and sometimes a Table was furnished with choicest Provision, and set before the Idol it self.

Ezek. viii. 17. There is an idolatrous Rite mentioned by *Ezekiel*, called, *The putting the Branch to the Nose* ; which has given great Trouble to learned Men, but the most reasonable Exposition is, that the Worshipper, with a Wand in his Hand, would touch the Idol, and then apply the Stick to his Nose and Mouth, in Token of Worship and Adoration.


It was an antient Custom for Women to prostitute their Bodies in Honour of *Venus* and *Priapus*, and such filthy Deities ; and they were solemnly consecrated to such impure Services. And this Idolatry was practised in the Days of *Moses*, as appears from the History of those who committed Fornication with the Daughters of *Moab*, who exposed themselves in Veneration to *Baal Peor*. Those consecrated Whores were famous in old Times among the *Phœnicians*, *Babylonians*, and other Nations : And *Strabo* relates, that at *Corinth* there was a Temple so richly endowed that it maintained above a thousand of these religious Prostitutes, who were dedicated to the Goddesses for the Use of Sea-faring Men, who arrived in great Numbers at this Port, and easily parted with their Money.

Geograph. lib.
8.

Deut. xxiii. 18. The Law of *Moses* has provided, that no Man should prostitute his Daughter to cause her to be a Whore,

Whore, which Injunction without Doubt forbids Chap. 1.
the exposing their Daughters as a Piece of Reli-
gion to the Service of such filthy Deities, as were Lev. xix. 29.
worshipped in these Days by Acts of Uncleanneſs
in their Temples ; for it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed,
that any Man would prostitute his Daughter to
be a common Strumpet, though he might poſſibly
overlook the Lewdneſs to which ſhe had given up
her ſelf. What the *Rabbins* make of theſe Words,
that a Man prostitutes his Daughter, who did not
provide her an Husband when ſhe was marriage-
able, or married her to an old Man, is a fanciful
Interpretation, and not to be admitted. If ſuch a
Harlot ſhould preſume to offer to God, what ſhe
had gotten by this Kind of Proſtitution, it was not
to be received, but reſuſed as abominable ; for this
was a Cuſtom among the Idolatrous Nations, as
appears by a great many of their Writers, who re-
cord, that they were uſed to dedicate ſome Part of
what they received, for the Uſe of their Bodies,
at the Temple of their pretended *Deities* ; particu- Lib. 1.
larly *Herodotus* mentions it, as practiſed among the
antient *Babylonians*.

There is another Prohibition following this,
which forbids *the Price of a Dog to be brought
into the Houſe of the Lord*: It is difficult to
find out, why the Price of a Whore and of a Dog
are aſſociated in the ſame Law, unleſs it be in Op-
poſition to ſome prophane Rites among the *E-*
gyptians, who, as they had Harlots ſacred to *Iſis*,
ſo a Dog was the Symbol of one of their principal
Deities, under the Name of *Anubis*. If this Idolatry
was ſo old as the Days of *Moſes*, which it is certain
prevail'd afterward, this may be a probable Rea-
ſon, why God would not accept ſo much as the
Price for which a Dog was ſold or exchanged :
For Example (ſays *Maimonides*,) If a Man gave a
Lamb for a fine Dog, God would by no means
admit of that Lamb to be offered as a Victim up-
on his Altar. It was likewise the Buſineſs of theſe 2 Kings
vile Women, to weave Hangings for the Grove xxiii, 7.

Book V. of the Goddess *Astarte*, they were a Kind of
 Curtains that encompassed the Image, and made a
 Tabernacle or Habitation for it; into those Tents
 the Worshipers went, and committed all Manner
 of Lewdness; for it seems they had not arrived at
 such a Degree of Impudence, as not to seek for
 Privacy in their Filthiness.

But the most execrable Rite of Idolatry was
 the Consecration of *Men* to Impurity and unnat-
 ural Prostitution, who exposed their Bodies to be
 abused in Honour of the Deities they worshipped;
 These *Sodomites* had a House erected joining to
 the Temple at *Jerusalem*, that was sacred, and set
 Levit. xviii. 22. apart for such flagitious Mixtures. This Impiety,
 by the Law of *Moses*, was Capital, and tho' the
 Kind of Death is not mentioned, yet it is proba-
 ble it was by Burning, because the impure *So-*
dormites were consumed by Fire.

The Groves and high Places devoted to Ido-
 latry, had Priests fixed in Attendance upon them:
 2 Kings xxiii. 5. they were clothed in black Vestments, which
 was the Habit worn by all who sacrificed to
 the infernal Gods, and was contrary to the Gar-
 ments of the *Hebrew* Priesthood, which were white,
 and worn by all who had no Defect, and whose
 Genealogies were clear and undisputed. Among the
Egyptians, *Osiris*, or the Sun, was represented by a
 black Ox covered with a black Silk Garment, which
 was the Reason the Priests of the Idol were cloth-
 ed with a Vestment of that Colour.

Another Ceremony of Idolatry, was to dance
 about the Altar after the Manner of the ancient
Salij, and the Priests would run about as Men
 in an Extacy, with a prophetic Fury, which
 put them into strange and disorderly Motions;
 and when they were possessed with this Impulse,
 they were used to slash themselves with Knives
 and other Instruments till the Blood gushed out.
 Book 3. p. 629. Mr. *Mede* has a peculiar Notion, that *Baalam*
 Levit. xix. 28. being the deify'd Souls of dead Men, therefore
 the Prophets of *Baal* cut themselves in his Wor-
 ship,

ship, because this was a funeral Rite, and for that Reason retained in the Service of such Gods, in token that they were no more than Men canonized after Death. 'Tis certain, that the Law of *Moses* forbids any cutting in the Flesh for the Dead, in Imitation of the Heathen, who observed this savage Rite to pacify the infernal Spirits, and make them propitious to departed Souls; *Huetius* conceives, that the Law of *Solon's*, which was transcrib'd by the *Romans* into the twelve Tables, that Women in Mourning should not scratch their Cheeks, had its Original from this Prohibition in the Law of *Moses*.

Demonstr. Evangel. Prop. 4. c. xii.

The Idolaters, who worshipped the Stars and Planets, particularly the *Arabians*, in Imitation of *Bacchus*, used to cut their Hair equal behind and before, to make their Head in the Form of an Hemisphere; they likewise shaved the Hair of their Beards. In Opposition to which Practices, the Law enjoined, that the *Hebrews* should suffer the Hair of their Head to grow, and not presume to mar the Corners of their Beards.

Levit. xix. 27.

Nor were they to print any Mark on them; which was a Custom among the Heathens, that they might be known to belong to such a particular God. They used, says a *Rabbi*, to devote themselves to their Gods by Notes or Signs, signifying they were their Servants redeemed with their Price, and stamp'd with their Mark; these Impressions were made with a hot Iron, in their Hands, Foreheads, or Necks, or they were prick'd with a Needle dipp'd in *Glaustum*, which made blue Spots in their Skin, as the Manner was among the *Arabians*; and they expressed either the Name of the God to whose Service they were consecrated, or else by a proper Character denoted whom they honoured; as a Thunder-bolt signified they were devoted to *Jupiter*, a Spear or Helmet to *Mars*, a Trident to *Neptune*; and these were Signs (or Sacraments as we may call them) whereby they were solemnly addicted to the Worship of these

Levi, Precept. 257.

Book V. Deities. The Priests of the Syrian Goddess, according to *Lucian*, were all marked, some in their Wrists, others in their Necks, from whence all the *Assyrians* carry such Brands or Marks in their Flesh; and so are the *Jews*, that were initiated in the *Egyptian* Rites, said by the Author of the third Book of *Maccabees*, to be stigmatized with the Leaves of Ivy, which were the *Insignia* of *Bacchus*. From this antient Practice it is probable, that *Christians* have derived the unjustifiable Custom of Printing the *Jerusalem* Cross upon the Arms of those who go to visit our Saviour's Sepulchre. I shall add no more, but that the *Jews* were so inclined to receive such a Badge as this, that they made no Scruple to print the Name of their own God in their Flesh, as appears by that Canon mentioned by the learned *Schickard*; If any Man write the Name of God upon his Flesh, let him neither wash nor anoint in that Place.

Misphat. Hamel, c. ii. Theorem 5.

C H A P. II.

The Punishments appointed for Idolatry and Blasphemy, by the Levitical Law.

Exod. xx. 3, 4, &c.

MANY and severe are the Injunctions of the *Mosaic* Law against the Worship of Idols, and the Service of strange Gods; the Lord *Jehovah* alone was to be the Object of their Belief and Adoration, who had a peculiar Right to their Homage and Obedience, by conducting them out of the Land of *Egypt*, and delivering them from the Servitude under which they groaned; and this (as the *Hebrews* speak) was the great Foundation of the Law, for whoever confessed any other God, denied the whole Law. No other God was to be worshipped with him, who was jealous of his Honour, and would not suffer

suffer any Corriual or Consort, in that which was proper to himself. They were to make no Image to represent him, nor set up a Statue of what-ever Materials, in any Place of divine Worship ; they were not so much as to look upon an Idol, much less to enquire after what Manner the *Gentiles* worshipped their Gods, and what religious Rites they used towards them ; they were not allowed to make molten Deities for others, and by Consequence not for themselves, from whence came that Observation among them : He that makes to himself an Idol violates a double Precept. First, in *making it*, and then, in *making it to himself*. They were forbidden so much as simply to name the Gods of other Nations, especially to call them by such Appellations as attribute to them any Divinity, and this Precept obliged Men and Women in all Places and at all times ; and Beating was the Punishment inflicted for its Violation.

Chap. 2.



Levit. xix. 4.

Deut. xii. 30.

Exod. xxiii. 13.

Exod. xxiii. 32.

All Society with Idolaters was forbidden, lest they should infect the *Hebrews* with their Infidelity, of which there was the greater Danger, because they were too prone to follow the *Pagan* Customs ; none of the seven Nations of *Canaan* were allowed to exercise their heathenish Worship among them, nor was any *Gentile* admitted to dwell with them, unless he renounced his Idolatry ; they were not to sell him a Spot of Land, nor suffer him to hire a House, only, as some of the *Rabbins* expound it, he might come and traffick in the Country ; though others of a more rigid Opinion, will not suffer him to pass through the Land when they had Power to hinder it.

Among the *Jews*, there was a constant Succession of Prophets to instruct them in the Law, and preserve them in the true Worship ; if one of these pretended to a Revelation from God by Vision or by Dream, with a Design to seduce them into Idolatry, and offer'd to demonstrate the Legality of

Deut. xiii. 1.

Book V.



Deut. ver. 6.

of such a Practice, by foretelling something, and the Event confirms the Prediction, so that he seems to be a true Prophet; yet he was to be abhor'd as a Lyar, (because God could not contradict himself, by persuading Men to give his Worship to another) he was to be brought before the great *Sanhedrim*, who alone had the Judgment of a lying Prophet, to be sentenced, upon good Proof of the Fact, and to be put to Death by Strangling. This was the Punishment of an open Seducer; but the secret Advocates for Idolatry, whether a Wife, a Brother, a Son, or Daughter, or the dearest Friend, were executed by Stoning; they were summoned before the Court of Twenty-three, and upon their Tryal the Evidence was to dissemble nothing that made against them, no one was to intercede for them, to say any thing in their Favour, nor to assist them to defend themselves, but they were prosecuted to Death without Mercy, as Traytors against the Majesty of God: The Criminal was immediately executed after the Sentence was pronounced, the Accuser was to throw the first Stone at him, together with the Witnesses, and then the People were to assist at the Execution. But the Difficulty in this Case seems to be, how to prove a Man Guilty, who enticed another *secretly* (as the Law speaks) and not before Evidence? To this the *Jews* say, that he who was enticed was to dispose some Persons secretly, near to the Place of their next Meeting, who might hear the whole Conversation, and give full Testimony of it in the Court before the Judges: Yet, if upon Admonition the Man desisted from his Enticement, and resolved himself not to worship other Gods, upon his Repentance, the Evidence was not obliged to inform against him. A private Person that apostatized from his Religion, and fell into Idolatry, was tried in one of the lower Courts, upon the Testimony of two Witnesses at least, and upon Conviction, was to die by Stoning;

Ibid. xvii. 2.

ning; and the more to confirm the Truth of their Testimony, the Witnesses were appointed to be the first Executioners of the Sentence. Chap. 2.

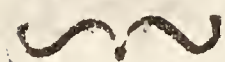
The End of this Severity, was to preserve the Body of the People from the Contagion of Idolatry: But if the Infection was spread into a City, or a considerable Part of it, there was still the more Danger, and more exemplary Punishments were to be used, in order to secure the Country about from being drawn away from their Allegiance. Upon Information that some profligate Persons had withdrawn themselves from the Service of God at the Tabernacle, and seduced the Inhabitants into strange Worship, the great *Sanhedrim*, who only could take Cognizance of this Crime, were immediately to send some, on whose Fidelity they could rely, to examine the Truth of the Report concerning the Defection; these were to use their utmost Care and Diligence in this Inquisition, for it was a Matter of great Importance, that neither the Innocent should suffer, nor the Apostates go unpunished. But the Punishment being so dreadful there was the more Exactness used to be certain of the Crime; and there were a great many Temperaments (as Mr. *Selden* calls them) found by the *Jewish* Lawyers (partly from the nicest Interpretation of every Syllable in the Precept, and partly from the pretended Tradition of their Elders,) whereby they mitigated the Sharpness of this Law; for they would not proceed upon it to destroy a City, though they found them Idolaters, unless the Seducers were two or more, and those also Men, not Women, because the Law here speaks of *certain Men* in the plural Number, as if their forsaking God was not a Crime, whether they were persuaded to it or not, by others. They say also, it was not to be a meer Town or Village, but a City, because the Words here are, *In one of thy Cities*; in which there were more than a hundred Houses; if there were fewer, it was no City in their Account, and so escaped. They who

Deut. xiii. 12.

de Synedr. l. 3.

c. v.

Book V.



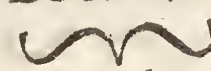
who seduced a City, also were to be of the same City, because it is said, these Men of *Belial* are gone out *from among you* ; all which are Subtilties and Evasions, that carry no Conviction along with them : But there are other Temperaments of this Law, which have a better Foundation in Reason. As *First*, That a City was not to be destroyed, unless the major Part of the Inhabitants were fallen off to serve other Gods. And *Secondly*, that the Law speaks only of lesser Cities, not of those that were so large, that the greatest Part of the Tribe lived in it ; for God never permitted, that a whole Tribe should be cut off by the Senate. *Thirdly*, they might not destroy any of the six Cities of Refuge, because they had no Right in them, and the Words of the Law are, *In one of the Cities, which the Lord hath given thee to dwell in*, whereas these were given for a further Purpose. And *Fourthly*, some add, not a frontier Town, because it is said, *in the midst of thee* (so the Words are in the *Hebrew*, which we translate *among you*) to which they subjoin a better Reason, that by the Destruction of such a City, the Country would have been exposed to the Incursions of the *Gentiles*. And *Lastly*, they except *Jerusalem* from this Law, because God there kept his Residence, and (as *Maimonides* will have it) it was not distributed to any particular Tribe. But if that City was exempted from the Judgment of Men, the Sentence was executed upon it by the divine Vengeance ; for the Temple and all the Houses of the City, were for their Idolatry consumed with Fire by the *Babylonians*.

Jerem. lii. 13.

If the Inquisitors commissioned by the *Sanhedrim* found, upon due Examination, that there was an evident Proof of their Guilt, they were to make their Report to the Court, who upon full Satisfaction that the whole City, or the greatest Part of them, were fallen to Idolatry, sent two Men of extraordinary Wisdom, (who were Candidates for the Senatorial Dignity) to admonish them, and

and by Arguments endeavour to reduce them to the true Worship. If they prevailed, they were pardoned, and all farther Proceedings ceased : But if they continued obstinate, the *Sanhedrim* commanded the People to raise an Army and besiege the Place ; and if they were opposed, to enter it by Force. When the City was taken, several Courts were appointed to try the Guilty, and whoever had been admonished, and was afterwards proved guilty, by two Witnesses, was set aside : If they proved to be the lesser Part of the City, they were stoned, (according to the Law against single Apostates) the rest being freed from Punishment : But if they were the Majority, they were sent to the great *Sanhedrim* who adjudged them to be cut off by the Sword, with their Wives, their Children, and their Cattle. Thus the whole City was punished if there was an universal Defection. Such as belong'd to the City, and abhor'd the Idolatry of the rest, it is supposed, withdrew themselves and their Effects before Sentence was pronounced against so wicked a Place ; but the Goods of the Idolaters, wherever they were found, were to be burnt; they were brought together into the Market-place, if there was one, or into some spacious Place, where all the Spoil and the Householdstuff (not the smallest Part being reserved to their own use) was set on fire, as a cursed Thing, and consumed. The City it self was to be reduced to Ashes, the Ground was for ever to lye waste ; and whosoever offered to erect any Building there, was to be beaten for his Presumption. Thus was God appeased, who was highly incensed by such a Wickedness. The Punishment indeed was very terrible, but very necessary, because the Crime was of so high a Nature, that it struck at the very Foundation of their Religion and Government.

Book V.

 The Sin of *Blasphemy* was punished by Stoning: The Criminal was convicted by the Judicial Process of the *Sanhedrim*, and thence was he led to execution without the Camp, the Witnesses were first to lay their Hands upon his Head, which was a particular Ceremony in this Case; for Hands were laid upon the Head of no Offender condemned by the great Court, but upon a Blasphemer only. By the Use of this Rite they declared that they had given a true Testimony against him, and thought him worthy of the Death he was condemned to suffer, and withal they used this Form, *Let thy Blood be upon thy own Head, which thou hast brought upon thy self by thy own Guilt*; then they took off their Hands, and he was stoned to Death by all the Congregation. The *Rabbins* are not agreed in the Definition of this Sin; yet it is generally conceived to mean a speaking contemptuously of God and his Attributes, and a bold Attempt to subvert the established Principles and Foundations of their Religion.

Exod. xxiii. 19. There is a Precept in the *Mosaic* Law, forbidding the *seething a Kid*, or a Lamb, *in its Mother's Milk*. This was an idolatrous Rite in use among the Gentiles, especially when they gathered the Fruits of the Earth, to implore the Gods to be the more propitious to them. All the Trees and Fields (says our most learned Dr. *Cudworth* from a *Karaite* Writer) and Gardens were sprinkled with the Broth of such a Kid after a magical Manner to make them more fruitful in the following Year. Nothing could be more contrary to Nature, (and therefore more agreeable to the Institutions of the Devil) than to boil a young Creature in the Milk of its Mother; some Remains of which Custom we find even among the *Romans* themselves, who propitiated *Sylvanus*, by offering him Milk, and *Faunus* with a Kid, and every one knows that both these were used in the Solemnities of *Bacchus*.

C H A P. III.

The various Kinds of Idolatry, the Worshipping of Angels, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Adoration of Dæmons.

THE Writers of the *Jews*, who have treated upon the Subject of Idolatry, commonly explain it into three Kinds, according to the different Objects of Adoration, and make it consist in the worshipping of Angels, of the Host of Heaven Sun Moon and Stars, and of Devils.

Chap. 3.



It is difficult to determine, whether the old *Hebrews* offered divine Homage to Angels, and there is but one Passage in Scripture, that I know of, which seems to charge them with such a Practice. In the Form of Benediction, which *Jacob* used upon the Sons of *Joseph*, he invokes an Angel. *The Angel which redeemed me from all Evil, bless the Lads.* The *Rabbins* in glossing upon this Text observe, that the Prayers of their Ancestors were not directly addressed to Angels, but it was really God they invoked when they prayed to them; they only go to them as to the King, by his Ministers, and as one that presents his Petition to the first Officer of the Crown, yet still looks to the King as the Source and Spring of his Happiness and Favours that he has received. But this Exposition is refuted by others, who remark, that *Jacob*, after he had directly applied himself to God, and begged of him both temporal and eternal Blessings or his two Grandsons, then addressed himself to the *Angel*, to obtain of him, that he would keep them from all Evil; from whence they conclude, that *Ja-*
cob

Gen. xlviii. 16.

Book V.



cob addressed his Prayers directly to the Angel, to whom he ascribed the Power of preserving from Evil, whilst he left to God the Privilege of bestowing all that was good ; and if the Prayer of the Patriarch was *implicitly* addressed to God as the Fountain of Goodness, yet he certainly prayed explicitly to the Angel : But notwithstanding this Dispute, the best Expositors among Christians, deny that this Invocation of *Jacob* implies any thing like a Prayer to the Angel. Some indeed conceive, that the Angel in this Place is the second Person in the *Trinity* ; an Opinion refuted by others, who more justly say, that *Jacob* intended no more than a Desire that his Children might enjoy the angelical Protection by the special Favour of God to them ; for it is such an Expression as that of *David* to a contrary Purpose, *Let the Angel of the Lord persecute them*, where no one will say he prays to an Angel, though his Words are exactly like those of *Jacob*.

Psal. xxxv. 6.

In Mat. v.

St. *Jerome* in explaining the Reproach that our Saviour cast upon the *Jews*, for their swearing by the Creatures, concludes, that he charges them with swearing by the Angels, and paying divine Honours to them. The Authority of that Father has seduced even Protestants, who have not observed, that the Text has no Regard to Angels, but speaks of the City of the great King, and of the Gift upon the Altar. The Worshipping of Angels would be very antient, if our Saviour had so early condemn'd it ; but St. *Jerome* is grossly deceiv'd in a Matter so plain and evident ; so that his Testimony ought no more to be alledged, because it is absolutely false.

The *Jewish* Rabbins of a modern Date, have openly protested, that they offer no Worship to Angels, nor do they serve them as Mediators and Intercessors. In their Catechism, there is an *Anathema* pronounced against all that shall petition for any thing to an Angel or any other celestial Power. *Maimonides* reckons as the sixth Article of

In Tract. Sanhedr. c. II.



of Faith, that God alone is to be adored, magnified, celebrated, and praised. We are not to invoke the Angels or their Chiefs, such as *Gabriel* and *Michael*, says the famous *Kimchi*; *Abraham* our Father is long since dead. The Father knows not his Son, but whilst he is alive: God alone is that Father that lives for ever, and redeems us from all Misery, and Calamity.

The most antient Idolatry of all other, seems to have been the Worship of the Sun and Moon, and the rest of the celestial Bodies, called *the Host of Heaven*. The Splendor of these great Luminaries prevail'd upon Mankind to believe, that they were the Tabernacles or Habitations of Intelligences, which animated those Orbs in the *same* Manner, as the Soul of Man animates his Body, and were the Causes of all their Motions, and that these Intelligences were of a middle Nature between God and them, and therefore they were thought the properest Beings to undertake the Office of Mediators between God and Mankind. They are called *Dæmons* in the *Pagan* Theology, and are said by *Plato* to be Reporters and Carriers In *Sympos.* from Men to the Gods, and again, from the Gods to Men, of the Supplications and Prayers of the one, and of the Injunctions and Demands of Devotion, from the other. To make this Idolatry the more reasonable, some of the Philosophers have asserted, that the Sun particularly, is indued with Understanding, and therefore is called by *Proclus*, *the King of intellectual Fire*, to distinguish it from other Fires, which are without Intelligence: And from thence, in one of the Coins of *Caracalla*, there is over the Sun, surrounded with Rays, the Word *Providentia*. The *Hebrews*, from the Beginning of their Republick, had accustomed themselves to this Worship, and after the Appearance of Christianity, it was difficult to extirpate the Practice of it; for the *Essenes* (the best Sect among the *Jews*) seem to be inclined to this Superstition: Some indeed excuse them, as if they

Book V.



only admired the Sun, as the most excellent Work of God, which they expressed by some Kind of Adoration; but *Josephus* expressly asserts, that in the Morning, they directed to him certain Prayers, as if they beseeched him to rise; and this was so deeply impressed upon some who professed Christianity, that the Followers of *Basilides* and the *Manichees*, called the Sun and Moon by the Name of Gods, and sometimes prophanelly applied the Name of *Christ* to the Sun. No wonder therefore, that *Julian* the Apostate should say, that God produced out of himself, the Sun the greatest God, in all Things like unto himself, for which he quotes *Plato* in his famous Oration in Praise of the Sun, where he says, the same Sun has filled the Heaven with innumerable other Gods; the whole Heaven is full of Gods from the Sun.

The Planets being nearest the Earth of all the heavenly Bodies, were generally looked upon to have the greatest Influence upon this World, and therefore they were made choice of by the Heathens to mediate for them to the supreme God, and, accordingly, they paid divine Worship to them. They were first adored by their Tabernacles, and after by Images: These sacred Tabernacles were the Orbs themselves, in which they supposed the Intelligences made their Abodes; and when they paid their Devotions to any one of them, they directed their Worship towards the Planet, in which they supposed he dwelt. These idolatrous Rites were strictly forbidden to the *Hebrews*, and the Law gives this Reason, because all Nations of the World enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, Moon and Stars, as well as they; and therefore God alone was to be adored, who appointed those Luminaries for the Service of his Creatures. It is an Opinion that prevails generally with the *Jews*, that God has distributed the Nations of the Universe under the Government of several Stars, which Stars are under the immediate Direction of Angels, but the *Jews* under the Direction of God alone,

Deut. iv. 19.



alone, and not subject to any Planet. But this Construction has no Foundation at all, much less can we suppose, that God ordained, that the Nations of the World should worship the heavenly Host, lest they should be Atheists, as *Justin Martyr* conceived, unless he means, that God for their Sins delivered them up to this Impiety, which perhaps is no improbable Conjecture.

It is difficult to come at Satisfaction, concerning the *Demonology* of the antient *Hebrews*, and therefore it will be hard to explain, what is meant by the Worshipping of *Devils*, which is the last Species of Idolatry, according to the Division of the *Rabbins*. The latter *Jews* have fallen into infinite Superstition about the Origine, the Nature, the Fall, and Punishment of wicked Spirits, but the more sensible of them believe, that the Angels created in a State of Innocence, fell from it through a Kind of Jealousy for Man, and their Revolt from God, which comes nearest to the Account of *Moses*: It is certain, that the *Israelites* among other Acts of Worship, offered Sa-
Deut. xxxii. 17.
 crifice to Devils. The Word in the *Hebrew*, signifies *Destroyers* (as the Devil is called in the Book of *Revelation*,) as Spirits delighting in Mischief,
Rev. ix. 11.
 and leading those that worship them into Perdition. They are called *Dæmons* by the *Seventy*, because they lead Men into the Impiety of worshipping other Gods, either themselves, or some other Beings, which they persuade their Votaries, had some Dignity in them.

Besides these *Dæmons* of an angelick Nature, that were never joined to a mortal Body, there were others who are called *Dii animales*, *Soul-Gods*, or the deified Souls of Men after Death. This Way of Canonization is of great Antiquity, and was practised by the Heathens in the Beginning of the *Hebrew* Government, and gave occasion to a Kind of Idolatry, which the People fell into in Imitation of the Nations about them. *Hesiod* takes notice of this Superstition,



and asserts, that when those happy Men of the first and golden Age of the World, were departed this Life, great *Jupiter* promoted them to be *Dæmons*, that is, Keepers and Protectors, or Patrons of earthly Mortals, and Overseers of their good and evil Works. And *Plato*, in his *Republick*, would have all those who die valiantly in the Field, to be made *Dæmons*, and the Oracle to be consulted how they should be buried and honoured; and accordingly, ever afterwards, their Sepulchres to be served and adored as the Sepulchres of *Dæmons*. In like Manner should be done to all, who in their Life-time excelled in Virtue, whether they died through Age, or otherwise.

The first that was ever deified or reputed a God after Death was *Baal* (or, in the *Chaldee* Dialect, *Bel*) the first King of *Babel* after *Nimrod*, from whence, in after Times, all other *Dæmons* were called *Baalim*, in the Manner that all the *Roman* Emperors, after the first, were called *Cæsars*, because the first was called by that Name. *Plutarch* observes, that *Dæmons* are sometimes called by the Names of those celestial Gods, whose Ministers and Proctors they are, and from whom they receive their Power and Divinity, as *Apollo's* *Dæmon* *Apollo*, *Jupiter's* *Dæmon* *Jupiter*: And the same Author asserts, that the Souls of Men took Degrees after Death; first they commenced Heroes, who were as Probationers to a *Dæmonship*; then after a sufficient Time they were advanced to *Dæmons*, and after that, if they deserved well, they were raised to a more sublime Degree; however it be, it is certain, that *Dæmons* and Heroes differ but in more and less Antiquity, the more antient Heroes being called *Dæmons*, and the younger *Dæmons* were known by the Name of *Heroes*.

There was yet another Species of *Dæmons*, as learned Men have imagined, to which the *Israelites* offered Sacrifice, and these were a Sort of
evil

evil Spirits that appeared especially in desert Places, in the Form of Goats, who in Scripture are called *Seirim*, which properly signifies *Goats*. From whence arose the Opinion that the *Hebrews* really sacrificed to these Creatures, as some of the *Egyptians* did, who held Goats to be sacred Animals: But it is doubted, whether the *Egyptians* were really guilty of such Idolatry in the Days of *Moses*. It seems more reasonable to believe, the old *Hebrews* worshipped the *Dæmons* adored by the antient *Zabii*, who appeared in the Shape of Goats; and this Practice was universally spread in the Time of *Moses*, which occasioned, that this Kind of Idolatry was so strictly forbidden in his Injunctions.

CHAP. IV.

The Consecration of Hills, Woods and Groves: The Adoration of Pillars and Images.

IT is certain, that the antient Heathens thought it unlawful to erect Temples to their Gods, because they conceived no Temple could be spacious enough for the Sun, which was their principal Deity. From hence came that Saying among them, *The whole World is a Temple for the Sun*; and when After-times had introduced the building of Temples, they judged it improper to confine the supposed Infinities of their Deities within Walls; and therefore the God *Terminus*, and many others, were worshipped in Temples open roofed, for which Reason they made choice of Hills and Mountains, as the most convenient Places for Idolatry; for here they conceived their Sacrifices were more acceptable than in Valleys, because, says *Lucian*, Men were then

Alex. ab.
Alex. I. 2.
c. 22.

Book 5.



nearer to the Gods, and so the more readily obtained Audience.


As the Number of their Gods increased, so these consecrated Hills were multiplied, from which their Gods and Goddeffes took their Names, as *Mercurius Cyllenius*, *Venus Erycina*, *Jupiter Capitolinus*. At length to beautify these holy Hills, the Places of their idolatrous Worship, they furrounded them with Trees, that their impure Rites might be celebrated with greater Solemnity, and hence came the Consecration of Woods and Groves, from which their Idols had their Denomination. At last some select Trees began to be consecrated to this or that Deity, and, to attract Devotion, the Heathens trimmed them up with Ribbons, adorned them with Lights, and made Vows to them, and hung upon them the Spoils of their Enemies; so that Travellers were used to stop when they were to pass by them, as if they had been the Tabernacle and Habitation of some particular God. These were the Temples of the Gods, saith *Pliny*, and even now the simple People, after the antient Rites, dedicate to a Deity such Trees as excel the rest; nor do we more adore the Images glittering with Gold and Ivory, than we do the Groves, and the solemn Silence therein. And then he reckons what Trees were peculiarly sacred to *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and other Gods, concluding that several of them, such as the *Sylvani*, *Fauni*, and some of their Nymphs had their Names from the Woods. This was a Thing so notorious, that in their most sacred Solemnities they were used to present the Gods whom they worshipped with a Crown, or a Garland, made of Boughs, and Leaves of such Trees, in which they were thought to delight, as to *Jupiter* a Crown of *Oak*, to *Apollo* of *Laurel*, to *Minerva* of *Olive*, to *Venus* of *Myrtle*.

Hist. Nat. l. 12.

Deut. vii. 5.

This Superstition infected the *Hebrews* in common with other Nations, notwithstanding they were commanded by the Law of *Moses*, not only

to avoid, but to extirpate this Kind of Idolatry wherever they found it, by cutting down their consecrated Woods and Groves, that no Monument of those impure Places might be left in the Country, nor no Shades afford a Covering to Images and Altars erected to false Gods: And this Prohibition was not restrained to the Land of *Canaan*, which was taken from the old Inhabitants, upon the Account of their Idolatry, but extended to all the Countries they should conquer, lest by Imitation they should be infected with the Impieties of the People they had subdued, and be seduced from their Obedience to those Laws by which God designed they should be governed.

Chap. 4.


Exod. xxxiv. 13.

The *Hebrews* had not only their Idols upon Hills and Mountains, but they worshipped a Sort of *Penates* which they placed sometimes behind the Doors of their private Houses, and adored as Domestick Deities. And the Prophet *Hosea* charges the *Israelites* with going a whoring after the Gods they had set up in their Corn Floors, and in their Wine-presses; in short, there was scarce a private Room, or a High-Way, or a Corner of a Street where there was not some Idolatrous Image, which in the wicked Times of their Government was set up by profane Princes and Persons, in order to destroy the established Religion, and corrupt the Devotion of the People. The Effigies likewise of some God was engraven and worn in Rings, in the Nature of Amulets, in which they vainly fancied there was some Power to preserve them from Mischief and Misfortune. *Maimonides* mentions such idolatrous Rings as were utterly unlawful to be used, and Vessels marked with the Image of the Sun, the Moon, or *Dagon*, which were accounted Symbols of Divinity among the Heathens.

Isa. lvii. 8.

Hos. ix. 1, 2.

De Idolol. c. 7.

The most antient Monuments of Idolatry among the *Gentiles*, were consecrated *Pillars*, or Columns, which the *Hebrews* were forbidden to

Lev. xxvi. 1.

Book V.



erect, as Objects of divine Homage and Adoration. These were rude Stones without the Representation of Men or any other Creatures, and may signifie any other Work; an Altar, for Instance, set up for sacred Purposes, and the Exercise of religious Rites. The sovereign celestial Gods were worshipped in the Sun, Moon, and Stars, wherein they were thought to dwell, but the petty Deities, the Dæmons, were at first adored in plain simple Columns, in which, after a solemn Dedication, they were supposed to keep their Residence. This Practice is conceived to arise from an Imitation of *Jacob*, who took a Stone and set it up for a Pillar, as a Monument of the divine Mercy to him, and to preserve the Memory of the Vision which he had seen. This Stone was held in great Veneration in future Times, and by the *Jews* removed to *Jerusalem*; after the Destruction of which, by *Titus*, they were indulg'd (upon that Day when it was taken, which was the only Day they were permitted to come thither) with great Lamentation and Expressions of Sorrow, to go anoint this Stone. From the Word *Bethel*, the Place where the Pillar was erected, came the Word *Batyli* among the Heathen, which signified rude Stones, which they worshipped, either as Symbols of Divinity, or as true Gods animated by some heavenly Power. The learned *Bochart* asserts, that the *Phœnicians*, at least as the *Jews* think, first worshipped this very Stone which *Jacob* anointed, and afterward consecrated others, which they called *Batyli* or *Batyli*, in Memory of this Stone anointed at *Bethel*. It is certain, that this idolatrous Custom, came very early into the World, which gave Occasion to *Moses*, not only to forbid the erecting of such Pillars, but to command them to be broken down and destroyed, wherever they were found, because in his Time, they were converted to profane Uses.

Gen. xxviii. 18.

Vossius de Idol.
l. 6. c. 38.L. 2. Canaan.
c. ii.

The

The Worshipping of *Images* had the same Foundation with the Adoring of Pillars ; for Images, as Mr. *Mede* observes, were the Bodies for Dæmons to animate and dwell in. The making of these Idols is strictly prohibited, and it is supposed, they included not only protuberant Statues made of Wood or Stone, and other Materials, but also the Pictures of the Stars, or Birds, or Men, or Beasts, or Fishes, lest they should prove the Instruments of Idolatry. The second Commandment in the Decalogue, is thus understood by *Origen*, who asserts, that there was not so much as a Picture-Drawer, or a Maker of Statues, in their Common-wealth. This Opinion he derived, in all likelihood, from the *Jews*, who from the Time of the *Maccabees* to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, thought they were forbidden by this Law, to make an Image or Figure of any living Creature, especially of a Man. *Josephus* relates, that all the *Roman* Governours before *Pilate*, were used to carry Ensigns in *Jerusalem* without the Image of *Cæsar* in them, because their Law forbade the making of Images ; and when *Vitellius* was to lead the *Roman* Army through *Judæa* against the *Arabians*, with Images in their Ensigns, the People ran to meet him, beseeching him to forbear it, for it was not consonant to the Laws of their Country, to see Images brought into it. But whether this was the antient Exposition of the Law is much to be questioned. The *Talmudists* think it was unlawful to make any Figures of celestial Bodies, either prominent or plain, tho' it were only upon the Account of Ornament, but as for Animals, they might make prominent Statues of them, except only of Men, the Images of whom, they might draw upon a Plain. These Distinctions are look'd upon, as not sufficiently supported ; and the common Opinion is, that *Moses* did not intend to forbid the very making of an Image, but that they should not be

Book 3. c. 5.

Archæol. 1. 17.
c. 5.

Book V. be made for the Uses of Religion, or set up in any Place of divine Worship.

Isaiah iv. 14.

It is not to be doubted, but that the first Images were made of very mean Materials, and it is probable, that the first Statues were made of Potter's Clay, well burnt, like our earthen Vessels; and what confirms this Opinion is, that these Statues had their Beginning at *Babylon*, the Place where the working of Clay or Earth, was first practised, as well as the Burning of it, as is evident from the Tower of *Babel* made of Brick-work. That these earthen Gods might appear the more beautiful to the Eye, they were sometimes painted with Vermilion; next to this, they chose Wood, which is the easiest for Carving, for the Materials of their Gods. This is manifest from the several Passages in the Prophets, where they upbraid the *Jews* with their wooden Gods; *He heweth him down Cedars, and taketh the Cypress and the Oak : Part thereof he will take to burn and warm himself, with Part thereof he eateth Flesh, and the Residue thereof he maketh a God, and falleth down unto it.* But the Eastern Nations did not continue long in this Simplicity, for they affected a singular Magnificence and Respect in the precious Materials of their Idols. Thus we find the *Hebrews* made their Calf of the best of Metals, and the Scripture frequently Reproaches the *Pagans* with the Idols of Gold and Silver, which indeed were more frequent in the *Eastern*, than in any other Parts of the World.

Deut. iv. 16, 17

The Prohibition in the Law of *Moses*, concerning the Worship of Images, is very particular; for as it was forbidden to represent God in a human Shape, which was common among the Heathens, so they were not to make the Figure of any Beast, or Bird, or Insect: for in the Shape of such Creatures, the *Gentiles* represented their Gods, or some of their Qualities, for not only Oxen were sacred to *Apis*, and Rams to *Jupiter Ammon*, but Hawks and Eagles, and even Beetles, were conse-

crated

crated to other Deities. No Image of a Serpent was allowed, because they had been often used as Symbols of Divinity, nor of a Fish, which was one of the Deities of the *Syrians*. If they saw any Images (as they must needs do in other Countries) the *Hebrews* were obliged to use no Gesture before them, that signified any Degree of Reverence or Honour, either by Prostration, by bowing their Bodies, or kissing their Hands, much less to offer Sacrifice, to make Vows, to burn Incense, to consecrate Temples to them, to swear by them, or to light Candles before them.

Chap. 4.

Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3.

The Punishment attending upon this Sin, was the Destruction and Ruin of themselves and Families. Idolatry was understood to be a Kind of high Treason against the Sovereign of Heaven and Earth, and therefore God threatens to pursue the Guilty with his Vengeance in their Posterity. It is an Observation of *Maimonides*, that visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, is denounced only against the Sin of Idolatry, and to the fourth Generation is only mentioned, because the most a Man can live to see of his Seed is the fourth Generation; accordingly God orders, says he, that if any City prove Idolaters, the Inhabitants should be destroyed utterly, and all that was therein; Fathers, Children, Grandchildren, great Grandchildren, and the new-born Infants were all killed for the Sin of their Parents. The same Rabbi judiciously remarks, that in the whole Law of *Moses*, and in the Books of the Prophets, we shall never find these Words, *Fury, Anger, Indignation, Jealousie*, attributed to God, but when they relate to Idolatry; nor any Man called an Enemy to God, an Adversary, an Hater of him, but only Idolaters, from whence it appears, that the Worshippers of Images were always included under that Denomination; not that they thought these Images to be Gods (for no Man in the World ever thought a Statue to be the Creator of Heaven and Earth, or the Governor

Exod. xx. 5.

More Nevoch. P. 1. c. liv.

VERNOUR

Book V. vernour of the World) but esteemed them only as Messengers and Mediators between God and Men. This was a Law so well known to the antient Heathens, that the best Men among them would suffer no Images to be set up in their Temples; in particular, *Numa* forbad this to the *Romans*, which he learn'd, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* conceives, from the Institutions of *Moses*; inso-much, that for the Space of a hundred and seventy Years, though the *Romans* built Temples, yet they made no Image, neither Statue, nor so much as a Picture, and the Reason is thus given by *Plutarch* in the Life of that Prince, because they thought it a great Crime to represent the most excellent Being by such mean Things, and that God was to be apprehended only by the Mind.

Deut. vii. 5.

The *Hebrews* by the Law of *Moses* were obliged to destroy all the Images they found, such as were molten were to be broken down, and such as were graven were to be consumed with Fire, that no Incentive to Idolatry might remain, nor any Monument of profane Worship be left in the Countries they had subdued. To see this done was properly the Business of the supreme Gover-

De Imper. Sum.
Potest. Circa
Sacra. C. 8. § 3.

nour, as the learned *Grotius* observes; for tho' out of private Places, it belonged to the Lord of the Place, or, if he were negligent, to the King, to remove Idols, yet none but the supreme Power might remove them out of publick Places, or such Persons who were delegated thereby to that Office. After the Idols were defaced, the

Deut. vii. 25, 26.

Jews were forbidden to employ any of the Gold or Silver to their own Use, lest they should be seduced into a Conceit that there was something sacred in it, and so tempted to worship it; nor were they to bring it into their Houses, to be applied to any private Purpose for Advantage, it being one of their affirmative Precepts, that no Man should seek the least Profit or Benefit from any Thing belonging to an Idol; but they were to look upon it, not only as useless and unprofitable, but



but as hateful and execrable ; and therefore (under the Penalty of Stoning) it was to be intirely consumed and destroyed. These Injunctions tended highly to the Security of the true Religion, which taught them to have every Thing contrary to it, in the utmost Abhorrence, infomuch (as *Maimonides* interprets this Precept) that if a Man broke such Images, or melted them down, and then sold the Silver and Gold, he committed an Abomination, and the Price of this being mingled with their other Riches, proved the Rust of them all. Of this the *Jews* were so sensible, after they had severely smarted for their Idolatry, that they thought it unlawful to use any Vessel that had been employed in sacrificing to a false God ; nay, to warm themselves with the Wood of a Grove, after it was cut down, or to sit under the Shadow of it, for Coolness sake, while it was standing, or so much as to use the Ashes of the Wood that was left after the Grove was burnt.

More Nevoch.
P. 3. c. 37.

: C H A P. V.

The Worshipping of the Brasen Serpent.

NOtwithstanding the Severity of the Law against the making of Images, yet, as *Justin Martyr* observes in his Book against *Trypho*, it must be somewhat mysterious, that God, in the Case of the *Brasen Serpent*, should command an Image to be made, for which, he says, one of the *Jews* confessed, he never could hear a Reason from any of their Doctors ; nor is it possible, says the same Father, to be understood, till they believe in *Christ*, and him crucified, whose Victory over the Devils, by his Cross and Passion, was in this Type most lively represented. This was an Image of polished Brass, in the Form of one of those flaming

Book V. flaming Serpents who bit the People, which, though not followed with immediate Death, yet made an Inflammation, and such Ulcers, as some conceive, were incurable. This Figure was set upon a Pole, so high that every one in the Camp might see it ; and whoever was bitten, when he look'd up to it, and (as the *Jews* speak) directed his Heart to God, was cured of the Wound. They had so much Understanding generally, as to say, that the mere Beholding of it had no Effect, for the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* observes, he that turned himself towards it, was not healed by the Thing which he saw, but by thee that art the Saviour of all ; and therefore it was a superstitious Conceit to fancy that this Serpent was a Sort of *Talisman*, made to receive I know not what Influence from the Stars.

Chap. xvi. 7.

To be cured and restored to perfect Health, by looking upon this Image, according to the *Jews*, advanced the Dignity of the Miracle, because naturally it would have made the Inflammation the greater ; for they observe that those, who are bit by venomous Beasts, and follow the Prescriptions of Physicians, must not behold the Image of the Beast by whom they were bitten : But this was commanded by God, that the *Israelites* might know that their Disease and their Medicine came from him, who made that, whose Aspect was pernicious, become a Remedy, and a Means of their Preservation. The Lifting-up of the *Brasen Serpent* was a Thing so well known to all the neighbouring Nations, that as *Tavernier* relates in his Travels, the Fame of it, in all Probability, was carried into *India*, where they still set up an Idol in the Form of a wreathed Serpent upon a Perch six or seven Foot high, which they devoutly worship, and solemnly carrying it along with them in their Travels, prepare it every Morning for the Company to pay their Adorations to it.

P. 28.

This



This *Brasen Serpent* was preserved as a Monument of the divine Mercy, but in Process of Time became an Instrument of Idolatry. When this Superstition began, is difficult to determine; but the best Account is given by *David Kimchi* in the following Manner. From the Time that the Kings of *Israel* did Evil, and the Children of *Israel* followed Idolatry, till the Reign of *Hezekiah*, they offered Incense to it; for it being written in the Law of *Moses*, *whoever looks upon it shall live*, they fancied, they might obtain Blessings by its Mediation, and therefore thought it worthy to be worshipped. It had been kept from the Days of *Moses*, in memory of a Miracle, just as the Pot of Manna also was: And *Asa* and *Jehosaphat* did not extirpate it, when they rooted out Idolatry, because in their Reign they did not observe that the People worshipped this Serpent, or burnt Incense to it; and therefore they left it as a Memorial. But *Hezekiah* thought fit to take it quite away, when he abolished other Idolatry, because in the Time of his Father they adored it as an Idol; and though pious People among them accounted it only as a Memorial of a wonderful Work, yet he judged it better to abolish it, though the Memory of the Miracle should happen to be lost, than suffer it to remain, and leave the *Israelites* in Danger to commit Idolatry hereafter with it. Our learned Dr. *Jackson* observes, that the pious *Hezekiah* was moved with the greater Indignation against the Worship of this Image, because in Truth it never was a Type of our Saviour, but a Figure of his grand Enemy, and therefore he expressed such Detestation of it, as not only to break it in Pieces, to grind it to Powder, and scatter it in the Air, that no superstitious Relick might remain of it, but to fix upon it the Name of *Nehubstan*, the Signification of which Word though not to be found in our *Lexicons*, yet in our *English* Language is conceived to import no less than *Satan*, the foul *Fiend*, or the old *Dra-*

Humiliation of
the Son of God.
c. 31.

gon.

Book V.



gon. There is a Fable among the *Jews*, that some Fragments of the Brazen Serpent remained till the Time of *Josiah*; and at this Day, as *Sigonius* relates in his History of *Italy*, they pretend to shew this Serpent intire at the Church of St. *Ambrose* in *Milan*: But the wiser *Romanists* are ashamed of this Imposture, and confess it is not the Figure made by *Moses*, (which was broken and never restored) but another devised in Imitation of it.

C H A P. VI.

The Idolatry of the Golden Calf.

Exod. xxxii
1, 2, &c.


THE *Molten Calf* was another Object of idolatrous Worship among the *Hebrews*.

They had hitherto been conducted through the Wilderness by a Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that went before them, but that Cloud now covering the Mount where *Moses* was, and not removing at all from thence, they imagined that it would no longer be their Guide, and therefore they applied to *Aaron* as supreme Governor of their Affairs, to make for them a Sacred Sign, or Symbol, as other Nations had, that might represent God in a visible Manner. They said to *Aaron*, say the *Jews*, We find that the *Egyptians* extol their Gods, they sing and chant before them, for they behold them with their Eyes; make us such Gods as theirs are, that we may see them before us. They desired, saith a Rabbi, a sensible Object of divine Worship, not with any Intention to deny God who brought them out of *Egypt*, but that something in the Place of God might stand before them when they declared his wonderful Works. *Aaron*, after great Debate and Importunity, complied with their Demand; for it is not credible, he would immediately consent

In Pirke Elie.
fer. c. 45.

Jehudah in Lib.
Cosri, P. 1. 9

97.

sent to so impious a Fact as this is without the Chap. 6.
least Argument against it. This is so improbable, 
that the *Jews* have invented this Story, that *Hur*
having rebuked the People for this Attempt, they
fell upon him and killed him, which frightened *Aa-*
ron into a speedy Compliance.

The Materials of this Idol were golden Ear-
Rings of the People, worn in those Eastern Coun-
tries, by Men as well as Women, and probably
they were some of the Jewels which they bor-
rowed of the *Egyptians*. These they presented
as an Offering to *Aaron*, who put them in a Bag,
and then, having a Mould, cast them into it, and
made a *Golden Calf*.

This Image was no bigger than a Calf, though
it had an Head like an Ox; and some imagine
that *Aaron* with a graving Tool, made the same
Marks upon it as were upon the *Egyptian Apis*,
which was a Cow that had a Spot upon her right
Side like a Crescent, (as some Writers observe)
and a square white Spot in her Forehead. But
others think it more reasonable, that the Calf com-
ing rough out of the Mould, he only polished it
with a proper Tool; for though *Apis* was in
great Honour among the *Egyptians*, yet it was a
living Cow, and not the Image of one which they
had in such Veneration. Therefore Mr. *Selden* De Dis Syris.
takes it to be more probable, that this golden Calf, Synt. 1. c. 4.
or Ox, or Bullock, (for so the *Psalmist* differently Psa. cvi. 12
calls it) was made in Imitation of that golden Ox^{20.}
that represented *Osiris*; for the *Egyptians* had a
mighty Veneration for the River *Nile*, called in
Hebrew *Sichor* (from whence came *Siris*, and for
the Dog-Star (called *Siris* likewise) at whose
Rising the River began to swell, and for the Sun
(which was principally intended by this Name)
to whom, both the Bull at *Heliopolis*, and the
Ox at *Memphis* were solemnly consecrated.

It is difficult to discover the Reason, that in-
duced *Aaron* to represent God in this Figure;
many are of Opinion, that he imitated the *E-*

Book V.

Exod. xxiv.
10.

Deut. iv. 15.

Hist. l. 4. c. 10.

gyptians among whom he had long lived, which to me appears unlikely, since he had seen the Judgments executed by God against all their Deities. Nor is it probable that he would make such a Representation of the Divinity as was in Use among a Nation, from whose Slavery they had lately been deliver'd; and further, what Reason is there to imagine, that the *Israelites* themselves could be inclined to believe, that their God was like any thing which that People worshipped, who abhorred the Sacrifices which the God of *Israel* required. Their Conjecture seems to be more reasonable, who say, that *Aaron* in making this Calf, took his Pattern from some Part of the *Shechinah*, which appeared to him and the Elders of *Israel*, (when they eat before God) attended with the Angels; some of which called *Cherubims*, they think appeared with the Faces of Oxen. But as there is no Mention in that Place of Cherubims, nor of Angels appearing in any Shape whatsoever, and *Moses* expressly says, the *Israelites* saw no Manner of Similitude on the Day when the Lord spake to them in *Horeb*, (and therefore in all probability, *Aaron* and the Elders saw none afterwards) so it is supposed, there is no Evidence, that the heavenly Ministers at any Time appeared in this Shape, till the *Shechinah* departed from the Temple in the Days of *Ezekiel*. It is therefore imagined, that *Aaron* made Choice of an Ox to be the Symbol of the divine Presence, in hope, that the People would never be so stupid as to worship it, but only to put them in Mind of the divine Power represented by it; for the Head of an Ox was antiently an Emblem of Strength, and Horns were a common Sign of kingly Power, which made the Christian Fathers perhaps, when they spake of this Calf, or Ox of *Aaron*, mention only its Head; because *Moses*, (says *Lactantius*) went up to the Mount and staid there forty Days, they made themselves the Figure of a Bullock's Head

Head, called *Apis* in *Egypt*, to be carried before them; not because he imagined that *Aaron* made only the Head, but because this was the principal Part whereby God was represented.

When the Idol of the Calf was formed, the People cryed out, that it was a proper Image or Symbol of the divine Majesty, which had deliver'd them from the Bondage of *Egypt*, and *Aaron*, at their Request, set it apart by a solemn Rite of Consecration; he built an Altar, offered Sacrifices, and kept a solemn Feast in Honour of it, and as at this Time, *Moses* had not prescribed any Rules for their Sacrifices, 'tis probable, that they sacrificed after the Manner of the Nations, and likely, after the Custom of the *Egyptians*. This mock Dedication was solemnized with Musick, Dancing, and Songs, and some imagine, that after they had eaten and drunk liberally, they committed Fornication, and all Manner of Lasciviousness, after the Manner of the Heathen Worshipers.

Moses upon his Return from the Mount, was an Eye-Witness of these abominable Festivities in the Camp, and being seized with a divine Impulse, he threw the Idol into the Fire, and melted it down, so that though the Matter remained, yet the outward Form and Shape of it was destroyed; he then filed it down to Powder, and grated it into Dust as small as Flour, and strawed it upon the Water of the Brook that descended out of the Mount. So that the People having no other Water, were obliged, when they were thirsty, to drink it with this Mixture. The *Jews* fancy, that the Dust of the Calf was thrown into the Brook, in order to discover those that were guilty of Idolatry, for upon such it had the same Effect with the Water of Jealousie, it made their Bellies swell, and their Beards, as some have fabled, turn yellow, but this Conjecture has no Support. The Design was to convince them, how vile a thing this Idol was, which was gone into their Draught, and mixed with their Excrements.

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The Excuse made by *Aaron*, when he was questioned about his Behaviour in this Matter, has given some Trouble to Expositors, for he seems to urge in his Defence, that he threw the Gold into the Fire without any ill Intention, and without meddling any further with it, out it came in the Form of a Calf, which made our Dr. *Jackson* think it more than probable, that there was some magical or dæmoniacal Skill practised in the sudden molting of this Idol, which very much increased the Peoples Superstition to it; for what else, says he, would *Aaron* mean by these Words, *I cast it into the Fire, and there came out this Calf*, than, that there was some secret invifible Operation whereby it was moulded into this Form in an Instant, which raised the Peoples Devotion to it. This learned Man falls into the Opinion of some *Jews* who go a great deal further, and imagine, that the Devil enter'd into the Idol, and made it roar like a Bull, to carry a greater Awe and Terror with it. But these seem to be Conceits invented for the Excuse of *Aaron*, who in the History is said plainly *to have made this molten Calf*, which he could not have done without designing it, and running the Gold into a Mould of this Figure. The *Jews* to this Day are very solicitous to palliate this Idolatry of their Ancestors, but with little Success, as appears from a Proverb for many Ages received among them, *That all the Miseries that have befallen them, are Morsels of the golden Calf.*

C H A P. VII.

The Golden Calves erected by Jeroboam at Dan and Bethel.

THE Calves set up by *Jeroboam* have so near a Relation to that of the Wilderness, that this seems to be a proper Place to give an Account of them ; for the Idolatry was altogether the same both in its Form and Matter, tho' the Cause be somewhat different. The History of this Transaction is thus related in Scripture. God to punish *Solomon*, for having turned his Heart to the Idols of his foreign Women, suffered that flourishing State which he had governed as King, to be torn to pieces at the Beginning of the Reign of *Rehoboam* his Son ; *Jeroboam* one of his Ministers, having found Means to make ten of the Tribes revolt against him, which remained thus divided from the rest till the Destruction of the whole Country by the Kings of *Affyria* and *Chaldea*. This revolted Prince, when he was fixed upon the Throne, easily foresaw, that he would soon lose both his Crown and Subjects, if he suffered the People, who were particularly bound to go up to *Jerusalem*, at the great Festivals, to perform their Worship in that Place. The Splendor and Magnificence of the Temple, the Majesty of Religion, the Address of the Priests concerned to bring back the Schismatics, and the Threatnings and Power of the King, he was afraid, would ruin his Designs. And therefore to prevent these Inconveniences, he made two Calves of Gold, and set them up, the one in *Dan* and the other in *Bethel*, the first being on the North Side, and the second to the South of the Frontiers of *Judaea* ; where he commanded his Subjects to offer their Sacrifices and

Book V.



Devotions. *Bethel* was, in the general Opinion, esteem'd as a sacred Place, having been consecrated by *Jacob*, when God appeared to him there more than once, and *Dan* had been famous for the *Teraphim* of *Micah* unto which there was a publick Resort of the People: For these Reasons it is supposed, he waded his royal City which was *Shechem*, and chose these two Places for the Residence of the divine Majesty, for so he pretended, that these Calves represented the true God who brought their Fathers out of *Egypt*, whom he did not forsake, but worship in these Symbols of his Presence.

It is observed, by the learned *Bochart*, that one Egg is not more like to another, than these Calves were to that which was made by *Aaron* in the Wilderness, only, as the *Jews* say, till the Time of *Jeroboam* the *Jews* sucked but one Calf, but from that Time they sucked two: And this Idolatry, it is probable, came likewise from *Egypt*, where *Jeroboam* had lived a considerable Time with the King of *Tosakim*, whilst he was banished the Court of *Solomon* and his Country. These Calves are spoken of by the Prophet *Hosea* in the feminine Gender, who calls them *Heifers*, or *young Cows*; The Septuagint say, *Jeroboam* made two golden *Heifers*, and so does *Josephus*, he made two *Heifers* of Gold, and consecrated to them two Temples. But most of the antient Interpreters conceive, that the Historians made use of this Expression signifying a Female, only to render the Worship of the Idols the more contemptible; and say, that these Calves were made in Imitation of the *Egyptians*, who had a Couple of Oxen which they worshipped; *Apis* at *Memphis*, the Metropolis of the upper *Egypt*, and *Mnevis* at *Hierapolis*, which was the chief City of the lower.

The Leader of the Rebels, as well as the Idolaters in the Wilderness, proclaimed before the Idols upon the Feast of their Consecration; *These are thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee*

out

Hos. x. 15.
1 Kings xii.
28.

Antiq. l. 8.
c. iii.

out of the Land of Egypt, as if he had said, God is every where in his Essence, and cannot be included in any Place; he dwells among you here as well as at *Jerusalem*, and if you enquire any Symbols of his Presence, behold here they are in these Calves which I have set up; for they could not be so stupid as to believe, that the Idols taken just before out of the Furnace, had been their Deliverers so many Ages before. It is evident, that the Worship of these Calves was not looked upon by the sacred Writers, and by the Prophets, as an absolute *Pagan* Idolatry, but only as a Schism, which was indeed very criminal in it self, but did not come up to the Degree of a total Apostacy; for the History of the Revolt of the ten Tribes introduces *Jeroboam* speaking not like a Person whose Intention was to make the People change their Religion, but as representing to them, that the true God being every where, was not confined to any certain Place, and therefore they might pay their Devotions to him, as well in *Dan* and *Bethel*, as at *Jerusalem*.

The Worship offered before these Images, it is supposed, was in Imitation of the Ceremonies of the *Mosaic* Law, or had it been otherwise, God would have reproached them with it by his Prophets, which, that he did, does nowhere appear: It is only to be observed, that *Jeroboam* alter'd the Day of the Feast of the seventh Month (being the Feast of Tabernacles) which instead of its being celebrated upon the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month, he transferr'd to the fifteenth Day of the following Month. So says the Text, *he offered upon the Altar that he had made in Bethel, the fifteenth Day of the eighth Month, in the Month which he had devised of his own Heart, and ordained a Feast, and offered upon the Altar, and burnt Incense.* Had he introduced any other Alterations, they would questionless have been mentioned in the History.

Chap. 7.


1 Kings xii. 33.

Book V.



2 Kings xvii.
37, 38.

The sacred Writ says, *in the Month he had devised*, but does not say, he devised the Feast, or Ceremonies of the Feast, which is generally believed he appointed to be celebrated every Year at *Bethel*, in the same Manner as the Feast of *Tavernacles* was at *Jerusalem*; but the most forcible Argument to prove, that he made no Alteration in the Worship, is thus stated: *Salmaneser* the King of *Assyria* having carried into Captivity the ten Tribes, sent into their Country a Colony of *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, who carry'd along with them their Idols, and worshipped them; but the King being informed they were devoured by Lions, because they did not worship the God of the Country, he commanded one of the Priests whom they brought from *Samaria* to be carried thither, and he dwelt in *Bethel*, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. This Expedient succeeded so well, that the Inhabitants were no more a Prey to the wild Beasts, which is thought a convincing Argument, that the *Samaritans* worshipped the true God, who had put them in Possession of that Country, and that it was by the same Manner of Worship they had received from *Moses*, otherwise this Worship could not have been prevailing with God to withdraw the Lions from among them.

The Priests of the Family of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, who had their Cities and Abodes among the ten revolted Tribes, to avoid joining in the Schism, retired most of them into the Dominions of the King of *Judah*, which proving a great additional Strength to the House of *David*, gave *Jeroboam* an Opportunity of seizing their Cities and Estates, whereby he eased the People of paying their Tythes, there being none to demand them, so he gratified them by making Priests out of every Tribe and Family, even in the extreme Part of the Country. Thus as he transferred the Kingdom from the House of *David*, so he removed



removed the Priesthood from the Family of *Aaron*, and let it loose, that any body might be admitted to that honourable Employment. This raised his Popularity, and, no doubt, ingratiated him with the *Israelites*; and it is supposed, as he had Priests, so he had *Levites* also of the same Stamp; that is, some to serve under the Priests as they did, but in Opposition to the established Rule, these lower Officers always minister'd in black Vestments. The Pontificate and Supremacy over this schismatical Priesthood, he reserved in his own Hands; for the Temple he erected to inclose his Calves, and the Altars he built for Sacrifices, he consecrated himself, and presumed to perform the highest Part of the Priests Office, which was to burn Incense. These Idols were at length destroyed by the Kings of *Affyria*; the Calf in *Bethel* was carried to *Babylon*, with other Spoils, by *Shalmaneser*, and the other in *Dan* was seized by *Tiglab-Pileser*, about ten Years before, in the Invasion which he made upon *Galilee*, in which Province the City stood.

C H A P. VIII.

Gideon's Ephod.

THE *Ephod* made by *Gideon* with the Spoil Judges viii. 22, &c. of the *Midianites*, became after his Death an Object of Idolatry. It is supposed to have been a long Vest, much like the Ephod of the High-priest, made of Purple, Gold, Crimson and fine Linen, and splendidly adorned with precious Stones; but the Use of this Ephod is not so easy to discover. *St. Austin* believed it was made in Imitation of the Quest. L. 7. Ephod of the High-priest, and by it must be understood all the Vessels of the Holy-place, as if *Gideon* had made the *Ephod*, and all belonging to

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to it, that is, a Tabernacle, and all the holy Vessels; so that himself and Family, and all the *Israelites* sacrificed in *Ophrah*, near the Tabernacle which he had built. Thus they did not worship the Idols, but worshipped God in another Place and another Tabernacle, and served him with other Vessels than the holy Vessels he had appointed, which was a plain Rebellion: But this Father is singular in this Opinion; and I find that of the *Jews* carries much more probability in it, that *Gideon* made this *Ephod* for a Monument of his Victory over the *Midianites*. It was, says a *Rabbi*, to be a Monument of the great Deliverance of *Israel*, and to shew how great was the Strength of their vanquished Enemies, that great Mass of Gold which was in the *Ephod* being made only with the Ear-Rings of the Prisoners. This is much more probable, and it is possible that *Gideon* might have a pious and devout Intention in setting up this Trophy, in memory of his miraculous Destruction of two hundred thousand of his Enemies, by three hundred Men only armed with empty Pitchers and Lamps in them.

Jarchi in
Locum,

But this Conjecture is found not to be well supported in every Part of it, for the *Rabbi* above pretends that *Gideon* put into this *Ephod* all the Gold that was taken from the *Midianites*, to shew how great was the Multitude of the subdued Enemies, when of their Ear-Rings alone, so great a Piece of Work was made. The Weight of those Rings was a thousand seven hundred Shekels. The *Hebrew* Shekel weighed about four Drachms, or half an Ounce; if you reduce seventeen hundred half Ounces into Pounds, the whole will amount to forty two, or forty three Pounds of Gold. Now it is hard to conceive how much Gold could come into one Garment, the Ground of which was certainly Scarlet, Purple, and fine Linen. Besides, there were other Rings, Boxes of Perfumes, Collars, and many



many more Particulars of greater Weight, perhaps than the Ear-Rings, which all seem to have been put into the *Ephod*. And St. *Austin* supposes it to be of massy Gold, because the Text saith, *Gideon set it up*; as if it were meant by it, that this Garment stood up of it self, because it was not Cloth or Stuff, but a melted Matter into the Form of a Garment, or Cloak: But the most easy Interpretation is this, That *Gideon* took part of the Spoils, and made of them the *Ephod* to preserve the Memory of his Victory, and reserved the rest for the Use of his House, which from that Time was a rich and considerable Family in *Israel*; for the Reader may observe, that it is said, *He made an Ephod thereof*, that is, out of this Offering, not that it was all spent upon it.

If it be inquired, why *Gideon* should chuse a kind of Raiment for a Monument, and not have erected a Pillar, or caused some huge Heap of Stones, to be rais'd, which, being the Practice of those times, might have preserved the Memory of his Victory? It is supposed by some, that instead of setting up a Pillar, and hanging up Trophies, he chose to make an *Ephod* as a Reason that he ascribed his Success only to God, and triumphed in nothing but only the Restoration of the true Religion, which he accomplish'd by his Victories: Besides, this *Ephod*, or *Gown* of *Gideon's*, is thought to be the Signal of Battle, and military Ensign to the Armies, under which the Soldiers met: If it be so, 'tis not to be wonder'd if *Gideon*, to preserve the Memory of the Defeat of the *Midianites* made choice of that which was the Signal and Standard under which the Soldiers had fought.

But how this *Ephod* of *Gideon* became an Idol, and perverted to the purposes of false Worship, is not so easy to determine; the most favourable Opinion is, that the People, after his Death, returned to Idolatry, and had this Fancy among others,

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1 Sam. xxi. 9.

others, that God would answer them where this *Ephod* was, as well as at the Tabernacle in *Shiloh*; but others suppose that *Gideon* having consecrated to God this *Ephod*, as a standing Monument of his Victory, his Religion required that this Piece so consecrated should be laid up in the Tabernacle, as the general Custom was among all Nations, that the Gifts made to the Gods were usually brought into their Temples, to hang there. The Sword of *Goliath* was accordingly placed in the Tabernacle, and *David* found it there. This *Ephod* therefore should have been in *Shiloh* where the Service of God was then settled, but from a Principle of Vanity he set up this consecrated *Ephod* in his own Town; however, both he and all the People looked upon it as a precious Remain dedicated to that God who had so wonderfully delivered them from the Hand of *Midian*, and probably he celebrated, in the very Place where he set this *Ephod*, some solemn Feast of Thanksgiving, for so great a Victory, of which this *Ephod* was a Monument, and built a Tabernacle, or a Temple for it: For the Scripture does not say, he put it in his House, but in his City, which may signify that he raised a Building to put it in, and built an Altar for it, where he offered Sacrifice and celebrated such Feasts as he appointed; and probably he looked upon it as a Symbol of the Divine Presence, much like to the Ark of God, or the *Ephod* of the High-priest: And the People met there, not only upon the festival Days, but also at other Times, to perform their Devotion to the Honour of God; for it cannot be supposed that *Gideon* should be guilty either of committing himself, or suffering others to commit such an Instance of Idolatry, as to worship that Cloth of Scarlet and Gold, which he had caused to be woven. This Worship proved unacceptable, and occasioned the Ruin of himself and Family; for though it was not strictly idolatrous, yet it was schismatical,

God

God having appointed the Tabernacle for the Place of his Worship, and therefore the Sacrifices made, and the Feasts celebrated any where else, could not be acceptable, though possibly, for some Time, they might be indulged by him. Chap. 9.

CHAP. IX.

Micah's Images, and Teraphim.

IT is commonly said by the *Jews*, that Idolatry was introduced into *Israel* by a Woman: Judges xvii. 7, &c.
This Person was a rich Widow, the Mother of one *Micah* an *Ephramite*; she had, it seems, devoted, or consecrated to a holy Use, a Sum of Money amounting to eleven hundred Shekels of Silver; but before it was applied to the Purpose she designed, she was robbed of it by her own Son, who after some time ingenuously confessed the Theft, and restored the Money. She immediately forgave the Fraud, and delivered the Money to him again, who by her Direction and for the Convenience of himself and Family, contrived a Place for divine Worship, at his own Home, in Imitation of the House of God at *Shiloh*, and provided Furniture that he thought proper for the Uses of Devotion. Accordingly two hundred Shekels he applied for the making a graven Image, and a molten Image, that he might make some Resemblance of God whereby to worship him at his own House, without the Trouble, upon all Occasions, of going up to the Tabernacle; for he did not intend to forsake the God of *Israel*, but only to pay Adoration to him by an Image. It is not certain whether this Silver was melted by the Founder, and then the Images were made of it, or that for this Sum of Money the Images were sold, made perhaps of Brass, and silvered.

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vered over; and this is more probable, because they would have been very small, if they had been made only of two hundred Shekels. Some have imagined, that these Figures were a Representation of the two Cherubims which covered the Ark; but this seems to be a wild Conjecture; for these Images were of different Kinds, the one graven and the other molten, but it is certain the Cherubims were both alike.

That the divine Service in his House might, in some Measure, resemble the holy Offices of the Tabernacle, he makes with the rest of the Money an Ephod, as a sacerdotal Garment for the Priest to wear whom he designed to appoint; and set up an Oracle or *Teraphim*, by which the Priest in his Ephod and other Habiliments, should enquire of God; for they were a Sort of Images whereby the *Eastern* People consulted the Deity, and hoped to receive Answers from him. His eldest Son he ordained for his Priest, and then having met with a young *Levite*, that was begging about the Country, he took him into his House, promised him a yearly Salary of ten Shekels, and a Winter and Summer Suit of Clothes, and with great Presumption consecrated him a Priest, who by the Law was absolutely incapable of the priestly Office; but this Chapel was robbed by a Party of the Tribe of *Dan*, who violently carried away the Furniture of it, and inticed the Priest along with them; the Images, the Ephod, and the *Teraphim*, they set up in the City of *Dan*, where afterwards, *Jerroboam*, fixed one of his Calves, and there they continued till the Ark of God was taken by the *Philistines*.

Judges xviii. 31


It is to be observed here, that this false Worship continued in this Place, notwithstanding the Zeal of many Judges who were good Men and great Reformers, but could not extend their Authority to the very Skirts of the Country, where Idolatry still lurked in this Corner of the

the Land. But God made Use of the *Philistines* as Instruments to put an End to it, for when they destroyed *Shiloh*, where the true House of God was, they subverted this *House of Gods*, as it is called, which they esteemed as a Resemblance of it. And perhaps, as the Ark was brought into the Field against the *Philistines*, so the *Danites* brought these Images with the Ephod and Teraphim, and the Priest who was slain with *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, or, as *Huetius* conceives, carried Captive into the Land of the *Philistines*, with a great many other *Israelites*. But this Place remained still so famous, for the Resort of People thither to worship, that when *Jeroboam* set up his golden Calves, he erected one of them here in *Dan*, as another in *Bethel*; where there having been a real Appearance of God in ancient Time to *Jacob*, the People were easily made to believe there had been the like in *Dan*, in the Time here mentioned.

C H A P. X.

The Samaritan Temple upon Mount Gerizim.

THE Defection or Schism of the ten Tribes, is sufficiently related in the sacred Writings, and may properly be divided into three Periods; The *First*, From the Time of *Jeroboam* to the Transportation of the ten Tribes by *Shalmaneser*; the *Second*, From the Time of their Transportation, to their return from their Captivity; and the *Third*, From their Return to the Appearance of Christ. *Jeroboam* chose *Shechem* for the Place of his Residence, which from thence, was transferred by his Successors to *Samaria*, and has given the Origin to the Name of the *Samaritans*. The Places appointed for

Book V.  for their Worship were *Dan*, and *Bethel*, where they set up their golden Calves, and established a Kind of Devotion in Resemblance of the divine Service perform'd at the Temple at *Jerusalem*. But as this *Samaritan* Worship was not the same with that of *Jerusalem*, but different in Ceremonials, and intermixed besides with some *Pagan* Ceremonies, it is doubted, whether this was a simple Schism in the first Period, or an actual Heresy and Idolatry.

The second Period takes its Beginning with the Time of the carrying away of the ten Tribes into Captivity. After which, the Kings of *Assyria*, in order to re-people the Country, sent thither Colonies of Men of divers Nations and different Idolatries; and so the Country fell into a Medley of Religion, in some Things resembling the *Jewish*, and in others the Worship of the Heathen. For their Idolatries the Vengeance of God sent Lyons among them, who having devoured some of them, because they worshipped not the God of that Country, they addressed themselves to the King of *Assyria*, who sent them a Priest to instruct them in the Service of the true God, which they embraced, yet not so as to abandon altogether their ancient Idolatry, which Mixture of God's Service and the Worship of Idols, continued thus till the Return of the *Jews* out of their Captivity.

2 Kings, c. 17.

The Governours of *Samaria* did all, what in them lay, to obstruct the Re-edifying of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which prov'd the Occasion of that mortal Hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, which continues to this Day. Nevertheless, the *Jews* intermarrying with the *Samaritan* Women, and by Degrees contracting a more intimate Correspondence with them, by the mutual Intermixture of these two People, the divine Worship was, in process of Time, in some measure, purged from their former Errors, and the *Samaritans* banished Idolatry from among them. Among those who had married

ried a *Samaritan*, was one *Manasseh*, who espoused the Daughter of *Sanballat*. The Story is fully related by *Josephus* to this Purpose.

Manasses the Brother of *Jaddua* the High-priest had married *Nicasso* the Daughter of *Sanballat*, which thing the Elders of the *Jews* resenting as a Violation of their Laws, and as an Introduction to strange Marriages, they urged that either he should put away his Wife, or be degraded from the Priesthood; and accordingly *Jaddua* his Brother drove him away from the Altar, that he should not sacrifice. Upon this *Manasses* addressing himself to his Father-in-Law *Sanballat*, tells him, that it was true indeed that he loved his Daughter *Nicasso* most dearly, but he would not lose his Function for her Sake, it being hereditary to him by Descent, and honourable among his Nation. To this *Sanballat* replied, that he could devise such a Course, as that he should not only continue to enjoy his Priesthood, but also obtain a High-priesthood, and be made a Primate and Metropolitan of a whole Country, upon Condition that he would keep his Daughter, and not put her away; for he would build a Temple upon Mount *Gerizim* over *Sichem*, like the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and this by the Consent of *Darius*, who was now Monarch of the *Persian* Empire. *Manasses* embraced such Hopes and Promises, and remained with his Father-in-Law, thinking to obtain a High-priesthood from the King: And whereas many of the Priests and People at *Jerusalem* were intricated in the like Marriages, they fell away to *Manasses*, and *Sanballat* provided them Lands, Houses and Subsistence: But *Darius* the King being overthrown by *Alexander* the Great, *Sanballat* revolted to the Conqueror, did him Homage, and submitted himself and his Dominions to him; and having now a proper Opportunity he made his Petition, and obtained it, of building this his Temple. That which forwarded his Request was, that *Jaddua* the High-priest at *Jerusalem*

Book V. had incurred *Alexander's* Displeasure for denying him Help and Assistance at the Siege of *Tyre*. *Sanballat* pleaded, that he had a Son-in-Law, named *Manasses*, Brother to *Jaddua*, to whom very many of the *Jews* were well affected, and had recourse; and might he but have Liberty to build a Temple in Mount *Gerizim*, it would be a great Weakening to *Jaddua*, for by that means the People would have a fair Invitation to revolt from him. *Alexander* easily condescended to his Request, and so he set about the Building with all possible Expedition. When it was finished it made a great Apostacy at *Jerusalem*, for many that were accused and indicted for eating forbidden Meats, for violating the Sabbath, or for other Crimes, fled away from *Jerusalem* to *Sichem* and to Mount *Gerizim*, and that became a common Sanctuary for Offenders. Thus far the Historian. This Temple was five Years a building, after the Model of that at *Jerusalem*, and remained standing about two hundred Years, when it was laid desolate by *Hircanus*, King of the *Jews*, about an hundred and thirty Years before the Nativity of Christ. It is difficult to determine, whether this Temple was afterwards rebuilt.

C H A P. XI.

The Principles of the Samaritans.

THE religious Principles of the old *Samaritans* have been mentioned in general, in the Beginning of these *Antiquities*, but in this Place they ought more particularly to be explained. It must be observed therefore that the *Samaritans* received no other Scripture but the Pentateuch, rejecting the Prophets and all other Books that are in the *Jewish* Canon. The five Books of *Moses* they have still among them, written in the old



old *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* Character, which was in Use before the *Babylonish* Captivity, from whence they boast, that theirs is the true authentick Copy, and that the Copy made by *Ezra* was a Transcript from theirs. This *Samaritan* Pentateuch has occasioned great Disputes among learned Men, some placing its Antiquity long before the Captivity of *Babylon*, and others insisting that it was introduced among the *Samaritans*, by *Manasseh*, and the apostate *Jews* that followed him; and because the old *Phœnician* Character was that only which the *Samaritans* were used to, they caused this Law for their Sakes to be written out in that Character, and in this they have retained it ever since. That great Critick, Father *Simon* seems to have cleared this Difficulty, and delivers his Sentiments in this Manner.

*Critical Hist.
of the Old Test.
E. I. c. 10.*

There happened, under *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*, a Schism among the *Israelites*, which divided them into two Kingdoms; one of these Kingdoms was called *Judah*, and contained those who remained at *Jerusalem*, stedfast to *Rehoboam*, and the Family of *David*, the others preserved the antient Name of *Israelites*, and left *Jerusalem* under the Conduct of *Jeroboam*. The Capital of their Kingdom was *Samaria*, whence they have been called *Samaritans*. This Schism having weaken'd the Republick of the *Hebrews*, *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria* conquered *Samaria*, and sent all the People captive into remote Countries, and at the same time planted in their Places Colonies of *Babylonians*, *Cutheans* and other Idolaters; but these finding themselves devoured by Lyons and other Beasts, demanded an *Israelitish* Priest to teach them the Law and Customs of the Country they came to inhabit, which was granted them; and this Priest taught them the Law of *Moses*, and it is probable that he brought them a Copy of the Law he was to teach them.

As the ten Tribes who followed *Jeroboam's* Side did not make an entire Apostacy from the

Book V. Religion of the *Hebrews*; they had without doubt preserved the Law of *Moses*; and it is this Law which the Priest, sent by *Salmanassar*, taught the Inhabitants of this new Colony, who were no more troubled with the Beasts, which before devoured them. 'Tis true, the People retained something of their old Idolatry; but that hindered not but that they also observed the Law of *Moses*, and offered Sacrifices according to the Ceremonies of this Law, though they offered others according to their antient Superstition. However it was with these *Samaritans*, it is certain, that they who are now so called have the five Books of *Moses* writ in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and in the antient *Hebrew* Characters, which are now called *Samaritan*; they have preserved nothing of their Idolatry, on the contrary, they observe the Law of *Moses*, more after the Letter than the *Jews*, and the Explanation of the Glosses contained in the *Talmud*, and which the *Jews* exactly follow, are altogether unknown to them. They have no other canonical Books but the Pentateuch, because all the other sacred Books which are in the *Jewish* Canon were certainly not published in the Time when they made their Schism, and that is the Reason that they acknowledge nothing for divine and authentick, but the Law of *Moses*.

We cannot certainly be assured that the *Cuthaeans* and other People, who came to inhabit *Samaria*, had Copies of the Law, because the Priest, who was sent to them, might have taught them it with the Ceremonies of *Moses*, without giving them Copies of a Law which they could not have understood, it being written in a Language which was altogether strange to them, and in Characters of which they had no Knowledge; but when they had quitted their antient Idolatry, and had built a Temple on the Mountain *Gazim*, where they offered Sacrifices as the *Jews* did at *Jerusalem*, it was necessary, they should have

have the five Books of *Moses*, and the Agreement that is between their antient Copy and that of the *Jews*, makes me think that at that time they did but copy that of the *Jews*, and that the Differences which are at present, proceed from Transcribers, excepting some Words which have been changed on Purpose to maintain their own Opinions and Prejudices.

As for the antient *Hebrew* Characters which are pretended to be kept by the *Samaritans*, one cannot from thence certainly conclude that they have preserved the antient *Hebrew* Copy of the Law: As soon as they had a Temple and the Books of *Moses*, they writ them in their ordinary Characters, as they yet write the *Arabick* in these antient *Samaritan* Letters: This Custom has likewise spread it self over other Nations of the *Levant*; and we see that the *Syrians*, whether *Jacobites*, or *Maronites*, or *Nestorians*, write the *Arabian* Language in *Syriack* Characters: The *Jews* of *Constantinople* likewise write the *Persian*, the *Arabick*, the *Vulgar Greek*, and the *Spanish*, in *Hebrew* Characters, as appears from two *Tetraple Pentateuchs* which they have printed in all those Languages at *Constantinople*. The *German Jews* likewise often write the *High Dutch* in *Hebrew* Characters, wherefore the Characters alone are not a sufficient Proof to shew, that the *Samaritans* having preserved the antient Manner of writing which was used before the Captivity, have likewise preserved the antient Books without any Change. Upon the whole, we may conclude that the *Samaritans* not having faithfully translated the *Hebrew* Text in some Places, we ought to have recourse to the *Jewish* Copy, which nevertheless hinders us not from correcting sometimes the *Hebrew* Text of the *Jews* by the *Samaritan*. They are two Copies from the same Original, each of which having its Failures and Perfections, the one may properly serve to assist the other. So much is judiciously observed by the *French Critick*.

Book V.



Besides the Pentateuch in the original *Hebrew*, the *Samaritans* have also another in the Language that was vulgarly spoken among them; for as the *Jews*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, degenerated in their Language, from the *Hebrew* to the *Babylonish* Dialect, so the *Samaritans* did the same: Whether this happened by their bringing this Dialect out of *Assyria* with them, when they first came to plant in *Samaria*, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the Speech of those *Phœnician* and *Syrian* Nations, who lived next them, or else had it from the Mixture of those *Jews* who revolted to them with *Manasseh*, is difficult to determine; and therefore as the *Jews*, for the sake of the Vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar Language, were forc'd to make *Chaldee* Versions of the Scriptures, which they call the *Targums* or *Chaldee* Paraphrases, so the *Samaritans* were forced for the same Reason, to do the same Thing, and to make a Version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar *Samaritan*, which is called the *Samaritan* Version. This Translation is not made like the *Chaldee* among the *Jews*, by way of Paraphrase, but generally by an exact rendring of the Text Word for Word. Not but there are some Variations and Additions, which either happened by the Errors of the Transcribers, or were designedly inserted by the *Samaritans*, the better to support their Cause against the *Jews*.

Another Difference in Religion, between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, relates to the Receiving of Traditions, which are strenuously embraced by the *Jews*, but rejected by the *Samaritans*, who abide firmly by the written Word; but what engaged them in the most violent Contests, was the Dispute concerning the Place where they ought to worship, the one contending for the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the other for that upon Mount *Gerizim*: Here, the *Samaritans* urge, were Altars erected, and Sacrifices offered by
Abraham

Abraham and *Jacob*, and therefore this Hill was appointed by God himself, to be the Place of Blessing, when the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, and accordingly *Joshua*, when he enter'd the Land of *Canaan*, caused the divine Blessing to be declared upon it; here likewise, he built an Altar upon it of twelve Stones, when he had passed the River *Jordan*, in Obedience to what God had commanded by *Moses*: And this, they contend, is the very Altar upon which they still sacrifice on that Mountain to this Day. But to defend this last Part of the Argument, and thereby reconcile the greater Veneration to Mount *Gerizim*, they have been guilty of great Prevarication in corrupting the Text; for whereas the Command is, that they should set up the Altar upon Mount *Ebal*, they have made a sacrilegious Change in the Text, and instead of Mount *Ebal*, have inserted Mount *Gerizim*, the better to support their Cause by it. These Mountains are in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, near *Samaria*, and in the Valley between them lyeth *Sichem*; but St. *Jerom* asserts positively, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the holy Scriptures; for these, he contends, were too small Hills lying near *Jericho*; but this Opinion receives no Countenance from learned Men.

The *Jews* accuse the *Samaritans* of two Instances of Idolatry committed in this Place; the first, that they worshipped the Image of a Dove, and the other, that they paid divine Adoration to certain Teraphims or Idol Gods, that were hid under that Mountain. The first Accusation (says the *Samaritan* Chronicle) is founded upon this, that in the Time of *Adrian*, a Figure of a Pigeon was set upon this Mountain, which made it self heard, when any *Samaritan* came there to worship: But it is more probable, that this Charge was first occasion'd by the Idolatry of the *Assyrians*; for that People having adored *Semiramis* under the Image of a Dove, the *Jews*



reproach'd the *Samaritans*, as Worshippers of the same Image, because they descended from them, and possibly they were so while they worshipped there other Gods with the God of *Israel*, but never afterwards. As to the second Charge it is true, that *Jacob* buried the Teraphim, or Idol Gods, that *Rachel* had stolen, under the Oak in *Shechem*, which they suppose to have been at the Foot of Mount *Gerizim*, and from hence, because the *Samaritans* worshipped in that Place, the *Jews* suggest, that the *Samaritans* worshipped there upon the Account of these Idols, and paid Adoration to them : But both these Charges are malicious Calumnies ; for after the Law of *Moses* had been brought among them by *Manasseh*, the *Samaritans* zealously worshipped the true God, and as sincerely abhorred Idolatry, as the most rigorous of the *Jews*, and so continue to this Day.

C H A P. XII.

The Samaritan Creed.

TO omit nothing that concerns the Religion of the *Samaritans*, I have two Things to subjoin before I conclude this Subject, which, tho' not strictly relating to the old Professors among that Sect, will yet be of Use to a more exact Discovery of their Principles. The *First*, Is a Confession of Faith, sent by *Eleazar* the High-priest, in the Name of the Synagogue of *Shechem*, to the great *Scaliger*, who applied to him for that Purpose ; the other is a Letter sent from the *Samaritans* at *Shechem*, to their Brethren in *England*, by the Hands of Dr. *Huntington*, sometime Chaplain to the *Turkey Company* at *Aleppo*, and afterwards Bishop of *Rapho* in *Ireland*, who,

it seems, had informed them, that there were some of the Sect of the *Samaritans* then abiding in *London*.

Chap. 12.



The Samaritan Creed.

1. The *Samaritans* observe the Sabbath with all the Exactness required in *Exodus*; for none of them goes out of the Place where he is on the Sabbath Day, but only go to the Synagogue, where they read the Law, and sing God's Praises. They do not lie that Night with their Wives, and neither kindle nor order Fire to be kindled; whereas the *Jews* transgress the Sabbath in all these Points: For they go out of Town, have Fire made, lie with their Wives, and even do not wash themselves after it.

2. They hold the Passover to be their first Festival; they begin at Sun-set, by the Sacrifice enjoyn'd for that Purpose in *Exodus*; but they sacrifice no where but on Mount *Gerizim*, where they read the Law, and offer Prayers to God, after which the Priest dismisses the whole Congregation with a Blessing.

3. They celebrate for seven Days together the Feast of the Harvest, but they do not agree with the *Jews*, concerning the Day that it ought to begin; for these reckon the next Day after the Solemnity of the Passover; whereas the *Samaritans* reckon fifty Days, beginning the next Day after the Sabbath, which happens in the Week of the unleavened Bread, and the next Day after the seventh Sabbath following, the Feast of the Harvest begins.

4. They observe the Feast of Expiation the Tenth of the seventh Month; they employ the four and twenty Hours of the Day in Prayers to God, and singing his Praises, and Fasting. For all except sucking Children fast, whereas the *Jews* except Children under seven Years of Age.

5. The

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5. The fifteenth of the same Month, they celebrate the Feast of the Tabernacles upon the same Mount *Gerizim*.

6. They never defer Circumcision farther than the eighth Day, as it is commanded in *Genesis*, whereas the *Jews* defer it sometimes longer.

7. They are oblig'd to wash themselves in the Morning, when they have lain with their Wives, or have been sullied in the Night by some Uncleaness, and all Vessels that may become unclean become so, when they touch them before they have washed.

8. They take away the Fat from Sacrifices, and give the Priests the Shoulder, the Jaws, and the Belly.

9. They never marry their Neices as the *Jews* do, and have but one Wife, whereas the *Jews* may have many.

10. They believe in God, in *Moses*, and in Mount *Gerizim*. Whereas, say they, the *Jews* put their trust in others, we do nothing but what is expressly commanded in the Law by the Lord, who made use of the Ministry of *Moses*; but the *Jews* swerve from what the Lord hath commanded in the Law, to observe what their Fathers and Doctors have invented.

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Eleazar added to this, that they reckoned a hundred twenty two High-priests from *Aaron* to their Time; they have a Catalogue and Succession of them. They believe themselves to be of the Posterity of *Joseph* by *Ephraim*, and that all their High-priests descend from *Phinehas*; whereas the *Jews* have not one of that Family. They boast that they have preserved the *Hebrew* Characters, which God made use of to promulgate his Law; whereas the *Jews* have a Way of Writing from *Ezra*, which is cursed for ever. And indeed, instead of looking upon *Ezra* as the Restorer of the Law, they curse him as an Impostor, who hath laid aside their old Characters to use new ones in their room; and

and authorized several Books that were written to support the Posterity of *David*. Chap. 13.

Several Attempts have been made to convert these *Samaritans*; but they have been oppressed instead of being made *Christians*, and they are reduced to a small Number rather by Misery, than by the Multitude of those that have been converted. Nay, they seem more stubbornly wedded to their Sect than the *Jews*, tho' these adhere very stily to the Law of *Moses*. At least *Nicon*, who lived after the twelfth Century, setting down the Formalities used at the Reception of Hereticks, observes, that if a *Jew* had a Mind to be converted, to avoid the Punishment or Payment of what he ow'd, he was to purifie himself, and satisfie his Creditors before he was admitted. But as for the *Samaritans*, they were not received before they had been instructed two Years, and they were required to fast ten or fifteen Days before they professed the Christian Religion, and to be Morning and Evening at Prayers, and to learn some Psalms: Others were not used with so much Rigor. The Term of two Years that were enjoined to the *Samaritan* Profelytes, is an Argument that they were suspected, and the Reason why they were so, was, that they had often deceived the *Christians* by their pretended Conversion.

Cotelier.
Monum.
T. 3. p. 422.

C H A P. XIII.

*A Letter of the Samaritans at Sichem,
to their Brethren in England.*

IN the Name of the Almighty adorable God,
in the Name of the great Lord, who is by
himself, our God, the God of our Fathers,
Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has said in his
Law, I am the God of *Bethel*, the supreme God,
Lord

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Lord of Heaven and Earth, God Almighty, who has sent *Moses* the Son of *Amram* commissioned with his Laws, and by his Means has revealed the Holiness of Mount *Gerizim*, and of the House of God.

We salute you, O Synagogue of *Israel*, the People of our Lord and Master, who has chosen this People above all Nations of the Earth, for you are a People holy to the Lord. We call our selves *Samaritans*, and we assure you, our Brethren in *Israel*, that we are extremely devoted to *Moses* the Prophet, and to the holy Law. We observe the Sabbath, as God has commanded. For on that Day, no body moves out of his Place, except it be to pay his Devotions at the House of the Lord. As all those who sought God, went to the Tabernacle of Witness, we do nothing there but read the Law, praise God, and pay him our Thanksgivings; and whereas the *Jews* ride on Horse-back, go out of the City, light Fires on that Day, and lye with their Wives, we separate our selves the Night of the Sabbath, and light no Fire. The *Jews* don't wash for every kind of Pollution, but we do, and purifie our selves thereby. We pray to God Evening and Morning, according to the Command he has given us, You shall offer me a Lamb in the Morning, and another Lamb between the two Evenings. We lie upon the Ground when we worship God, before Mount *Gerizim*, the House of God.

We have seven solemn Feasts wherein we assemble; The *First*, Is the Feast of the Passover, at the Time that our Fathers came out of *Egypt*. We sacrifice the Lamb the fourteenth Day of the first Month, at Evening, a little before Sun-setting, and eat it roasted with unleavened Bread and bitter Herbs. We make this Sacrifice only upon Mount *Gerizim*, and we prepare it on the first Day of the Month *Nizan*, according to the *Greeks*. We reckon seven Days for the Feast

of

of unleavened Bread, on six whereof, we eat Chap. 13.
 Bread without Leaven: On the seventh we go 
 early at break of Day to Mount *Gerizim*, to celebrate the Feast and read the Law. When Prayers are ended the Priest gives the Blessing to the People from the Top of the eternal Mountain. We do not begin to reckon the fifty Days of the Feast of Harvest like the *Jews*, from the Morrow of the Feast of the Passover, but we reckon them from the Day following the Sabbath that happens in the Feast of unleavened Bread, till the Morrow of the seventh Sabbath, on which we celebrate the Feast of the Harvest upon *Gerizim*: We celebrate also the seventh Month, which begins with the Feast of Trumpets. Ten Days after is that of *Propitiations*, in which we sing Hymns, and say Prayers, from one Day to the other Night and Day. The Women and Children fast as well as the Men, and we dispense with none but those that suck, whereas the *Jews* dispense with all under seven Years old. We observe the Feast of Tabernacles upon Mount *Gerizim* the fifteenth of the seventh Month. We set up Tabernacles according to the Order given us by God, Ye Levit. xxiii. 40.
 shall take the Boughs of goodly Trees, Branches of Palm-Trees, and the Boughs of thick Trees, and Willows of the Brook. We spend seven Days in Joy under these Tents, and on the Eighth we end the Feast of the Lord with an Hymn.

We very circumspectly observe, whether the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon happens in the Night, or in the Day before Noon. If it happens before Noon, that Day is the first of the Month; but if it happens at twelve a-Clock or a little after, we delay the Beginning of the Month till the Morrow. If the Conjunction be Lunary, the Month continues twenty nine Days, but thirty, if it be Solary. If the new Moon falls on the Eleventh of the Month *Adar*
 of

Book V. of the *Greeks*, we intercalate a Month, and we reckon thirteen that Year ; and the Month that immediately follows is the first Month of that Year. But if the Month begins on the Twelfth of *Adar*, or some Days after, then that is the first Month of the Year, and we reckon but twelve ; for the Week of unleavened Bread must be in the Month *Nizan*. The *Jews* reckon otherwise than we. We begin the Sabatick Year and the Jubilee from the first Day of the seventh Month.

We sprinkle the Water of Separation the third and fourth Day upon all that are defiled by the Contact of Women ; and we sprinkle it seven Days upon the Woman that has an Issue upon her. The Woman who is delivered of a Boy separates only forty one Days, and eighty if it be a Girl. The Circumcision is exactly made the eighth Day after the Birth, without deferring it one single Day, as do the *Jews*. We purify ourselves from the Defilements contracted in Sleep ; and we touch none of the unclean Things specified in the Law, without washing in clean Water. We offer to God the Fat of the Victim, and give the Priest the Shoulder, the Jaws, and the Ventricle.

It is not lawful for us to marry a Niece or Cousin, as is done by the *Jews*. We believe in *Moses* and in Mount *Gerizim*. We have Priests of the Race of *Levi*, descended in a right Line from *Aaron* and *Phineas*. We are all of the Tribe of *Joseph* by *Ephraim*, *Manasses*, and of the Tribe of *Levi*. Our Habitation is in the holy City of *Sichem* and at *Gaza*. We have a Copy of the Law written in the Time of Grace, in which we read these Words. *I Abishai the Son of Phineas, the Son of Eleazar, the Son of Aaron, have written this Copy at the Door of the Tabernacle, in the thirteenth Year of the People of Israel's Entrance into the Land of Canaan upon its Frontiers. We read this Law in Hebrew, which*
is

is the holy Tongue, and do nothing but according to the Commands of God, given us by *Moses*, the Son of *Amram*, our Prophet, upon whom is Peace for ever and ever. Chap. 13.

We give you notice, that are our Brethren Children of *Israel*, that *R. Huntington*, an Uncircumcised, is arrived here from *Europe*, and has acquainted us, that you are a great People, composed of Men pure and holy, like our selves, and that you have sent him to desire of us a Copy of the Law, to whom we would not give Credit till he had written before us some Characters of the holy Language, in order to assure you that we have the same *Mosaick* Religion that you profess. If we had not been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a Copy of the Law by the Hands of the Uncircumcised, for that is a Shame to us: Nevertheless we have committed it to him with two other little Books, that we might not absolutely deny your Request. We also conjure you in the Name of the living God not to deny ours, and to tell us what Religion you are of; tell us what is the Language you speak, the City you live in, the King that governs you, and what Religion he professes? Have ye any Priests of the Race of *Phineas*? Have ye only one Priest? In the Name of God tell us the Truth, without any Shadow of Disimulation, and send us a Copy of the Law, as we have sent you ours. Send us also some learned Men, some Prophets, some Persons of Repute, and especially some Descendant of *Phineas*; for know that God has chosen us Children of *Israel* to be his People, and to live at *Gerizim*, according to what he has said, *You shall seek their Habitation, and shall go there.* He has said also, *You shall keep three Feasts every Year, the Males shall rejoyce three times a Year before the Lord.* Know also, that all the Prophets are buried in the Territories at *Sechem*, our Father *Joseph*, *Eleazar*, *Ithamar*, *Phineas*, *Joshua*, *Caleb*, the seventy Elders, *Eldad* and *Medad*. If

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If you are willing to oblige us, acquaint us whether you are devoted to *Moses* and his Law, to *Gerizim* and the House of God; and send us some Persons without being concerned about the Length of the Journey. Do not intrust a *Jew*, for they hate us; if you send us any Deputy, give us notice by some Friend. If ye have the Book of *Joshua*, and any Liturgy, send up that also. Tell us what your Law is; as for us we call the Law what begins with the first Word of *Genesis* and ends with the last of *Deuteronomy*. Cause all this to be copied for us in the holy Tongue, and tell by what Name you go. We adjure you by the Name of the Living God, not to suffer a Year to run over your Heads without giving us an Answer. In the mean time we bless God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and we implore his Mercy and his Justice to instruct you in all that can please him, and to guide you in the good Way, *Amen*: May he preserve you, and deliver you from the Hands of your Enemies, and gather you together from your Dispersions, into the Land of your Fathers, through the Merits of *Moses*.

We add, that this is our Faith. We believe in God, in *Moses* his Servant, in the holy Law, in Mount *Gerizim* the House of God, and in the Day of Vengeance and Peace. Blessed for ever be our God, and let his Peace rest upon *Moses* the Son of *Amram*, the righteous, perfect, pure and faithful Prophet.

We have written this Letter at *Sichem*, near *Gerizim*, the fifteenth Day of the sixth Month, which is the twenty seventh of the Lunary Month, in the six hundred and eleventh Year of the Creation of the World, according to the *Greeks*, the second from the Year of Rest. This Year the seventh Month will begin the fourth of *Elul*, according to the *Greeks*; and the next Year is the three thousand four hundred and eleventh
from

from the Entrance into the Land of *Canaan*, God be blessed. Chap. 14.

May this Letter, by the Help of God, arrive into the City of *England*, to the Synagogue of the *Samaritan* Children of *Israel*, whom God preserve.

It is written by the Synagogue of *Israel* dwelling at *Sichem*. *Mechab* the Son of *Jacob*, a Descendant of *Ephraim*, the Son of *Joseph*, was the Secretary.

C H A P. XIV.

A Schismatical Temple built by Onias in Egypt.

ABOUT a hundred and sixty Years before the Birth of *Christ*, there was another Schismatical Temple built in *Egypt* by *Onias*, a fugitive Priest, who being disappointed of the Pontificate at *Jerusalem*, to which he had a Right by Succession, was protected by *Ptolomy Philometor* and his Queen, and had the principal Management of the Government during the latter End of that Prince's Reign. His Power and Interest with the King he made use of to obtain Leave for the Building of a Temple in *Egypt*, after the Model of that at *Jerusalem*, with a Grant for himself and his Descendants to officiate always as High-priest in it. For this Purpose he wrote a Letter to *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* his Queen, which is related by *Josephus* in this Manner.

During the time that I was employed in your Wars, and by Gods favourable Assistance have done you many Services, I have visited Cœlosyria and Phœnicia; I have been in the City of Leontopolis in the Territories of Heliopolis; I have also seen many other Places wherein the Jews have

Antiq. Lib. 13.
c. 6.

Vol. III. F Temples

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Temples against all manner of Right, which is the reason that they agree not among themselves ; which is what has happened among the Egyptians through the Multitude of Temples, and the great Diversity of Religions ; and having found out a very convenient Place near a Castle called Bubastis, in the Plain, where there is sufficient of all Sorts of Materials for Building, and of Beasts fit for Sacrifice, I beseech you that it may be lawful for me to purify the Temple that is levelled in that Place with the Ground, and dedicated to no sacred Power ; and that in the Room of it, it may be lawful for me to raise a Temple in Honour of the highest God, according to the Pattern, and the same Dimensions of that Temple which is in Jerusalem, for the Preservation and Prosperity both of you, your Queen and Children ; and to the Intent that those Jews, who dwell in Egypt, may assemble and serve God in it ; for the more they are united among themselves, the more readily they will be disposed to your Service. For to this Effect is the Prophecy of Isaiah which saith thus, There shall be a Temple of our Lord God in Egypt. And many other things has the Prophet foretold concerning this Place.

Isaiah xix. 18,
19.

The Answer to this Letter is thus recorded by the same Historian.

King Ptolomy and Queen Cleopatra, to Onias the High-priest, Health. We have perused your Letter, by which you request of us to give you Leave to cleanse the Temple that is defaced at Leontopolis under the Prefecture of Heliopolis, in the Place called Bubastis, in the Plain. We are much surprized that a Temple built in a Place so unclean, and full of execrable Beasts, should be agreeable to a God ; but since you inform us that the Prophet Isaiah did long ago foretel the same, we give you Leave, if it may be done according to the Law, and with this Condition, that we commit no Sin against the Deity.

The

The learned *Cunæus* has curiously remarked upon this Occasion, that *Onias* sent a Letter to *Ptolomy* and *Gleopatra*, wherein he accuses his Countrymen because they had built Sanctuaries in the *Phœnician* Cities, and other Places, contrary to the Law; being himself guilty of no less a Crime, having built a Temple at *He-liopolis*, pretending the Authority of the Prophet *Isaiab* to countenance his ambitious Enterprize. This, says he, could not be done without Violation of the Ceremonies; for it is thus decreed among the Constitutions of the antient *Jews*, which *Rabbi Moses*, the *Egyptian* delivers thus. If one has transgressed the Law, and built another House besides the Sanctuary at *Jerusalem*, it is not indeed to be accounted a Temple of Idols, but the Priest that has served there can never sacrifice at the Sanctuary of God which is at *Jerusalem*. Nay, the Vessels which he has used no Man shall apply to the Offices of the true Sanctuary, but they must be hid.

Chap. 14.
De Rep. Hebr.
l. 1. c. 8.

L. 8. in Hal.
Biath. c. ult.

It must be observed, that the Prediction in *Isaiab*, was introduced by *Onias*, not only to influence the King in his Favour; but to reconcile the *Jews* to this new Scheme, whose fixed Principle it was, that *Jerusalem* was the only Place appointed for divine Worship, and that it was criminal to offer Sacrifice but at the Temple. The Prophecy runs thus: *In that Day shall five Cities in the Land of Egypt speak the Language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts, and shall be called the City of Destruction. In that Day there shall be an Altar unto the Lord in the midst of the Land of Egypt, and a Pillar at the Border thereof unto the Lord.* This Prophecy (which had Regard only to the future State of the Gospel in that Country) was perverted by *Onias*, as if it respected the Times he lived in, and he prevailed with all the *Jews* that were in *Egypt*, to receive it in that Acceptation; and indeed this Temple in *Egypt* was al-

Book V. ways more favourably thought of by the *Jews* in *Palestine*, than that of the *Samaritans* upon Mount *Gerizim*.

His Design being approved by the King and the *Jews* in *Egypt*, he immediately set about the Building, in the Place before-mentioned; which was about twenty four Miles from *Memphis*, where had formerly stood an old Temple of *Bubas*, which is another Name for *Isis* the great Goddess of the *Egyptians*. This Fabrick was wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore *Onias*, having removed the Ruins, raised his new Temple upon the same Spot. He made it exactly after the Pattern of that at *Jerusalem*, tho' not altogether so high and magnificent; and there he placed an Altar for burnt Offerings, an Altar of Incense, a Shew-bread Table, and all other Utenfils necessary for the *Jewish* Service; only instead of the golden Candlestick of seven Branches, there was a Lamp which hung before the Altar by a golden Chain, from the Roof of the House. The Area of the Temple was surrounded with a high Wall of Brick, and the Gates were of Stone: He placed Priests and *Levites*, who had as much Zeal and Devotion as himself, to officiate in the Service, who were plentifully maintained by a large Revenue settled by the King; and from that Time the divine Worship was carried on in the same Manner and Order as in the Temple at *Jerusalem*; till at last this Temple was, at first, shut up, and afterwards wholly destroyed by the Command of *Vespasian* the *Roman* Emperor, after it had stood about two hundred twenty four, but according to *Josephus*, three hundred thirty and three Years.



CHAP. XV.

*The Gods of the Canaanites or Syrians ;
Baal-Peor, Chemosh.*

MR. Selden, in his learned Treatise of the *Syrian Gods*, takes Notice of a Goddess whom he calls *Good Fortune*, as the first Idol mentioned in Scripture, and worshipped by the *Hebrews* : This Opinion is founded upon what *Zilpah* said when she was delivered of *Gad* one of the Sons of *Jacob*, *Behold a Troop cometh*, which the *Hebrew Writers* generally expound by *Good Fortune* ; for so it seems, that *Gad* may signifie in the Original ; but the Exposition which renders it, *I am come in a lucky Hour*, or as St. *Chrysostom*, *I have obtained my Desire*, is esteemed a more just Interpretation, and meets with better Reception from the best Expositors.

Syntag. Prim.
c. I.
Gen. i. 30.

In Gen. Hom.]

56.

Chap. lxxv. II.

With this supposed Deity, there is another joyned by the Prophet *Isaiah* called *Meni*, you prepare a Table for *Gad*, and furnish the drink Offerings unto *Meni* ; but many of the learned *Hebrews* will not allow this Text to speak of a Deity, but think that the Prophet does here only upbraid the *Israelites* with their Licentiousness. By *Gad* they mean a *Troop*, and by *Meni* they understand a *Number* ; and thus *Abarbinel* interprets it in his Commentary upon this Place. Ye forget, says he, my holy Mountain, because this Mountain was desolate and none mourned for it. All your Care is to feast together, to kill Beasts and eat their Flesh, and to make rich compound Liquors ; because you prepare a Table for your Society, to give them wherewithall to eat till they are full, and you fill your mix'd Liquors for *Meni*, that is, you offer many Cups of

Book V.



this delicious Wine, according to your *Number* of Guests.

Numb. xxv. 1,
2. &c.

The *Hebrews* were soon perverted to Idolatry, by the Imitation of the *Canaanites*, or *Syrians* among whom they dwelt, and fell into the Worship of a filthy Deity called *Baal Peor*, or *Baal Phegor*, a God of the *Moabites* and *Midianites*. They were seduced into this Corruption by the Women of those People, who inticed them by their Charms, but refused to comply with their Desires, unless they would eat of their Sacrifices, worship their Idols, and profess themselves Votaries of their Religion. This God of the *Moabites* is, by some, supposed to be the great *Baal* of the *Eastern Nations*, and the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and that he was called *Phegor*, from the Mountain in which he was worshipped, as *Jupiter* took the Name of *Olympius*, from Mount *Olympus*, and *Dodonæus*, from the Forest *Dodona*. It is certain there was in the Country of the *Moabites* a high Hill called *Pehor*, as appears by the History of *Balak* and *Balaam*: But it is most probable, that the Hill took its Name from the God, and not the God from the Hill; who is often called *Pehor* simply, which is an Argument that it was his proper Name, by which he was distinguished from the other *Baals*; I mean the other Gods of the neighbouring Nations.

Numb. xxiii.
28.

Syntag. prim.
C. 5.
Psal. cvi.

It was the Opinion of Mr. *Selden*, that *Baal Phegor* is the same with *Pluto*, which he grounded upon these Words: *They joined themselves unto Baal Pheor, and ate the Sacrifices of the Dead*. By which Sacrifices, he means such as were offered to the infernal Gods. But that is no sure Foundation for this Conjecture; for by the Dead we ought to understand, the Gods that were taken from among Men; for it was confessed by the Heathens themselves, that most of

of their Deities had been Mortals who lived upon the Earth. Chap. 15.

The constant Tradition among the antient and modern *Hebrews*, was, that this Idol was an obscene Deity, whose Figure, and the Manner of Worshipping it, was filthy and abominable. This Opinion is supposed to be founded upon the Words of the Prophet *Hosea*; *They went to Baal Pehor, and separated themselves unto their Shame*; Ch. 9, 10. From whence they collect, that this God was served by an obscene Act, which required his Worshippers to be uncover'd before him. The Adoration, says *Maimonides*, made to this Idol called *Pehor*, consisted in discovering the secret Parts before it. The Law therefore commanded the Priests to wear Drawers when they sacrificed, and forbad them to get up to the Altar by Steps, lest their Nakedness should happen to be uncovered. *Solomon Iarchi* goes further, and says, that *Baal Pehor* was so called, *eo quod distendebant coram eo foramen podicis & stercus offerebant*; but this is a ridiculous and groundless Fancy, it being altogether inconsistent with human Reason, that the Devil, who affected divine Honours, should delight in so shameful and filthy an Adoration. More Nevoch. p. 3. C. 4. 6.

St. *Jerom* received it by Tradition from the antient *Jews*, That this *Baal Phegor* was the *Priapus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and commenting upon *Hosea*, he has these Words, *Ipsi autem educti ex Egypto fornicati sunt cum Midianitis, & ingressi sunt ad Baal Phegor Idolum Moabitarum, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare. Denique interpretatur Baal Phegor Idolum turpitudinem habens, id est, in summitate pellem ut turpitudinem membri virilis ostenderet*. This Idol, as the same Father observes, was principally worshipped by Women, *colentibus maxime faminis* *Baal Phegor, ob obsceni magnitudinem, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare*. For the Reformation
F 4

1. Kings xv.
13.

ation

Book V.



ation made by the good King *Asa* is thus rendered by the vulgar Latin: *Asa* removed his Mother *Maacah*, that she might be no longer High-priestess in the Sacrifices of *Priapus*, and in the Grove which she had consecrated to him, he destroyed his Cave, and burnt that obscene Idol at the Brook *Cedron*. The Word we translate Idol in this Place, is *Mipheletseth*, which imports something of Horror, either because it was a Figure of a frightful Aspect, or brought dreadful Judgments upon its Worshipers. The modern *Jews* are of Opinion it is a general Name for all Idols, because it brings a Terror upon those that serve them; but it is more probable, that it was the Name of a particular Idol, it being only given to that of *Maacah*. The *Talmudists* own it to be an obscene Figure, *imago virilis membri cui quotidie inequitabat*. It may be added upon this Subject, that this God of the *Moabites* having given Name to one of their Mountains called *Pehor*, is an Argument, that he was worshipped on that Mountain, and therefore that he was a *Rural God*; and such was

Lib. I. Eleg. I. *Priapus*, called *Agricola* by *Tibullus* and *Ovid*.

Libatum agricolam ponitur ante Deum.

It is evident further, that Fornication was in a Manner consecrated to this filthy Deity; the *Israelites* joining themselves into *Baal Peor*, and at the same time committing Whoredom with the Daughters of *Moab*; which may be said likewise of *Priapus*, who was made *membrosior æquo*, only to signify his Lasciviousness; and therefore in those infamous Epigrams called *Priapæia* or *Lusus in Priapum*, he is called *Deus salax*.

Epig. 14.

*Huc huc quisquis es in Dei salacis
Diverti grave ne puta sacellum.*

And

And the Poet does, even there, encourage one to defile himself before he goes into the Temple; Witness these Words he adds: Chap. 15.

*Et si nocte fuit puella tecum,
Hac re, quod metuas adire non est.*

This obscene Idol is suppos'd to go under another Name, and was called *Chemosh*, a Word which in the *Hebrew* Language signifies *contrectatus*, or handled, and that agrees well with *Priapus pater contrectationum nocturnarum*, and was represented, *contrectans membrum virile obscenum lava tenens*. Others are of Opinion, that the God *Saturn* was worshipped under this Appellation. This Image, according to St. *Jerom*, was placed in a Temple upon Mount *Nebo*, which signifies *Prophecy*, from whence it is collected, that this was the Place where the God of the *Moabites* pronounced his Oracles. This Mountain was over against the Hill *Peor*, therefore the Temple upon it could not be the same with that upon the Mountain of *Baal-Peor*, but they were two Temples devoted to the same abominable Deity. To this Idol *Solomon* erected an Altar upon the Mount of *Olives*.

I Kings, xi. 7.



C H A P. XVI.

The Gods of the Ammonites, Milcom, Adrammelech, Hanammelech, Chiun.

THE *Ammonites* were Brothers of the *Moabites* Lot's Children, and the Offspring of his incestuous Conversation with his Daughters. *Moab* was the Son of the Elder, as *Ammon* of the younger Sister. Therefore having spoken of the Gods of the *Moabites*, those of the *Ammonites* come next of course; the *Israelites* as well as other Nations, having abandoned themselves to the Worship of those false Deities. The principal Idol of the *Ammonites* was *Moloch*, whose Image and Worship has been explained in a preceding Part of these Antiquities: But here it must be observed, that this Deity was sometimes called *Milcom*, and, if we believe the *Greek* Translation, had a Temple in *Rabbah*, the Capital City of the Children of *Ammon*; his Image had a Crown upon its Head that weigh'd a Talent of Gold, which was taken by *David*, says *St. Jerome*, when he sacked that City.

2 Kings xi. 5.
1 Chron. xx. 2.

This Idol had likewise the Appellation of *Adrammelech* and *Hanammelech*, the Gods of the *Sepharvites*, who burnt their Children to them in the Fire. The *Jews* indeed after their vain Fancies make one of them to have been in the Form of a Peacock, and the other of a Pheasant; but the Name and Worship plainly prove it to be the same Deity with *Moloch*; for *Meloc*, *Molech*, and *Milcom* signify King in the oriental Languages; and the Addition of *Adar* and *Hanam* are but Surnames to *Melech*, expressing some Attributes of the Deity. *Adrammelech* signifies a magnificent and mighty King, and *Hanammelech* im-

2 Kings xvii.
31.

plies

plies to *hear*, importing a hearing God, that is, a God that will hear the Prayers of his Votaries. A learned Writer of our own, *Dr. Hyde*, has a quite different Apprehension of these Words; for he will have *Adramelech* to signify the *King of the Flocks*, *Adre* being as much as *Grege*s; and *Anamelech* he conceives to be near of the same signification, *Ana* being the Word for *Pecus*, in the *Persian* Language, always signifying collectively in the plural Number the lesser Cattle, Sheep and Goats, of which he imagines these Gods had the Care; and were therefore worshipped. They were also celestial Constellations, as he there observes, which they imagined promoted the Breeding of Cattle, and had a kindly Influence upon their Growth and Increase.

Chap. 16.

De Relig.
Perf. Cap. 2.

The Prophet *Amos* to make us apprehend who *Moloch* is explains it by *Chiun*, a Word that has for a long Time perplexed the Learned. The Passage according to the *Hebrews* runs thus. *You have born the Tabernacle of your King and the Images of Chiun*, which is rather darkened than explained by the Version of the *Septuagint*, *You have born the Tabernacle of Moloch, and the Star of your God Rempham*. Who was that God *Rempham*, no Body knew, nor is it worth while to quote the various Opinions of the Learned in it: But we are obliged to *Monsieur de Saumaise*, who first informed us that *Rephan* or *Rempham* in the *Egyptian* Language signifies the Planet of *Saturn*, which he proves by an Alphabet of the *Egyptian* Tongue sent him from *Rome*, wherein are found the Names of the seven Planets. Upon this Knowledge we have no Cause to wonder that the *Septuagint* rendered *Chiun* by the Word, *Rhephan*, because they wrote in *Egypt*, and they must call that Idol by a Name known to those among whom they wrote; they lived in an Age and in a Place where they could not be ignorant, how *Saturn* was called in the *Cananean* Tongue; so that it seems beyond Dispute, that

Chap. v. 28.

Book V. that *Moloch* is *Saturn*, called *Repham* by the *Egyptians*, and *Chiun* by the *Phœnicians*, and his Image was carried under Canopies in Procession, which is called the Bearing of his *Tabernacle*.

C H A P. XVII.

Baal, Baalzephon, Baalberith,
Baalzebub.

THERE is no false Deity more famous in the holy Writ than *Baal*, and the most proper Place to consider it is next to *Moloch*, those two, in all probability, being Father and Son. The Word signifies Lord, Master, and Husband, a Name, which doubtless was given to their supreme Deity, to him whom they look'd upon as the Master of Men and Gods, and of the whole Nature. This Name had its Original from *Phœnicia*, *Baal* being a God of the *Phœnicians*, and *Jezabel*, Daughter of *Ethbaal* King of the *Zidonians*, brought this Deity from the City of *Zidon*; for he was the God of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and was certainly the *Zeus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Jupiter* of the *Latins*. This God was known under the same Name all over *Asia*; it is the same as the *Bel* of the *Babylonians*; and the same Name and the same God went to the *Carthaginians*, who were a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, witness the Name of *Hannibal*, *Asdrubal*, *Adherbal*, all consisting of *Bel* or *Baal*, being the Name of the Deity of that Country, which was according to the Custom of the East, where the Kings and great Men of the Realm added to their own Names those of their Gods. In short, it seems to be a Name common to all Idols, to whatever Country they belonged; and when it is mentioned in
the

the Holy Writings without any explanatory Circumstance annexed, it is usually understood to be the principal Deity of that Nation or Place, that the Text was speaking of. Chap. 17.

This false Deity is frequently mentioned in Scripture, in the plural Number, which may either signifie, that the Name of *Baal* was given to many different Gods, or imply a Plurality of Statues consecrated to that Idol, and bearing several Appellations, according to the Difference of Places; as the Heathens of old gave many Surnames to *Jupiter*, as *Olympian*, *Dodonean* and others, according to the Names of the Places where he was worshipped. The Septuagint interpret the Word *Baal*, in many Places, with a feminine Article, and make it to represent a Goddess as well as a God; it is difficult to discover, in the *Hebrew* Text, any Reason for this Notion of the judaized *Greeks*, for (if I mistake not) *Baal* in the *Hebrew* is always Masculine; but doubtless they had learnt by the *Phœnician* Tradition, that there was a Goddess as well as a God of that Name. What *Moses* says in his History of the Creation of the World, is remarkable, that God made two great Lights, the Sun to rule the Day and the Moon the Night; from whence these two Stars, doubtless, come to be called *Baalim* or Rulers; and the Moon having always been looked upon by most Heathens as a feminine Deity, because of its Moistness, Coldness and Weakness of its Rays: It is no Wonder, if the judaized *Greeks* made two *Baals* the Male signifying the Sun, and the Female the Moon. *Arnobius* observes, that *Baal* was of an uncertain Sex, and his Votaries, when they called upon him, invoked him thus: *Hear us, whether thou art a God or a Goddess*; and the Reason, why the Heathens made their Gods *Hermaphrodites*, of both Sexes, the learned in their Mysteries suppose, was to express the generative and prolifick Virtue of the Deity.

The

Sam. vii 4.

Gen. i. 16.

Contra Gent. L. 3.

Book V.



Exod. xiv. 2.

Selden de Dis
Syris Syn. i.
c. 3.

The false Gods of *Palestine* and the neighbouring Nations were called *Baal* in general ; but there were other *Baals* whose Name was compounded of some additional Word, such as *Baal-peor*, *Baalzephon*, *Baalberith*, and *Baalzebub*. The first of these is already explained, but the second has given some Trouble to Commentators ; some conceiving it to be the Name of a Town, or City, and called *Zephon*, to distinguish it from some other *Baal* that was near, either because it lay *North*, or had an eminent *Watch Tower* in it ; and others asserting it to be a magical Figure of *Baal*, set up by the Magicians of *Egypt*, near the *Arabian Gulf*, to hinder the *Israelites* in their Passage ; for *Baalzephon* they suppose to have been a great Plain, into which the *Hebrews* were to enter by the Chops of *Pihabiroth*, and here was an Idol worshipped, which looking from the *Red-sea* towards the *North*, was called *the Lord of the North*, as the Word *Baalzephon* imports. This Statue, they say, had a Power of Fascination, to detain the *Israelites* ; but this Conjecture seem to be ill supported, there being no such Images made under certain Constellations in those Times ; *Apollonius Tyanæus* being supposed to be the first Inventor of them.

Judges viii. 33.

Baalberith was the Idol of the *Shechemites* ; and the Temple of this Deity was the *Arsenal* and publick Treasury of that People. The *Hebrew* Word *Berith* signifies a *Covenant* or *Contract*, and this God is supposed to have his Appellation from his Office, which was to preside over Contracts and Covenants, and was much the same with *Jupiter Pistius*, or *Fidius* among the *Romans*. But there are Men of Learning who conceive this Deity to be a Goddess called *Beroe* by the *Greeks*, frequently mentioned by *Nonnius* the Poet, who says, that *Bacchus* would have married her, but being denied, she was afterwards married to *Neptune*. He makes her to be the Daughter of *Venus* and *Adonis*, and says she was the Goddess



deffs of the Town of *Beritus*, in *Phœnicia*, to which she had given her Name. Others conjecture this Idol represented the *Cybele* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and is the same with the *Syrian* Goddess, of which *Lucian* has left us a Book, but gives her no Name, she being called a Goddess by way of Eminence, being the Mother of the other Deities. He relates that there was nothing more magnificent than her Temple, and besides the rich Workmanship, and vast Offerings in it, there were some Marks of a present Deity; for the Statues were seen there to sweat, to move, and to pronounce Oracles, and a Noise was often heard there when the Doors were shut.

Some very learned Writers, according to the Groundless Tradition of the *Rabbins*, tell us, that no Flies ever approached the Sacrifices of the true God, whereas it was otherwise with the Pagan Victims; from whence they conclude, that the *Israelites* called the God of *Ekron* by the Name of *Baalzebub*, or (as the *Greeks* speak) *Beelzebub*, the Lord of Flies, in Contempt and Derision, because his Sacrifices were pester'd with Flies. Others have imagined, that this *Baalzebub* received his Name from a Power which he had of dispelling Flies that were exceedingly troublesome in those hot Countries, lying in a moist and hot Soil, near to the Ocean; but there is no more Foundation for this than for the other Opinion, though very great Men have appeared on both Sides.

This *Baalzebub* therefore is supposed to be represented by a Statue that had the Figure of a Fly, that is, he had upon a Man's Body, a Head which had something of a Fly, according to the Custom of the *Syrians*, whose Idols were generally of human Shape, with that of some other Animal. This Image was the God of the *Ekronites*, and they applied the Name of *Baal*, that is, *Lord*, to it, which is as much as to say, *The Lord Fly*. This was the *Numen* to whom King *Aba-ziab*

Book V. *ziab* sent, when he was mortally hurt with a Fall, to know whether he should recover. He not only neglected the true God, but the Idols of *Israel*, and must needs consult this buzzing Deity of the *Philistines*. *Pliny* had got some Tradition of this Deity from those Authors that he had met with, for he seems to speak of this very God of *Ekron*, or *Accaron* (for so the *Greek* and *Latin* Versions render it) whom he corruptly calls *Achorem Deum*, and tells us that some Inhabitants of *Cyrene* (for he and all Writers of that Way miserably mistake as to the Names of Places) used to call upon him when great Swarms of Flies visited them, and brought the Pestilence with them; but they were presently destroyed upon invoking and sacrificing to this God.

Nat. Hist. l. 10.
c. 28.

With Allusion to this vile but busie and vexatious Creature, the chief of the infernal Dæmons was stil'd *Baalzebub* by the *Jews*. A Fly is an Emblem of Impudence; and therefore when the *Egyptians* would signify this Vice, they paint this Insect, because that it is a Creature, that though often beat away, yet boldly comes again. The *Jews* therefore, who were near Neighbours to the *Egyptians*, and borrowed many things from them, applied this Title very fitly to the Prince of Devils, whose impudent and restless Assaults give him a just Claim to this Name of *Baalzebub*, the Lord Fly, or the Domineering Fly.



C H A P. XVIII.

Of the God Dagon.

DA G O N was one of the *Baals* or great Gods of the *Phœnicians*, and there is no question but the *Israelites* defiled themselves with the Idolatrous Worship of this Idol, as they did with the rest, who are charged in general with having worshipped the *Baalim*. This Deity was the God of *Ashdod*, by the *Greeks* called *Azotus*, a Place well known in the sacred History. The Name of this Idol is derived from *Dag*, which signifies a *Fish* in the *Phœnician* Tongue, and his Image had the same Shape which the Poets give to the *Tritons*. *Dagon*, says a *Rabbi*, Kimchi in 2 Sam. v, 2, from the Navel downward, had the Shape of a *Fish*, and from thence upward he had a human Form. But *Abarbinel* is of another Opinion, In eund. Loc, which is not so generally allowed, that this Statue had from the Navel upward and downward the Shape of a *Fish*, only his Feet and Hands were like a Man's. The Conjecture of De dis Syr. in Dagon, Mr. *Selden*, upon this Subject, is very probable, that the God *Oannes*, worshipped by the *Babylonians*, was the same as the *Dagon* of the *Phœnicians*; for 'tis unquestionable that the *Chaldeans* worshipped the same Gods, and often by the same Names. In Chronico. *Be-rosus*, quoted by *Eusebius*, says, that this *Oannes* had the Body of a *Fish*, and below the Head placed upon the Body another human Head, which came out from under the Head of the *Fish*. He had likewise a Man's Feet coming from under the Tail of the *Fish*, and had an human Voice. This Monster came every Morning out of the Sea, went to *Babylon* and taught Men Arts and Sciences, and every Evening returned again. *Selden* quotes also *Apollodorus*, who

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says, from the same *Berosus*, that in the Time of *Ædorachus* King of the *Chaldees*, which was long before the Deluge, there came out of the Sea a Monster half Man and half Fish, whose Name was *Odacon*, which was the Form in which *Dagon* was represented, the very Name also being the same with very little Alteration.

Lib. 2. ab
initio.

It has been observed before, that the Pagan Deities were of different Sexes, and this Idol it is supposed was a Male God at *Ashdod* but was a Female at *Ascalon*, where she had a magnificent Temple, and was called *Derceto* or *Dirce*, and was the same with *Atargata* the Syrian Goddess. The Origin and the Worship of this Goddess is given by *Diadorus Siculus* in this Manner; (it is in the History of the Birth of *Semiramis*) There is in *Syria* a City called *Ascalon*, near unto which is a Deep Lake, replenished with Fishes: Not far from this Lake stands the Temple of that famous Goddess, called by the *Syrians* *Derceto*, who has the Face of a Woman, and the rest of her Body like a Fish, for which this Reason is given by the most sensible Men of that Country. They say, that *Venus* bearing a Spleen against the Goddess caused her to fall in love with a young Man of *Syria*, pretty handsome, one of those who sacrificed. That *Derceto* having lain with this young Man, she conceived a Daughter, but being ashamed of the Crime she had committed, she slew the young Man, exposed the Child, when brought into the World, in a desert Place, and plunged herself into the Lake where she was transformed into a Fish; therefore the *Syrians* eat no Fish, to this Day, but worship Fishes as Gods. *Ovid* calls her *Dione*, and makes the Story otherwise; he says, that she being pursued by *Typhon* fled into *Palestine*, and found her self near the Banks of *Euphrates*, holding *Cupid* in her Arms; that hearing a Noise she threw her self into the River, and was received by two Fishes, which were afterwards placed in the Heavens.

Lib. 2. Fastor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The Idols worshipped in Samaria, during the Captivity.

THE Deities already explained are the principal Idols of *Palestine* ; but there are other false Gods that were worshipped in the holy Land, and were brought into *Samaria*, after *Salmanesser* had carried away the ten Tribes, by the Colony of Foreigners he sent to inhabit in their Places. These Men brought their Idols with them ; those of *Babel* their *Succoth-benoth*, the Men of *Cutha* their *Nergal*, the *Avians* their *Nibchas* and *Tartak* those of *Amath* their *Asfima* and the Men of *Sepharvaim* burnt their Children to *Adrammelech* and *Anamelech*. As for *Succoth-benoth*, that Idol will be considered when we come to speak of the Goddesses of *Syria* : The rest are unknown, except *Adrammelech* and *Anamelech*, who are supposed to be the same with the God *Molech*. These Deities have been more or less disguised by the *Greeks*, calling the Goddess of *Babel*, *Socoth-benith*, that of *Cutha*, *Ergal*, that of *Hamath*, *Asimoth*, that of *Ava*, *Eblozer*, very remote from *Nibchas* ; but they kept the Names of *Tartak*, *Adrammelech*, and *Anamelech*, placing before them the feminine Article ; it would be hard to guess why they did it, for (except *Succoth-benoth*) it is very probable they were all Gods.

Nergal the *Jewish Rabbins* would have to signify a Cock, but this is a malicious Calumny, suggested by their Hatred against the *Samaritans*. Their Conjecture is better received, who suppose that it signified Fire ; for the Men of *Cuth* are those that were afterwards called *Persians*, among whom the Fire was worshipped as the principal God.

Book V.

Hieroz. P. 2.
L. I. c.

God. The famous *Bochart* ingenuously confesses, that he does not know what *Nergal* was, but remarks, that there is a Sort of Palm-tree called *Nergil* by the *Persians*, *Arabians* and *Indians*, of which they report strange Things; from whence perhaps the *Persians* gave the Name of *Nergal* to this Idol, as in *Syria* their God was called *Rimmon* from the Pomegranate.

Ashima is the Name of the Idol worshipped by the People of *Hamath*, and said by the *Jews* to have the Shape of a Goat; the Heathens it is certain had their rural Gods, to which they gave this Shape; such were *Pan*, the Satyrs and Deities of the Woods represented with deep and sharp pointed Ears, and Goats Feet; but there is no Foundation to conceive this to be a Deity in that shape. Our great *Selden* modestly confesses that he is wholly ignorant who this God was. Some conceive him to be the same with *Mars*, because among the Ancients *A S* signified the same as *Agus* among the *Greeks*, and *Schemah*, they say, is as much as Hearing and Obedient, and conclude this *A S* to be the God whom the *Romans* called *Hesus* as *Lucan* mentions in his *Pharsalia*.

L. I. v. 443.

Horrentque feris altaribus Hesus.

But the most probable Conjecture is, that *Ashima* is the Name of God whom the *Hebrews* call *Hassem*, the Name, from whence *Ashima* is derived. Accordingly *Eben Ezra* in his Preface to the Book of *Esther* says, that he saw in a *Samaritan* Pentateuch, *Bara Ashima*, instead of *Bare Elobim*, which *Bochart* censures as a Falsity because no such Word is to be found in the whole Pentateuch of the *Samaritans*; yet this does not hinder but that it might be at that time in some Paraphrase made upon it.

The *Avites*, it is said, introduced *Nibchas* and *Tartak*, for their Deities; the first was a barking Dog,



Dog, according to *Abarbinel*, who derives it from *Nabach*, to *bark*. It is certain, that in *Egypt* there was a God called *Anubis*, that was worshipped in the hieroglyphical Form of a Dog, but it is doubted whether this superstition ever passed from the *South* to the *East*, especially since all other Nations abominated this monstrous Idolatry of the *Egyptians*. *Selden* thinks these two Gods of the *Avites* were the same Idol called by different Names, but was not able to give an Account of them.

Tartak according to the *Hebrews* signifies the *Ass*, a Creature often mentioned in the *Fable* and *Theology* of the Heathens ; we read of the *Ass* of *Silenus*, and the two *Asses* that helped *Bacchus* to pass a River in his *Indian Expedition*, which got them a Place among the Stars in the Sign of *Cancer*, in which Astronomers have observed two darkish Stars called by the Antients *Aselli*, or the *Ass-Colts*. In the fabulous Divinity of the *Egyptians*, there was also great Notice taken of the *Ass* which was the Symbol of *Typhon*, but far from worshipping it, it was to them an Abomination. They throw red *Asses* from Precipices, says De Isid. c. 14. *Plutarch*, because *Typhon* was red hair'd and of the Hue of an *Ass* ; and the Cities of *Busiris* and *Lycopolis* scruple to hear the Sound of a Trumpet, as being like the braying of an *Ass*. In short, they look upon an *Ass* as a defiled Creature. There is no Account to be found in the Records of any Nation that divine Homage was ever paid to this Beast, so that it is a malicious Fiction of the *Jews* to charge the *Samaritans* with this Idolatry.

Little Information is to be had concerning the forementioned Deities, but those that are spoken of in the History of King *Amaziah* are much more unknown to us. It is said of this Prince, that when he came from the Slaughter of the *Edomites*, he brought the Gods of the Children of *Seir*, and set them up to be his Gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burnt Incense unto

Book V



them. We know nothing of these Gods of *Seir*. The *Edomites* were the Posterity of *Esau*, who probably had deified *Abraham* and *Isaac*, their Ancestors, according to the Custom of the *Eastern* People; but by what Names we are ignorant of. It cannot be supposed, that these Gods of the *Edomites* were the same with those of the *Phœnicians*: If so, Scripture would not tell us, that *Amaziah* brought them to Jerusalem and worshipped them; for the Worship of the *Baalim* of *Palestine* could be neither new nor unknown in *Judæa* where it had been often settled in the foregoing Reigns; and history makes it plain, that the Kings of *Judah* did often join with the ten Tribes in their Idolatry, which Tribes not only worshipped the *Calves*, but paid Adoration to the *Baalim*, or the *Syrian* Deities.

Some Authors pretend to have found out an Idol called *Aretsa* in this Passage of Scripture; *1 King. xvi. 9.* And his Servant *Zimri*, Captain of half his Chariots, conspired against him as he was in *Tirzah*, drinking himself drunk in the House of *Arzah*. The *Chaldean* Paraphrast has these Words upon it; *When he drank himself drunk in the Temple of Arzah, an Idol, which stood near the Palace in Tirzah.* If this were a Deity, it must be the Earth called *Cybele* by the *Gentiles*; but the Opinion of the *Jews* is the most probable, that *Arzah* in this Place is the Name of a Man who was Steward to the King of *Israel* in *Tirzah*, in whose House he was carousing when he was surprized by the Conspirator and slain.

There are two other Deities who have given great Trouble to Expositors, but with little Satisfaction. *Rimmon* a God of the *Syrians* that was worshipped at *Damascus* and *Nisroch*, a God of *Nineveh*, in whose Temple *Sennacherib* was killed by his rebellious Children. The first is mentioned in the History of *Naaman* and *Elisha*, but once spoken of in the sacred History, nor is he to be met with at all elsewhere; and so he is

to be abandoned to Conjectures. Some conceive this Deity to be *Venus*, because *Rimmon* in the *Hebrew* signifies a Pomegranate, which Fruit is consecrated to that Goddess. Others understand this Idol to be *Jupiter*, the Thunderer. Our *Selden* thinks it is derived from *Ram*, which signifies High ; so that this God is the same with that called *Elion* by the *Phœnicians*, that is, the most high God. Chap. 19.



We are almost as much in the Dark as to *Nisrock* the God of *Nineveh*. The Seventy call this Deity *Nesorach*, and in *Isaiab*, where this Story is related, *Asarach* ; but what any of these Names signify Mr. *Selden* acknowledges he cannot discover, having in all his reading never met with any thing that might explain it. The *Jews* have a strange Vision concerning this God, and fancy it to be a Plank of *Noah's* Ark, the Reliques of which *Josephus* tells us some reported were in his Time, in the neighbouring Mountains of *Armenia*. Some think that the Word signifies as much as the Bird of *Noah*, that is, a Dove, which was worshipped by the *Syrians* ; or as others conjecture, (for they can do no more) this Word is derived from *Nes*, which in *Chaldee* signifies a Province, and *Rac*, which signifies a King, that is, *Jupiter* the King and Conservator of that Province. It is certain that *Nisrock*, or rather *Nisrach*, signifies an Eagle, which has given occasion to an Opinion, that *Jupiter Belus*, from whom the *Assyrian* Kings pretend to be descended, was worshipped under the Figure of an Eagle, and by the Name of *Nisrock*. The Scripture it self takes notice of the Eagle as the Symbol of the Kings of *Chaldee*, this *Belus* his Successors. *Ezekiel*, who was one of those Captives that were transported into *Babylon*, prophecyng the Ruin of *Jerusalem* declares, that a great Eagle with great Wings, long winged, full of Feathers, which had divers Colours, came into *Babylon*, and took the highest Branch of the Cedar ; which 2 King. xix. 37.

Chap. vi. 3.

Book V. explaining afterwards in less figurative Terms,
 Chap. vi. 12. says he, *Say now to the rebellious House, Know ye not what these Things meant? Tell them, Behold the King of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and has taken the King and Princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon.*

Chap. viii. 14. I know but of one male Deity more mentioned in Scripture; of whom nothing has been said as yet, and that is *Thammuz* spoken of by *Ezekiel*. The same is supposed to be *Adonis*, the Darling of *Venus*, and so I look upon him as inseparable from this Goddess; and therefore I shall reserve him to be explained in the Chapter that treats of the *Syrian Venus*.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Idol Cybele, or Baal-berith.

IT has been observed, that the Mother of the Gods known among the *Latins*, by the Name of *Cybele*, is mentioned in Scripture, under the Appellation of *Baal-berith*, which being commonly understood as a God among Authors, I therefore left her among the masculine Deities. The most famous of her Daughters was *Ashtaroth*, the Goddess of the *Sidonians*, known among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, by the Name of *Astarta*, or *Astarte*, by whom she is owned to be one of the Goddesses of the *Phœnicians*; she was likewise called *Aspera* and *Asberoth*, which signifies wooden Images, and is generally mentioned with *Baal*, because the Worship of both these Deities was introduced at the same Time by *Jezebel* Daughter to the King of *Zidon*.

This Goddess is explained thus by *Abarbinel* Chap. 20. in his Commentaries upon *Jeremiah*, I have already, says he, told you my Opinion, that the *Baal* whom they worshipped is the Sun, whom they also called *Moloch*, that is to say King, because he was the King over all the Children of Pride, and *Asherah*, whom they served likewise, was the Moon called the Queen of Heaven; as the Scripture calls the Sun King *Moloch*, so it calls the Moon Queen of Heaven; and as the Sun, in respect to the Moon, is called *Baal*, because it is in Relation to the Moon, as it were, a Lord and Husband, who communicates his Glory and Splendor to his Wife, so the Moon is called *Ashera*, a Name of the feminine Gender, as if she was a Wife to the Sun, and much loved and desired by him. The learned *Vossius* remarks of this Goddess, that she was represented by a Figure, half Fish, and half Woman, and therefore confounds her with *Atergatis* or *Derceto*; but there is no sufficient Ground for this Conjecture; for *Derceto* was the Goddess of the Men of *Ascalon*, who were one of the five Governments of the *Philistines*, whereas *Astarte* was worshipped among the *Zidonians*, as the History of *Solomon* observes, which was confirmed by *Lucian* above a thousand Years after. There is, says he, a great Temple in *Phenicia*, among the *Zidonians*, dedicated to *Astarte*, which I take to be the Moon, though a Priest of the Temple told me, it was *Europa* Sister of *Cadmus*, and Daughter of *Agenor*: Besides, the Image of *Astarte* was a quite different Figure; for either she was a Woman altogether, or she had the Head of an Ox upon a human Body, or at least an Ox's Horns upon her Head: For *Philo Biblius* observes, that *Astarte* placed upon her own Head, the Head of an Ox, as an Ensign or Mark of Empire.

Chap. 44.

De Idolol.

De Dea Syria.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 1. C. 10.

Venus

Book V.



C. 8. 14.

In loc. Ezek.
more Nevoch.

Venus was another Goddess of the *Syrians*; this Deity, I think, is nowhere mentioned in Scripture, which yet speaks of *Adonis*, under the Name of *Tammus*. This *Adonis* is inseparable from *Venus*, for they had both but one Temple, the Mysteries and the Devotion were the same. The Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks thus concerning *Tammus*: Then he brought me to the Door of the Gate of the Lord's House, which was toward the North, and behold there sat Women weeping for *Tammus*. It is impossible to make any Discovery of this Deity from the Monuments of the *Rabbi's*, who having no Tincture of the Heathen Learning, could have but an imperfect Knowledge of their Gods; what they say of them is altogether fabulous: *Kimchi*, for Example, asserts, that this was an Image, into the hollow Part of whose Eyes Lead was poured, and the Image wept, when Fire was put to it. *Maimonides* says, that *Tammus* was a false Prophet, who endeavouring to persuade a certain Prince to worship the seven Planets and the twelve Signs, this Prince had ordered him to be put to a cruel Death. The very Night of his Execution, all the Idols met together from all Parts of the Earth, in the Temple of *Babylon*, about the great golden Image, being the Image of the Sun hanging between Heaven and Earth. This Idol threw it self down upon the Stones of the Temple, and all the other Idols stood about it, while *Tammus* gave an Account of his Adventures; which made all the Idols weep and bemoan him all Night long, and the next Morning they all flew away, and returned every one to its proper Temple; from whence, says he, came the Custom of weeping for *Tammus*. But this is a Fable equally false and ridiculous.

There is nothing more probable upon this Subject, than what *St. Jerom* remarks in his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*, where he explains the Place

Place concerning *Tammus*, but the Text being too long to be inserted, I shall only give the Substance of it; he says, that according to the Fable, *Adonis* was the darling of *Venus*, a very handsome Youth, who was killed in *June* by a wild Boar, and was raised again from the Dead, and that the Month of *June* had taken its Name from it; that in this Month Women were used to celebrate a solemn Feast to him, in which they first wept for him as dead; this done, they sung unto him and praised him, as returned to Life again: He adds, that the wise Men among the Heathens, applied this Fable of *Adonis* dying and returning to Life, to the sowing of Seed in the Earth where it first corrupts and then springs up again; so that it was *Adonis* the Darling of *Venus* for whom the Women of *Jerusalem* wept.

Chap. 20.
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The Author, under the Name of *Lucian*, gives a particular Account of this Ceremony; I saw, says he, at *Biblis*, the great Temple of *Venus*, in which are yearly celebrated the Mysteries of *Adonis* in which I am initiated; for it is said, that he was killed in the Country by a wild Boar, and in perpetual Remembrance of this Event, a publick Mourning is yearly celebrated with doleful Lamentations; then follows a Funeral, as of a dead Body, and next Day is celebrated his Resurrection, for it is said, he flew up into Heaven; one of the Ceremonies is for Women to have their Heads shaven, as the *Egyptians* at the Death of *Apis*. Those who refuse to be shaven are obliged to prostitute themselves a whole Day to Strangers, and the Money which is got that way is consecrated to the Goddess. But some of the *Bibilians* say, that all those Ceremonies are observed for *Osiris*, and that he is buried in their Country not in *Egypt*. In order to which there comes yearly a Head made of Papyrus, brought by Sea, from *Egypt* to *Biblis*, and I my self have seen it. *Procopius* upon *Isaiah*

Book V: *Isaiab* more particularly explains this Rite, and observes, that the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* prepare yearly a Pot in which they put a Letter directed to the Women of *Biblis*, by which they are informed *Adonis* is found again. This Pot being sealed up, they commit it to the Sea, after some Ceremonies over it, and bid it be gone away, this Pot goes along immediately, steering its Course to *Biblis*, where it puts an End to the Women's Mourning.

Euseb. in vit.
Constant.

This *Syrian Venus* had a Temple upon the Top of this Mountain, which was built out of the Way in a by-Place, in the midst of a Wood; it was demolished by the Emperor *Constantine*, who put an End to all the filthy Ceremonies performed in it; for it was, says the Historian, in a Manner, a School of Uncleanliness to all People given up to Lust, or who had weakened and enervated themselves by a debauched Course of Life. There some lascivious and effeminate Men, who deserve not to be called Men, defiling themselves in a most infamous Prostitution, appeased the Devil and served him. There also they defiled themselves abominably with Women, and under a false Pretence of Marriage lay privately with them; in short, the lewdest Crimes were committed in that Temple, as a most filthy Place, and there was no body to punish it or take Notice of them, because honest virtuous People durst not come near unto it. The Image of this Goddess, according to *Macrobius*, represented a Woman in Mourning covered with a Veil, having a dejected Countenance, and Tears seeming to run down her Face.

Saturnal. L. I
C. 21.



C H A P. XXI.

Of Venus under the Name of Succoth-Benoth.

AMONG the Deities of *Palestine*, we meet with *Venus* again under the Name of *Succoth-Benoth*, which in the Judgment of the learned *Selden* and other eminent Authors, was the *Babylonian Venus*, worshipped under her Images and usual Emblems. That this is a *Babylonian* Deity, is unquestionable; for it was the Men of *Babel* who made it and introduced it into *Samaria*; and that it is a female Deity, is evident by the Signification of the Name, the Word implying the Tabernacles of Daughters or of young Maidens; so that properly it is not the Name of the Deity but of her Temple; why it was distinguished by this Title, will appear from what *Herodotus* relates upon this Occasion. There is, says he, a filthy Custom among the *Babylonians*, which is, that all their Women are obliged once in their Life-time, to expose themselves in the Temple of *Venus*, and become Prostitutes to Strangers; such as are rich and will not submit to this Ceremony keep before the Temple of the Goddess in their Chariots, under Arches, with their Domesticks behind them, but the greatest Part do this: They sit in the Temple of *Venus*, their Temple's crowned with Nose-gays and Garlands, some going out, others coming in. There are Alleys separated with Lines, and leading to all Places where Strangers walk to view the Women, and choose those they like best. When a Woman has once taken a Place in the Temple, she does not return home without a piece

Clio Lib. 1.

Book V.

piece of Money thrown into her Lap by some Stranger, and without being brought by him out of the Temple to lie with her; and when the Stranger gives this earnest Money, he must say I call for thee upon the Goddess *Mylitta*, *Venus* being called *Mylitta* by the *Assyrians*; and how small soever the Sum be, it is unlawful to refuse it, because it is appointed for sacred Uses. Nor is it lawful for a Woman to refuse a Stranger, but without chusing, she must follow the first that offers her Money: In short, when a Woman has lain with a Stranger, she is looked upon as having done her Duty to make the Goddess favourable unto her, and then she returns home: This done, she keeps her self chaste, and such a Favour is not to be obtained from her for all the World. Women that are beautiful do not stay long in the Temple; but ill favoured Women are obliged to continue there very long before they can fulfil the Law; nay, there are some of those poor Creatures who wait there for three or four Years. In the Isle of *Cyprus* there is a Law much of this Nature.

Chap. 26.
v. 43.

This Place of the Historian is of Use to explain a Passage in the Book of *Baruch*, where describing the Idolatry of the *Chaldeans* and *Babylonians*, he says, that the Women with Cords about them, sitting in the Way, burn Bran for Perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her Fellow that she was not thought as worthy as her self, nor her Cord broken. This, without doubt, is the same Custom mentioned by *Herodotus*; the seeming Difference lies in this, that the Heathen Writer says, that the Women sat in the Temple, and *Baruch*, that they sate in the Way, which must be understood of the Paths and Alleys made by the Lines which divided the Set of Women; *Baruch* observes that the Line was broken to come to one of those



those Women ; which has given Occasion for some Interpreters to believe, that by this Line ought to be understood a Girdle or Scarf, which alone covered the waste, leaving the rest open to inflame the Lust of Passengers. But it is more probable, that they were got out of the Line behind which they sate in Order. There is one Ceremony mentioned, upon which *Herodotus* is silent, that these Women burnt Bran for a Perfume. This Bran, no doubt, was somewhat like what the *Latins* called *Molasasa*, Flour that was thrown into the Fire when they offered Sacrifices. *Herodotus* gives some Light to explain this Custom, where he says, that as often as a *Babylonian* lay with his Wife, he threw a Perfume into the Fire, and his Wife did the same on her Part ; the next Morning both wash themselves and touch nothing before they washed. So that those Women who were ranked behind the Line waiting for a Stranger to carry them off, made their Perfume of Preparation, that nothing might hinder the Consummation of their Vow.

Here follows a Deity, if it be one, of which *Jerem.* xxv. 15. the Scripture makes but little mention, yet re- 51. 41. membred more than once by the Prophet *Jemiah*, which is, *Sheshbach* a supposed Goddess of the *Babylonians* and *Persians*. There is scarce any thing to be met with in antient Authors concerning this Idol ; we find only, that there was a Feast held by those People called *Sakea* which lasted five Days, during which the Masters waited upon their Slaves, so that it was a Kind of Saturnals ; this probably is the Festival taken Notice of by *St. Chrysostom*, where he says : Do not you remember the Feast of the *Sagues* celebrated by the *Persians*, when they take one of those that are condemned to Death, and set him upon the King's Throne and clothe him with royal Robes ? While the Feast lasts, they give him his fill of all Sorts of

Tract. 4. de regno.

Book. V. of Delights, he is even free to lie with the King's Concubines, and no Man hinders him to do what he pleases; but when the Feast is over, he is stripp'd, whipped and hanged. *Strabo* likewise gives an Account of this Festival, which would be worth inserting, if any Thing but Conjecture could be raised from it.

Daniel xi. 38.

Another Deity which has much perplexed the Interpreters, is the God *Mabuzzim* spoken of by *Daniel*, and translated by us *the God of Forces*. The learned *Selden* is silent in this Case, as a Matter utterly unknown. All that I have found probable concerning it is, that the Prediction may be understood of *Antiochus Epiphanes* a proud Prince, who exalted himself above his Neighbours, and should be reduced to pay Tribute to the *Roman* Eagles that were a Sort of Deities, and and not improperly called *the God of Forces*, and by Gifts and other civil Homage, continue in the Favour of that victorious Nation.

And that nothing that passed for the Name of a Deity should go unobserved, something must be said also of *Margemah*, render'd without any Affinity by the *Latin* Interpreters, *Acervus* Prov. xxvi. 8. *Mercurij*, *Mercury's* Heap, but render'd in our *English*, as he that bindeth a Stone in a *Sling*, so is he that giveth Honour to a Fool, which is likewise the Sense of the *Greeks* and *Chaldee*; so that the Signification is, he that puts a Stone in a Sling and gives Honour to a Fool, does the same thing, which is to say, that both the one and the other are presently over, the Honour given to a Fool soon passing away as a Stone thrown out of a Sling. As for the Custom to which the *Latin* Interpreter alludes, the same is very well known. *Mercury* was looked upon as the God of Highways, and where they crossed, his Statue was usually erected. Great Heaps of Stones were raised in his Honour, into which the Passengers thought it a piece of Devotion to throw each a Stone. The Com-
mentator

mentator upon *Homer*, derives this Custom from the Fable which says, that *Mercury* being charged by *Juno* for the Murder of *Argus*, was there fore try'd by the Gods, and upon *Jupiter's* Solicitation acquitted; however, to let *Juno* see that they detested the Crime of *Mercury*, each of them threw a Stone at his Feet; thence came the Custom for Men to make Heaps of Stones along the Highways, in Honour of *Mercury* who presided over them, in Imitation of the Gods who acquitted him, and those Heaps they called the Butts of *Mercury*.

Chap 23.

Didym. Eus
tath. in Odyss.
II.

C H A P. XXIII.

*The Vindication of the Jews, from
Worshipping the As, the Hog, the
Heavens, and the God Bacchus.*

HAVING finished what I had to observe concerning the Idolatries of which the *Jews* were really guilty I cannot make an End without saying something in their Justification of those they were unjustly accused of, as of worshipping the As, the Hog, the Heaven, and the God of *Bacchus*. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were their Enemies and Accusers, had no Knowledge of their Religion till after the Captivity of this People in *Babylon*. From which Time it is certain, that they had the utmost Aversion against Idolatry, much less could they be guilty of that vile Abomination of worshipping a Hog.

This Accusation is to be found in *Plutarch's* Table-discourses, where he brings in one *Callistratus* saying, that the *Jews* did not eat the Flesh of a Hog, out of the great Respect they bore to that Creature, because by turning the Ground

Symposiac. L.
4. C. 5.

Book. V. with his Muzzle, he had taught Men Husbandry :
 ~~~~~ His Conjecture, that the *Jews* did not abhor Flesh by Abomination, he grounds upon this ; that if they abhorred Hogs, they would destroy them as the Magicians do Mice, whereas they are forbidden to kill as well as to eat Hogs ; but these Accusers knew not that according to the Religion of the *Jews*, a Man was as much defiled by touching as by eating of an unclean Beast ; therefore they durst not kill this Creature for fear of being defiled by touching it. This Abstinence from Hogs Flesh commanded to the *Jews*, is certainly the Ground of this Accusation , which made *Petronius Arbiter* say :

In Fragmentis.

*Judeus licet & porcinum numen adoret,  
 Et cæli summas advocet auriculas,  
 Ni tamen & ferro succiderit inguinis oram, &c.*

In the same Place the *Jews* are accused of worshipping the Asfs. They forbear, says he, a Hare, and hate it as an unclean Beast, because it resembles an Asf, which they revere mystically. The Fable of *Tacitus* is known to all the Learned, that the *Jews* worshipped the Asfs, because at their coming out of *Egypt* they were ready to die with Thirst in the Desert, when they happened to meet a great Company of wild Asses which brought them to a Fountain : This made them so grateful to the Creature, that they consecrated its Figure in the holy Place. This he took from *Appion*, a *Grammarian*, who lived in the Time of *Tiberius*, *Caius*, and *Claudius*, and *Josephus* has plainly confuted it. It is *Appion* who says, that the holy Place having been open'd by *Antiochus* the Great, there was found a golden Head, having the Resemblance of the Head of an Asf. Whence came the Reproach thrown upon the Christians, that they also worshipped the Asfs. *Ter tullian* says, that one of these Slanderers caused the God of the Christians to be drawn with the Ears

*Joseph. L. 2.  
 Appion cap. 16.  
 Apologet.*



Ears of an Ass, having a long Robe on, holding a Book in his Hand, and the Foot with a Hoof as Horses and Asses, with this Inscription, *Deus Christianorum Ononychites*. It is to be observed, that in those Times they made no Distinction of the *Jews* and *Christians*, because they worshipped the same God, Creator of the World, and were both equally Enemies to the false Deities of the Heathens.

As to the third Charge brought in against the *Jews*, both by *Juvenal* and *Petronius*.

*Nil præter nubes & cæli numen adorant.  
Et cæli summas advocet auriculas.*

Petron. Satyr.  
14.

It is easy to guess why the *Jews* professed no Worship but of the God of Heaven; they had no Images nor Statues; they called God to witness of their Innocence, by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and towards the Clouds; and indeed the *Jews* adored only what they called *Cæli Numen*, the God of Heaven, but did not worship *Cælum Numen*, the Heaven as a God, whatever *Juvenal* may insinuate to the contrary.

I come now to the last Charge, which is, that the *Jews* worshipped *Bacchus*. It is what *Plutarch* insists most upon, and which he pretends to convince them of by abundance of Proofs, a Review whereof (notwithstanding what I have before observed to this Purpose) may neither be useless nor unacceptable. He pretends to prove this Accusation by their grand Feast, which was kept in Autumn. They call it, says he, the Fast, and keep it in Vintage time; they set Tables in the middle of the Streets loaded with all manner of Fruit, and sit under Arbours made chiefly of Vine and Ivy. They call it the Day before the Feast of Tabernacles. A few Days after that they kept another Feast, in which the Mysteries of *Bacchus* plainly appear; with Boughs and

Plutarch ubi  
Supra.



Book V. Thyrses in one Hand they go into their Temple, and there do what we know not ; but it is likely they keep there their *Bacchanals* by the Sound of Trumpets, &c. in their Hymns they sing to their God.

In the Month *Tisri* the *Hebrews* had three solemn Days ; the first was the first Day of the Month *Tisri*, called the Feast of Trumpets ; the second upon the tenth Day of the same Month was the Feast of Expiation ; the third, being the fifteenth of the same Month, began the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted till the two and twentieth, in which the *Jews* did actually eat under Trees, or green Arbours : Most of the Circumstances hinted by *Plutarch* were really practised in those Feasts. But had he been instructed in the Mysteries of their Religion, he would have understood, that the first Day was a solemn Day, being the first of the Year ; that the second was a Fast, a Day of Humiliation, and not a Festival of *Bacchus* ; and that the third indeed was a Feast and Day of rejoicing, appointed to the Honour of the God of Heaven, and not to any Pagan Deity ; and that these green Tabernacles, under which they lodged, were to represent their Pilgrimage in the Wilderness.

The same Author brings another Proof from the Name of *Levites*. The *Levites*, says he, are these who play upon Instruments, such as Lutes and Harps. It was indeed one of the Offices of the *Levites*. This Name he derives from *Evius*, one of the Names of *Bacchus*, because of the Word 'Εῠιόη, which the ranting *Bacchanal* Women did constantly repeat in the Festivals of that Deity. This is so insipid that it does not deserve to be confuted. He adds, that the Word Sabbath, which signifies the common Feast of the *Jews*, may be derived from αβόη, a Word which the *Bacchanal* Women joined to that of 'Εῠοῖ ; and that *Bacchus* was from thence called *Sabazius*. This Fancy is well enough ; but had he

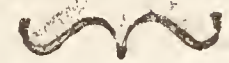


he made Inquiry he might have learn'd of the *Jews* that Sabbath signifies Rest, and that they called this the seventh Day of the Week, because they did no manner of Work upon that Day. He says moreover, that on that Day, the *Jews* made themselves drunk and feasted one another; which I suppose is grounded upon this, that the Sabbath among them no more than among the primitive *Christians*, was never a Day of Fasting. But this is a mere Calumny, the *Jews* not daring so much as to dress meat upon their Sabbath, and every one of them keeping at Home upon that Day. Chap. 23.

This Writer conceives he has an invincible Proof in the Bells that hang upon the Robe of the High-priest of the *Jews*, which made a great Noise when he moved, because that Noise was like that which was heard in the nocturnal Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, called *Nyctelia*. It is certain, there were Bells at the Hem of the Robe of the High-priest, but not in Imitation of the Sacrifices and Feasts of *Bacchus*, their Design being to give notice to the People to fall to their Prayers, while the High-priest was offering Incense. *Plutarch* also makes this Observation, that there were upon the Walls of the Temple Figures of Drums and Thyrses. He had doubtless read in the Description of the Temple of *Solomon*, that the Walls were covered with a guilt Ceiling, upon which were Branches of Palm-Trees interwoven together. Perhaps he means by these Thyrses the Vines with the Grapes of Gold in *Releivo*, which were upon the Wall of the Porch of the Temple, which Vine was so prodigious big, that the Bunches of Grapes were of a Man's Height. As for the Drums it is difficult to conceive from whence he had them, unless he took open Flowers for the Figures of Drums; but this Writer never saw the Temple of *Solomon*, nor that of *Herod*. These Drums are supposed to be the Product of his own Fancy, that he



Book V.



might find more easily the Worship of *Bacchus* in the Service of the *Jews*. Lastly, he proves, that *Bacchus* was the God of the *Jews*, because, says he, among several Punishments used among them, the most shameful is that which debars them from the use of Wine so long as the Sentence bears. I believe he has taken that from the Law of the *Nazarites* by which he that made a Vow to be a *Nazarite* confined himself to drink no Wine; because the *Nazarite* went to cut his Hair in the Temple and perform these Ceremonies of the Vow in the Presence of the Priests, *Plutarch* fancied that it was the Priest that imposed that Necessity of forbearing Wine; or else it came from what he might have heard concerning those who were excommunicated; he that was under the Sentence being deprived of all Commerce with his Brethren, and not allowed to sit at Table with them all the Time of his Excommunication; which might induce this Author to believe that such a Person being excluded from all common tables was likewise forbidden the use of Wine. Upon the whole, as full of Errors as are these Accusations of *Plutarch*, it appears, notwithstanding that he had a greater Insight into the Ceremonies of the *Jews* than other Heathens who have attempted to write upon this Subject.







# BOOK VI.

## CHAP. I.

### *A short Survey of the City of Jerufalem.*



**I**T is an Opinion generally received, Gen. xiv. 18. that *Jerufalem* is the same City which is called *Salem* in the Book of *Genesis*, and of which *Melchisedeck* is said to be King: But the learned *Bo-*

*chart* thinks this to be an Error, and observes, L. II. Phaleg. that *Salem* was in the Way which led from the C. 4. Valley of *Damascus* unto *Sodom*; and St. *Hierom* remarks, that he learn'd from the *Jews*, in his Time, that it was seated on this Side of *Jordan*; and it retained its Name in our Saviour's Days, as appears by the Story of *John's* baptizing John iii. 23. in *Salem*: But the common Voice of Interpreters is against this Criticism; not that *Salem*, or the City of *Melchisedeck*, is supposed to have been of equal Extent with *Jerufalem* in After-times, but *Jerufalem* was no other than the City of *Salem* enlarged and beautified by the Kings of



Book VI. all *Israel*, *David* and *Solomon*, and by some of the succeeding Kings of *Judah* after the Division of the twelve Tribes into the two distinct Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*.


Heb. vii. 2.

Josh. xv. 8.

The Word *Salem* in the *Hebrew* Language signifies *Peace*; and as the City of *Melchisedeck*, called *Salem*, is probably thought to be the same with *Jerusalem*, so it is certain that *Jerusalem* was otherwise called *Jebus*. Now as *Jerusalem* preserves the Name of *Salem* in the last Part of it, so it is thought to preserve the Name of *Jebus* in the former, and (for better Sound Sake by the Change of one Letter, and the Omission of another) softened into *Jerusalem* instead of *Jebussalem*, or *Jebusalem*. It is true indeed, that the Word, which in the seventy Interpreters, and in others, and so in our *English* Translation from them, is rendered *Jerusalem*; in the Original or *Hebrew* Text is most frequently, if not always, writ *Jerusalaim*, as if it were a *dual*; from whence, perhaps, it may be inferred, that the City consisted principally of two Parts, one of which was the old City, that was in the Time of *Melchisedeck*, and of the *Jebusites*, and the other Part was the Addition, or New Buildings, added to the old City by King *David* and his Son *Solomon*, and their Successors; and which for its Largeness might be esteemed as a new City, or new *Jerusalem*; and so these two Parts together, the old City, or the old *Jerusalem*, and the new City, or new *Jerusalem*, might give occasion to denote the whole City by the *dual* Name of *Jerusalaim*.

It is further observable, that the *Hebrew* Word *Jerusalem* is (I think) always rendered in the Septuagint Translation of the Old Testament *Jerousalem*, or *Jerusalem*. But in the Writings of the New we find it mentioned not always by the pre-mentioned Name, but frequently by the Name *Hierysolema*. As for the latter Part of the said Name, we find it given (omitting the former Part) not only to this City we are speaking of but



but also to another in *Pisidia*, or *Lycia*. Nay, Chap. 1.  
 we are told, that there was in *Lycia*, or more   
 particularly in *Pisidia*, not only a City called *Solyima*, but also that all the *Pisidians* in general were  
 formerly called *Solyimi*. Whether the *Pisidian* City  
*Solyima* (from which likely the People took the  
 Name of *Solyimi*) was originally called *Salem*,  
 as well as the City of *Judaea* we are speaking  
 of; or whether the *Greeks*, as they turned the  
 former Part of the Name *Jerusalem*, viz. *Jeru*,  
 into a Word of their own Language somewhat  
 like it, viz. *Hiero*, that is *sacred*, so turned also  
 the latter Part *Salem* into the Greek Name *Solyima*,  
 as somewhat resembling it, is uncertain: But cer-  
 tain it is, that *Hierosolyima* (into which the *Greeks*,  
 according to their usual Fashion, moulded *Jeru-*  
*salaïm*, or *Jerusalem*) does import so much, as  
*sacred Solyima*, and perhaps the *Greeks* were induc-  
 ed to use the pre-mentioned Word *Hierosolyima*,  
 not as a singular, but as a plural, in Allusion to  
 the Hebrew *Jerusalaim*, which seems not to be a  
 singular but a dual, and to denote, as is above  
 observed, the two principal Parts. of which *Je-*  
*rusalem* did consist in the Times of the Kings,  
*David* and *Solomon*, and their Successors, that is,  
 the old City built before it was taken by *David*,  
 and the new City added by *David* and the suc-  
 ceeding Kings.

The City of *Jerusalem* was first taken from the  
*Jebusites* by *Joshua*, who subdued the King of it, Josh. 10. 5. 23.  
 together with four other Kings of the *Amorites*,  
 who joined in Battle with him. There can be  
 no doubt, I think, that the *Jebusites* were of the  
 Seed of *Canaan*, being constantly numbred among Kemech. in  
 the seven Nations devoted to Destruction; yet Josh. 15. 63.  
 some of the *Jews* have a conceit that the People  
 here mentioned were derived from *Abimelech*  
 King of the *Philistines*, with whom their Forefa-  
 ther *Isaac* made a League; and therefore the  
 Children of *Judah* did not expel them; but this,  
 it is evident, is a foolish Imagination; for why  
 did



Book VI. did they expel them at the last as they did, if they were to be kind to them upon this Account? The Fort of *Zion* held out against the Armies of *Joshua*, and the *Israelites* not being able immediately to people the Cities they had taken, the *Jebofites* recovered the City of *Jerusalem*, and got Possession of it again; from whence the Children of *Judah* expelled them after the Death of *Joshua*; but the Fort continued in their Hands till the Time of *David*, which so commanded the lower Town, that they forced the Children of *Judah* and *Benjamin* to let them dwell with them there, and they soon grew so powerful as to become the ruling Party in the Place.

The first warlike Enterprize of *David*, after he was King, was to remove these imperious Neighbours, and to reduce the Fort, which he attack'd vigourously with the Flower of his Army; but the Belieged imagined their Fortrefs so impregnable, that by way of Contempt and Scorn, they bragged, that the blind and the Lame were able to defend it against him, and all his Forces. The Words in the Text are, *Except thou take away the Blind and the Lame, thou shalt not come in hither*; that is, says the learned *Bocbart*, thou shalt not come hither, but the Blind and the Lame, the most Feeble and Cowardly amongst us will drive thee away, which he thinks is so plain a Sense, that he wonders Men of great Learning should seek for any other. But so it is, a great many by the *Blind* and the *Lame* understand the Images of their Gods, (particularly our learned *Gregory* has a whole Dissertation about it;) as if they had said, Our Gods whom ye call blind and lame, they shall defend us, and you must overcome them before you overcome us. *Luther* himself thus explains the Sense. These Blind and Lame, says he, were the Idols of the *Jebofites*, which to irritate *David* they set upon their Walls as their Patrons and Defenders; and

2 Sam. v. 6.


L. 4. Phaleg.  
c. 36.

In Loc. Sup.



and they did as good as say thou dost not fight with us, but with our Gods, who will easily repel thee. The conceit of a *Rabbin* is idle and groundless, which is, that when *Abraham* bought the burying Place in *Macpelah*, of the Children of *Heth*, he sealed a Covenant with them, that when his Seed should possess the Land of *Canaan*, ( as they believed they would ) they should not possess the City of *Jebus*, which Covenant they now engraved upon brazen Statutes, and set them upon their Walls, saying, Thou canst not enter here except thou break the Oath of *Abraham*.

Chap. 1.

  
Eliezer Pirke.  
c. 36.

*David* soon made himself Master of the Fort; and now the whole City was in the Hands of the *Hebrews*, and received no remarkable Change, except in the Magnificence of its Structures, and Ornaments, till it fell into the Hands of the King of *Egypt*; it was besieged and taken by the *Chaldeans* in the eleventh Year of King *Zedekiah*,<sup>2 King. xxv. 8.</sup> after a Siege of twelve Months. *Nebuzaradan* Captain of the Guard to the King of *Babylon* seized upon all the Vessels of the Temple, and all the Riches that could be found, and then by the Command of his Master set both the Temple and City on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the Walls, Fortresses and Towers, and rasing and levelling to the Ground all the Houses, that nothing could be seen but a Scene of the utmost Ruin and Destruction. Under this Desolation it continued for fifty two Years, till by the Favour of *Cyrus*, the *Jews* being released from their Captivity, and restored again to their own Land, repaired those Ruins, and built again their holy City. *Jerusalem* was again besieged and taken by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*, who slew of the Inhabitants in three Days time forty thousand Persons, and having taken as many more Captives, sold them for Slaves to the neighbouring Nations. Not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the Temple, and entered into the inner and  
more



Book VI.



more sacred Recesses of it, polluting the holy Place, and the Holy of Holies; and to offer the greatest Indignity to their Religion, he sacrificed a great Sow upon the Altar of Burnt-Offerings; and Broth being made, by his Command, of Part of the Flesh boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the Temple to derive upon it the utmost Pollution. After this he sacrilegiously plundered it by taking away the Altar of Incense, the Shew-Bread Table, the Candlestick of seven Branches, that stood in the holy Place, which were all of Gold, and several other golden Vessels, Utensils, and Donatives of former Kings, to the Value of eighteen hundred Talents of Gold, and made the same Plunder of the Inhabitants. The City afterwards submitted to the *Roman* Arms, under the Command of *Pompey* the Great; but the Temple being fortified against him, he laid close Siege to it, and took it after a Siege of three Months. He ordered the most sacred Parts of the Temple to be opened to him and his Officers, and enter'd not only into the Holy Place, but into the Holy of Holies: But though he found in the Treasuries two thousand Talents in Money, besides Utensils, he touched nothing of it but left it entire to the sacred Uses to which it was devoted. Upon the Conclusion of this War the Walls of *Jerusalem* were demolished by the Command of the *Roman* General. It was soon fortified again, and besieged and taken by the joint Forces of *Herod* and *Sosius*, the Governor of *Syria*, after a Siege of twelve Months. The *Romans* entered with great Fury, and filled all Quarters with Blood and Slaughter. *Herod* used his utmost Power to prevent these Miseries but without Success, for *Sosius* encouraged the Soldiers in what they did; upon which *Herod* applied to him with heavy Complaints about it, alleging, that if the City was thus destroyed and plundered, the *Romans* would only make him King of a Desert, and therefore desired that a

Stop



Stop might be put to this Ravage and Cruelty ; Chap. I.

but receiving for Answer, that the Spoils were due to the Soldiers for the Reward of their Labour and Valour, he was forced by a Sum of Money to redeem the City from all further Devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed : At length it fell a Prey to the *Roman* Eagles under the Command of *Titus*, who so entirely subverted it, that it could scarce be believed it had ever been inhabited ; yet he left some of the principal Towers and a Part of the Wall as a Monument of the *Roman* Valour, to shew Posterity what Manner of City his Arms had conquered and subdued.

The City of *Jerusalem* was fifty Furlong in Compass, which reduced to our *English* Account amounts to six Miles and a Quarter ; it was surrounded with a treble Wall, except where it was guarded with unpassable Vallies, there one Wall was sufficient. This Wall was fenced with a Ditch cut out of a Rock, says *Josephus*, and according to *Strabo* sixty Foot deep, and two hundred and fifty Foot broad. The Gates of the City were these :

*Strabo* Geograph. lib. 26.

*The Sheep-Gate*, on the *East*, is supposed to have been near the Temple ; through it were led the Sheep which were to be sacrificed, being first washed at the Pool of *Bethesda* near the Gate.

*The Fish-Gate*, conceived by some to have been on the waste Side of the City, because the *Mediterranean* Sea lay that way, but since it is certain, that the Sea of *Galilee* afforded also Fish, the *Westerly* Situation of the *Mediterranean* Sea is but a very weak Argument for the *Westerly* Situation of this Gate. Hence others place this Gate on the *North* Side of old *Jerusalem* next after the Gate of *Ephraim*, and the old Gate proceeding from *West* to *East*, and this Supposition seems to be founded on *Nehemiah*, where we find the like Order observed.

And



Book. VI.



And it is not to be doubted, but the Gate of *Ephraim* was on the *North* Side of the City, because on that Side lay the Tribe of *Ephraim*, to which the chief Road probably lay through this Gate, whence it came to have the Name of the Gate of *Ephraim*; there being several Instances to be found of the like Nature among us, of Gates or Streets taking their Names from some remarkable Country or City to which they lead. Whether this Gate be the same as is now called the Gate of *Damascus*, as leading to *Damascus*, is not certain, but seems probable; otherwise the Gate of *Damascus* was probably, either the Fish-Gate already spoken of, or else the old Gate, with much Probability, supposed to be so called, as remaining from the Times of the *Jebusites*.

As for the *Horse-Gate*, its Situation is altogether uncertain; some are of Opinion, that this Gate, and the *Sheep-Gate*, and *Fish-Gate* were so called, because they were in the Manner of three several Market-places, and at one Gate Sheep, at another Fish, and at the third Horses were sold.

The Gate of the Valley, doubtless, took its Name from leading into some Valley, and 'tis thought that the Valley into which it led was the Valley of *Jehosaphat*. And this it must be, if the Opinion mentioned by the ingenious Gentleman and our Country-Man Mr. *Sandys* be well grounded; according to which the Gate, formerly called the Gate of the Valley, *Valley-Gate*, is supposed to be the same with that which is at present called *St. Stephen's-Gate*, which is not far from the *Golden-Gate* or *Great-Gate* that leads into that which was formerly the Court of the Temple that is at the *North-East* Corner of the Wall that surrounds the said Court. Mr. *Sandys* likewise supposes, that this Gate of *St. Stephen's* was not only formerly called the *Valley-Gate*, but also the Gate of his Flock (whereby I suppose



suppose he means what is called by others the *Sheep-Gate*) and consequently according to his Opinion the *Valley-Gate* and the *Sheep-Gate* were only two different Names for the same Gate. Perhaps he might be induced to embrace this Opinion from the nearness of the Pool *Bethesda* to *St. Stephens-Gate*, wherein the Sacrifices (as he observes) were washed before they were deliver'd to the Priests. But since the *Valley-Gate* and *Sheep-Gate* are distinctly mentioned in the Book of *Nehemiah*, it seems more probable, that they were two distinct Gates.

The *Dung-Gate* mentioned in the old Testament probably stood in the same Place where that stands, which is now a-Days called by the same Name, and consequently a little above the *South-West* Corner of the Temple-Court Wall. It is supposed to take this Name from its Use, the Dung or Filth of the Beasts that were sacrificed being carried from the Temple through this Gate.

The Gate of the *Fountain* is thought to have been so named from its nearness to the Fountain, either of *Siloam* or of *Gihon*. The Fountain of *Siloam* is placed by Mr. *Sandys* in his Draught of *Jerusalem* somewhat *South* of the *Dung-Port* or *Dung-Gate*; and not far from it he places a Fountain, called at present, the Fountain of the blessed Virgin; and from comparing what is said in *Nehemiah*, it appears not improbable that the Gate of the Fountain might be somewhere hereabout. If it be rather supposed that this Gate stood near the Fountain of *Gihon*, then it must be in a different Quarter, namely on the *West* Side, at least near the *South-West* Corner of the City.

The *Water-Gate* (as well as several of the former) did doubtless take its Name from its Use, it being the Gate through which probably was brought the Water that served the City, or at least the Temple, which latter Opinion

2. 13. 14.

13. 26.

seems



Book VI. seems to be somewhat favoured by *Nehemiah*, who says, thta the *Nethinims* who drew Water for divine Service, dwelt in *Ophel* unto the Place over against the *Water-Gate* toward the East.

The *High-Gate* is supposed by some Commentators to have been the principal Gate of the royal Palace, but from what is said in *Jeremiah* of the *High-Gate*, it appears to have been by the *House of the Lord*; it is in this latter Text stiled the *High-Gate* of *Benjamin*; and that as is thought from its Situation towards the Land or Tribe of *Benjamin*, which Opinion is much favoured by the Prophet, who, as he was going out of *Jerusalem* into the Land of *Benjamin*, when he was in the Gate of *Benjamin*, a Captain of the Ward was there who seized him.

2 Chron. xxiii.  
20. 28. 2.


Jerem. xxvii.  
12. 13.

The Gate of *Genoth*, or the Gate of King *Herod's* Garden, was not far from the second Wall of the City, by which Water was brought up into the Tower *Hippic*. By this Gate the Seditious frequently sallied and did Execution upon the *Romans*.

The Gate of *Womens-Towers*, at the North End of the City. Besides these Gates (and some others perhaps not recorded in Scripture) *Jerusalem* was adorned and fortified with many Towers which contributed to the Strength and Ornament of the City. Such was the *Tower of Meab* or the hundredth Tower, so called, either because it was so many Cubits high, or so many distance from some other Tower, or because an exact Century of Towers might possibly be begun or finished at it.

Nehem. 3. 11. The *Tower of Furnaces* standing in the West, North of the *Valley-Gate*, so called (says *Adrichomius*) from the Fire kept there as a Signal to Mariners at Sea. But the City was forty Miles from Sea, and many Mountains lay between, so that it might serve for some Beacon or Landmark, or (as Mr. *Fuller* thinks) might take



take its Name from some Fire in the *Corpse* Chap. 1.  
*Du-Gard* constantly preserved in it.  Pisgahsight, p.

The *Tower of Hananeel* in the *Eastern Part*, 323.  
 so called, no doubt, from the first Builder Nchem. iii. 1.  
 of it. Nchem. iii. 25.

The *Tower of the King's high House*. There  
 are so many Turnings of the Wall mentioned  
 (says Bishop Patrick in his Commentaries) in  
*Nehemiah*, that none can give an Account of  
 them, nor of the Kings high House, which some  
 take to have been a House built for the sake of  
 the Prospect.

Nchem. iii. 27.

The *great Tower* that lyeth out, it was in the  
*Eastern Part* of the City.

Nchem. iii. 19.

The *Tower of David* furnished with an Ar-  
 mory at the *South-West* Turning of the Wall. Luke xiii. 4.

The *Tower of Siloe* on the *West* Side of the  
 City, which killed eighteen Persons with the Fall  
 of it.

2 Chron. xxxiii.

The *Tower of Ophel* inhabited by the *Nethi-*  
*nims*.


14.

2 Chron. xxvi.

The *High-Tower*, built by King *Uzziah* upon  
 the *Valley-Gate*, and that it might be seen beyond  
 Mount *Olivet*, he made it a hundred and fifty  
 Cubits high. This Prince built Towers, says  
 the Text, at the corner Gate, and at the Valley-  
 Gate, and at the Turning of the Wall, and for-  
 tified them.

The City of *Jerusalem*, for its royal Structures  
 and Magnificence one of the Wonders of the  
 World, was built upon a rocky Mountain, every  
 Way to be ascended with steep and difficult  
 Ascents (except towards the *North*) surrounded  
 also on all other Sides with some neighbouring  
 Hills, as if it stood in the midst of an Amphi-  
 theatre. It consisted, in the Time of its greatest  
 Prosperity, of four Parts separated by their se-  
 veral Walls, as if they had been several distinct  
 Cities, which may be called the City of *Herod*,  
 the old City, the lower City, and the new City;



Book VI. all of them, but the lower City, seated upon their  
 several Hills.

The City of *Herod* on the *Western* Side, was wholly taken up with the Palace of *Herod*, (a wicked but magnificent Prince) for Cost excessive, and for Strength invincible, containing Gardens, Groves, Fish-Ponds, and Places devised for Pleasure besides those for Exercise; fortified with three Towers at the Corners of it, that on the *South-East* of the Wall, fifty Cubits high of excellent Workmanship, called *Mariamne's* Tower in Memory of his beloved, but insolent Wife, rashly murder'd by him. Opposite to which, on the *South-West* Corner, stood the Tower of *Phaselus*, so called from the Name of his Brother, seventy Cubits high, and in Form resembling the *Egyptian* Pharos. And on the *North* Wall, upon a high Hill, stood the Tower of *Hippick*, exceeding both the others in Height, by fourteen Cubits, and having on the Top two Spires in Memory of the two *Hippici* his very dear Friends that were slain fighting in his Service.

On the *South* Side stood that Part call'd the old City, possessed, if not built, by the *Jebusites*, and here was the Mountain and the Fort of *Sion*. It was afterwards called the City of *David* because taken by him, who built upon it a strong and magnificent Castle, the royal Court and Mansion of succeeding Kings. In the *West* Part stood the Tower of *David*, and a double Palace erected by *Herod*, one Part of which he called *Agrippa*, and the other *Cæsar*, raised of Marble, and every where interlaid with Gold, and not far off lay the House of *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, to which the Conspirators led our Saviour to receive his Tryal.

The lower City stood more in the Valley, and was called the Daughter of *Sion*, because built after it, and did in Majesty and Greatness exceed the Mother. Here upon Mount  
*Moriab,*



*Moriah*, was the Temple of *Solomon*, and between it and Mount *Sion* upon another Hill, the Place which he built for his Wife the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*, and that which he made for himself, from which, by a high Bridge, he had a Way to the Temple. *West* of this, upon a lofty Rock overlooking the City, stood the royal Palace of the *Maccabean* Princes, re-edified and dwelt in by King *Agrippa*; and not far off was the Theatre of *Herod*, adorned with admirable Pictures, expressing the many Victories and Triumphs of *Augustus Cæsar*. In this Part also stood Mount *Acra*, and on that once a Citadel built by *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, but rased by *Simon* one of the *Maccabean* Brothers because it overlook'd the Temple. *Helena* Queen of *Adiabene*, converted from Paganism to the *Jewish* Religion, dwelt and died in this Part of the City. And here *Herod* made an Amphitheatre capacious enough to contain eighty thousand Persons, whom he entertained with such Shews and Spectacles that were in Use among the *Romans*. In this Part also, upon a high and craggy Rock, stood the Tower of *Baris*, upon which *Herod* built a strong and impregnable Citadel in Honour of *Marc Anthony*, whose Creature he first was, and called it *Antonia*. It had a fair and large Tower at every Corner, two of them fifty Cubits high, and the others seventy, afterwards garison'd by the *Romans*, lest the *Jews* presuming on the Strength of the Temple, should take Occasion to rebel.

The new City lay *North* to the City of *Herod*, and was once no more than a Suburb to the rest, inhabited by none but mechanical Persons and the meanest Tradesmen, but afterwards surrounded by *Agrippa*, with a Wall of twenty five Cubits high, and fortified with many *Turrets*; the whole City, as was said before, was defended with a wonderful Circumvallation on all Sides, having a Ditch cut out of the main



Book VI. Rock sixty Foot deep, and no less than two hundred and fifty Foot in Breadth.

## CHAP. II.

### A Description of Jerusalem, by Josephus.

**J**OSEPHUS the Jewish Historian, has from his own Observation given a more particular Description of this City, which in Justice to the Subject, may properly be inserted in this Place.

Joseph de  
Bell. Jud. 1. 6.  
C. 6.

The City of *Jerusalem* was surrounded with a triple Wall on every Side, except on that Part where it was inclosed with Valleys inaccessible; for it had only one Wall on that Side. It was built upon two little Hills, the one of them opposite to the other, and separated from each other by a Valley which was covered over with Houses; one of these Hills, upon which stood the upper Town, is far higher and steeper than the other, insomuch, that upon the Account of the Strength of it, King *David* the Father of *Solomon* that erected the Temple, gave it the Name formerly, of the Fortress or Castle, and this is it which we call at this Day the *upper Market*.

The lower Town is seated upon another Hill, that bears the Name of *Acra*, with a steep Declivity round about it. There was formerly another Hill also over against this, somewhat lower than the *Acra*, and divided from that by a large Valley; but in the Time of the *Assamoneans* their Princes filled up this Bottom; and cutting off from the Hill *Acra*, they joined the Town to the Temple, by which means it overlooked and commanded all the rest.

The Name of the Valley aforesaid, that separates the upper Town from the lower is *Tyropæon*, and it stretches as far as to the Fountain  
of



of *Siloe*, that affords an excellent Water to drink and great Plenty of it: There are likewise without the Town two other Mountains next to inaccessible, by the Craggs and Precipices every where round about them.

The oldest of the three Walls was extremely strong, by Reason of the Depth of the Valley below and the over-hanging of the Rock from above whereupon it was erected. And beside the natural Advantage of the Situation, it had all the Helps that *David* and *Solomon* and several other Princes could contribute to the further Strengthening of it by Art, Industry, and Expence. It began on that Side at the Tower *Hippicos*, and so to another Tower called the *Galleries*, running along by the Town-House to the *West* Porch of the Temple. It passed on the other Side, reckoning from the same Place by *Bethso* down to the *Essene-Gate*, and so *Southward* by the Fountain of *Siloe*; where it strikes off to the *Eastward*, toward the Pool of *Solomon*, and thence by *Ophlas* to the *East* Porch of the Temple.

The second Wall begins at *Genath*, and the Gate belonging to the former Wall, and so runs on upon the *North* Side of the City to the Fort *Antonia*.

The third Wall begun at the Tower *Hippicos*, and so ran northward, to that of *Psephinos*, over against St. *Helena's* Sepulchre, the Queen of *Adiabena* and Daughter of King *Izates*, keeping along by the royal Caves, from the Tower at the Corner towards that which they call the *Fuller's Monument*, whence it came up to the old Wall in the Vale of *Cedron*; and this was the Compass of it. This Wall was the Work of *Agrippa*, for the Security of that Part of the Town that he had built, which was otherwise naked and defenceless. The City was by this Time grown so populous that the Place was too narrow for the Inhabitants, so that by little and little they crept out into a kind of Suburbs; and on the *North* Side of the Temple,



Book VI. ple, next the Hill, their Buildings increased extremely.

There was a fourth Mountain that fronted *Antonia*, with Ditches cut out of a prodigious Depth betwixt them, insomuch that there was no coming at the Foundation of *Antonia* to undermine it; beside that the sinking of the Trench added so much to the Height of the Tower. They gave the fourth Mountain the Name of *Bezeth*, or the *New Town*, being an Enlargement only of the former. When this Place came to be inhabited the People earnestly desired to have it fortified; and *Agrippa*, the Father of this King of the same Name, modelled his Design, and ran up this Wall about it, as you have heard: But upon a Fancy coming into his Head, that *Claudius Cæsar* might perhaps take some Offence and Jealousy at the Ostentation of so magnificent a Work, *Agrippa* went no farther than the laying of the Foundation, and so dropt the Project; but if he had gone on, *Jerusalem* could never have been taken.

The Stones of this Wall were twenty Cubits in Length, and ten over, and so hard and firm withal, that they were Proof either against Mining or Battery. The Wall was also ten Cubits thick, and they would have been answerably high in proportion, if the Fear of *Claudius* (as I told you) had not put a Stop to *Agrippa's* Design. The *Jews*, 'tis true, carried up the Wall afterwards to twenty Cubits, with Battlements of two Cubits at the Top, and Parapets of three, which in all make five and twenty Cubits. The Wall was fortified with Towers of twenty Cubits square, every Jot as substantial as the very Wall, and not inferior for Strength and Beauty to the Stones and Workmanship of the Temple it self. These Towers were raised twenty Cubits above the Wall, with winding Stair-Cases leading us to them, Lodgings and eating Rooms on the Top, and Cisterns for Rain-Water. Upon the third Wall there were ninety Towers, all  
of




of a Make, and at the equal Distance of two hundred Cubits, one from another. The middle Wall had only fourteen Towers, the old Wall sixty and thirty three Furlongs was the Compass of the whole City. Chap. 2.

The third Wall was all over a wonderful Piece of Workmanship from the one End to the other, but yet not comparable to the Tower called *Psephinos*; it stands upon an Angle of the Wall, North West of the City, upon that Quarter where *Titus* had encamped. The Height of it was seventy Cubits, and so advantageous a Prospect, that in a clear Day one might see *Arabia* from it, the Sea, and the utmost Confines of the *Hebrews*. The Figure of it was with eight Angles. Just against this was the Tower *Hippicos*, and there was near at Hand two other Towers of *Herod's* erecting, upon the old Wall, which for Size, Curiosity and Strength, were looked upon as the most famous Masterpieces in the World; for the King over and above the natural Greatness of his Mind gratified the Impulse of his Inclination also, in doing all he could for the Good and Glory of the City. He dedicated his three Towers to the Honour and Memory of the three Persons he had the greatest Esteem for in the World, his Brother, his Friend, and his Wife; the two former having signalized themselves by dying gloriously upon the Field of Battle, the other being but to Death in a Freak of Jealousy.

The Tower of *Hippicos*, (the Name of one of his Friends) had four Angles, five and twenty Cubits over, and thirty in Height, and the whole Body of it solid. Above this was a Platform of Stone accurately joined, and a Receptacle for Rain-Water of twenty Cubits deep. Over this Terras were yet two Stories of five and twenty Cubits each, and divided into several Chambers or Quarters; and over this Building were Battlements of two Cubits high, and Para-



Book VI.  pets. of three Cubits all a-round, amounting in the whole to the Height of eighty five Cubits.

*Herod* called the second Tower *Phasaël*, by the Name of his Brother. It was forty Cubits square, and in Height, after the manner of a Pillar, all massive within from Top to Bottom. And about this was a Porch of ten Cubits high, supported with Arches, and set out with other Curiosities. Over the Middle of this Porch was another with rich Baths and Apartments to it, suitable to the Magnificence of the Royal Founder. On the Top of it were Battlements and Fortifications, the whole Height of the Tower falling little short of ninety Cubits. It had at a distance some Resemblance of the Watch Tower of *Pharos*, the famous Sea-Mark to those that sailed towards *Alexandria*, only much the larger of the two, and at this Time the Residence of *Simon* that tyrannical Oppressor.

*Herod* gave the third Tower the Name of *Queen Mariamne* his Wife. It was twenty Cubits square, Length and Breadth, and five and fifty Cubits high. It must be allowed, that the Structure, the Rooms, and the Furniture of the two other Towers were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the Curiosity, the Beauty and the Ornaments, of this as this fell short of the Strength and Dignity of the other two; the King rightly distinguishing betwixt the masculine Virtues of the two Heroes, *Hippicos* and *Phasaël*, and the soft Tendernefs of a fair Lady in the Person of *Mariamne*.

Now as to these three Towers, the Height was prodigious, and yet the Place they were raised upon made it seem much more than it was; for the old Wall they stood upon was it self erected upon a very high Piece of Ground, and the Turrets again were advanced upon the Top of a Mountain that was yet thirty Cubits higher than the antient Wall. Neither were they less admirable for the Materials they were made of than



than for the Structure. The Stones were neither common, nor of a Weight to be removed with Hands, but of white Marble cut out into Planks of twenty Cubits long, ten in Breadth, and five Cubits deep, and so artificially put together, that there were no Joints to be seen, but every distinct Tower looked like one entire Piece.

This was on the *North* Side of the City, and just within it there stood a royal Palace so rich and curious, that it is not for the Tongue of Man to express it. Besides that it was all enclosed with a Wall of thirty Cubits in height, and Turrets of the best Work and Masters, planted at equal Distance one from another, round about it; with splendid Lodgings and treating Rooms, to receive an hundred Persons. There was an incredible Collection of the choicest Marbles, for Variety and Beauty, that could be gotten for Money. The Beams and Timbers that supported the Roofs, were for Length and Thickness beyond Imagination; and so were the ornamental Additions toward the finishing of the Work. There were a world of Chambers with commodious Passages and Contrivances innumerable, for Sight as well as for Conveniences; the whole being magnificently set out and furnished with all the Advantages of Gold and Silver, and whatever else was precious. There were also Porches and Galleries in abundance leading in a kind of Circle from one to another, and in each of them a Row of Pillars. Now for the Distances betwixt those Pillars that lay to the open Air, nothing could be more agreeable than the Prospect of so many Groves and Nurseries of so many several Plants, long and pleasant Walks beset with Cisterns and Fountains, Pipes and brazen Figures to spout out Water, with Volaries of tame Pigeons, gathering about it for Refreshment. But it is impossible for any Man to do this Palace right, in the Description of it; besides, that my very Heart bleeds at the very thought of  
the



Book VI. the Story, to consider what a Devastation hath been made by an impious Crew of Incendiaries and Traitors ; for this Conflagration was not the Work of the *Romans* but of a Band of wicked Miscreants, as we have already observed upon the Beginning of this Section, who burnt all from the Fort *Antonia*, and then carrying it on to the Palace set fire to the Roots of the three Towers.

The Temple was built upon a very hard Rock, which was so steep on all Hands, that at first there was scarce Ground sufficient on the Top of it for the Temple, and the Enclosure that was to be about it. But when King *Solomon* erected this Fabrick he ordered the running up of a Wall to the Eastward of it to keep up the Earth, and having so secured it, he built a Porch upon the Rampart. There was not, as yet, any other Fortification, but the People carrying up Earth from Time to Time afterwards to supply the Defect, the Hill came by Degrees to be enlarged. They brake down, some Time after this, the *North* Wall, and took in as much Ground thereto, as served in time to come for the Foundation of the whole Temple.

The Design succeeding so much beyond Expectation, they encompassed the Hill with three Walls, but with a prodigious Expence of Time and Treasure ; for it was not only a Work of many Ages, but the whole Mass of religious Oblations from all Parts of the World to the Honour and Service of God, and his Worship, was spent upon this Undertaking, occasioning the Charge as well of the upper as of the lower Temple ; which latter was erected upon a Foundation of three hundred Cubits deep, and in some Places more ; but the Depth did not appear, in regard that the Valley was now filled up to the very Level of the Streets in the City. The Stones provided for this mighty Undertaking were of forty Cubits in Length, which gave them to understand that there was nothing impossible where there was Money



Money and good Will ; and that Constancy, Chap. 2.  
Time and Patience could work Miracles.

As the Foundations were wonderful, so the Dignity of the Superstructure was not inferior to that of the Groundwork. The Galleries about were all double, upheld by Pillars of white Marble, all of a Piece, and five and twenty Cubits in Height, and was wainscoted with Cedar, which for the Curiosity of the Work and the Smoothness of the Grain, was a delightful Entertainment to the Spectator, without any additional Ornaments, either of Painting or Carving. They were all thirty Cubits over, and six Stadia the whole Compass of them, including the Tower *Antonia*. In the open Air where there was no Covering over head, the Ground was paved and chequered with all Sorts of Stones ; but the Way to the second Temple was lined on each Hand with Stone-Balusters delicately wrought and polished, of three Cubits high. In this Passage there were also several Pillars orderly disposed, with Inscriptions and Precepts upon them in *Latin* and *Greek*, upon the Subject of Continnence and Chastity, and forbidding Strangers to enter into that holy Place ; for the second Temple was called Holy, and it was fourteen Steps above the first. The Figure of it was four square, with a Wall of its own, which, though forty Cubits without, was yet but five and twenty within, the Place being covered with the Steps that led to mount it. Now this Wall being built upon an advance Ground, with Stairs to it, Part of the Inside was so blinded with the Mountain that it could not be discerned.

At the Top of these fourteen Steps there was a plain Level of three hundred Cubits up to the Wall, and from thence five Steps more to the Gates of the Temple. There were also four from the *North*, as many from the *South*, and two from the *East*.



## Book VI.

The Women had an Oratory, or a worshipping Place, by themselves, with a Partition Wall to it, and two Gates, one to the *South*, the other *North*, which were the only two Passages of Entrance to the Women; neither were they permitted to pass their own; for that Place was free indifferently to Women, Inhabitants as well as Strangers, that came thither upon Devotion. The *West* Side of it was a dead Wall without any Door at all. Betwixt the aforesaid Gates, and over against the Wall within, near the Treasury there were Galleries with stately Pillars to support them, plain and simple, and not much inferior to those below.

Some of the Gates were plated over with Gold and Silver, Posts, Front and all; but there was one without the Temple of *Corinthian* Brass, which is much the richer Mettle of the three. There were double Doors to every Gate, each thirty Cubits high and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing Rooms on each Hand of thirty Cubits square, after the manner of *Turrits*, and upward of twenty Cubits high; and each of them born up with Pillars of twenty Cubits in Thickness; the other Gates being of the same Dimension in Proportion. As for the *Corinthian* Portal, on the *East* Side of the Temple, where the Women came in, it was undoubtedly the largest and most magnificent of them all; for it was fifty Cubits high, the Gates forty, and the Gold and Silver Plates upon it more substantial than those that *Alexander*, the Father of *Tiberius*, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen Steps from the Wall that parted the Men and the Women, to the great Gate, which was five short of those that led to the other Gates.

The Temple it self, that is to say, the holy Temple, or Sanctuary, was placed in the middle with twelve Stairs to it. The Height of it was an hundred Cubits, and the Breadth as many in the



the Front, but backward it wanted forty of the Number ; for upon the Entrance there were two Additions raised ( like two Shoulders ) of twenty Cubits each. The Height of the first Gate was seventy Cubits, and five and twenty over, but it had no Doors to it, being a Figure of Heaven open and visible to the whole World. The front and Outsides of it were all over gilt, and nothing to be seen in the Inside of the Temple neither which had not likewise a dazzling Lustre.

The inner Part of it was divided into two Partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the Top, which was ninety Cubits in Height, forty in Length, twenty over. The Inside of the Gate was, as I said, plated all over with Gold, and the Wall gilt every where about it. There were also Leaves and Branches of Vines over Head, and huge Clusters of Grapes that hung dangling down betwixt five and six Foot deep, all of Gold too. The other Partition of the Temple being ciel'd above appeared the lower of the two. The Doors to it were of Gold ; five and fifty Cubits in Height, and sixteen broad, with a Piece of *Babylonian* Tapistry hanging between them of the same Dimention, and interwoven with Blue, Purple, and Scarlet, most artificially put together, and wrought to Admiration. And the Mixture was not a bare Curiosity neither, but a mystical Allusion to the four Elements, either by the Colours, or by the Matter they were made of ; the Scarlet representing the Fire, the Silk the Earth that produced it, the Azure the Air, and the Purple the Sea from whence it comes : So that this Veil or Hanging was, in little, an Emblem of the Universe, only excepting the celestial Signs.

This Entrance leads you into the lower Part of the Temple : The Height and Length of it sixty Cubits, and the Breadth of it twenty. The Length of sixty Cubits was then subdivided into  
two



Book VI. two unequal Parts, one of forty Cubits and the other of twenty. The former Part of forty Cubits had in it the three wonderful Rarities that had been celebrated over the whole World, the Candlestick, the Table, and the Altar of Incense. The Candlestick had seven Branches ( all out of the same Stem ) with seven Lights representing the seven Planets. The twelve Loaves of Shew-Bread upon the Table pointed at the twelve Signs in the Zodiack, and the Course of the Year. By the thirteen Sorts of Perfumes in the Center upon the Altar of Incense (divers of these Odours being extracted out of the Deep of the Inhospitable Sea ) we are given to understand that God is Master of the Universe, and that all Things are made for his Honour and Service.

The inner Part of the Temple being only twenty Cubits in Height was divided by a Veil also from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any Man permitted to enter or so much as to look into it, and it was called the Sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. Upon the Sides of this lower Temple there were several Lodgings, leading from one to another, with three Stories over Head, and passages into them out of the great Portal. Now the upper part being more narrow than the other could not have the Conveniences of the same order of Chambers, but it was forty Cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. The Height, in fine, upon the whole was an hundred Cubits; and the plan only sixty.

The Beauty and Curiosity of the Temple on the Outside was agreeable and charming beyond Imagination, it being fac'd every where with substantial golden Plates that sparkled like the Morning Sun, and every Jot as dazzling to the Eye, to gaze upon them. Where there was no Building, the Structure was all so delicately white, that it looked at a Distance, to Travellers, like a Marble Mountain, or a Pillar of Snow.



The Roof of the Temple was covered and Chap. 2.  
armed all over with pointed Spears of Gold, to  
keep off the Birds from nesting upon it, and foul-  
ing it. There were a great many Stones in this  
Building of forty five Cubits long, five in height,  
and six Cubits broad.

The Fortrefs of *Antonia* was built in an An-  
gle betwixt the two Galleries of the first Temple,  
looking *West* and *North*. It was raised upon a  
Rock of fifty Cubits in height ; inaccessiblely steep  
on all Hands, and in fine, *Herod's* Masterpiece  
both for Magnificence and Contrivance. The  
Rock was faced and crufted with thin Scales of  
Marble, from the bottom to the Top, both for  
Ornament and Security Sake ; for it was fo flip-  
pery that there was no going up or down. This  
Tower was inclosed with a Wall, only of three  
Cubits high, and within that Compass stood the  
Castle of *Antonia* of forty Cubits, with the State,  
Splendor, and Conveniences of a Court, Lodg-  
ings and Offices for all Purposes, fpacious Halls,  
and Places of Parade for the Use and Service of  
a Camp. So that for Matter of Neceffaries, it  
was rather a City than a Fort ; and for the Mag-  
nificence it looked like a Palace. It was upon  
the whole the Refemblance of a Tower, and en-  
compassed with four other Towers, at equal Di-  
ftances one from another, and one from every  
Corner. Three of them of fifty Cubits in height,  
and the fourth that looked to the *South* and *East-*  
*ward*, of feventy Cubits ; and from thence they  
had the View of the whole Temple. From the  
Place where the Galleries joined, there were upon  
the right and left two pair of Stairs, which served  
for a Passage to the Soldiers into the Temple ; for  
when the *Romans* were Masters of *Jerusalem*,  
there were Guards posted ftill upon that Quarter,  
to prevent Seditions upon their publick Festivals  
and Meetings. The Temple commanded the Ci-  
ty, as *Antonia* commanded the Temple. The  
Place had a Guard upon it, and *Herod's* Palace  
was



Book VI.



was as good as a Fort to the upper Town. The Mountain *Bezeth* ( the top Mountain of them all ) was cut off, as I said before, from *Antonia*, and joined to Part of the Town ; Besides that it was the only Blind upon the *North* Side of the Temple.

De Bell. Jud.  
l. 7. c. 18.

*Jerusalem* ( says the same Historian in another Place ) was taken and utterly destroyed in the second Year of *Vespasian*, and on the eighth Day of the Month, *Gorpheus*, having been five times taken before, that is, by *Azochæus* King of *Egypt*, *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*, *Pompey* and *Herod*, with *Socius*, who did all preserve the City after it was taken ; but *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* laid it waste, thirteen hundred sixty Years, eight Months, and six Days after the Building of it.

The first Founder of it was a *Canaanitish* Prince called *Melchisedeck*, which in the *Hebrew* Language signifies a *just King* ; for such he was in an eminent manner. He first dedicated this City to God, erected a Temple in it, and officiated in the Quality of a Priest, giving it the Name of *Jerusalem*, which before was called *Solyma*.

When *David*, the King of the *Jews*, came afterwards to drive out the *Canaanites* he planted his own People there, and in four hundred seventy seven Years, and three Months after this, it was laid waste by the *Babylonians*.

From the Reign of *David* there, to the Destruction of the City by *Titus*, it was eleven hundred and seventy nine Years, and two thousand one hundred seventy seven from the Foundation of it. But neither Antiquity, Wealth, Fame, nor the Honour of the Religion it self, was any Security against the Appointments of Fate.

This was, in fine, the Issue of the Siege ; and when the Soldiers had neither Rapine nor Bloodshed for their Spleen to work upon ( as they would not have been idle, had they had Matter ) *Titus* ordered them to lay the City and Temple level



level with the Ground, and to leave nothing standing but the three famous Turrits, *Phasaël*, *Hippicos*, and *Mariamne*, that topped all the rest, and a Piece of Wall to the *Westward* of the Town, which he designed a Garrison: The Towers to remain as so many Monuments to Posterity of the *Roman* Power and Conduct in the taking of them. This Order was punctually executed, and all the rest laid so flat, that the Place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the End of the *Jerusalem* Faction, a mad and a seditious People; and this was also the End of the most glorious City of the Universe.

### C H A P. III.

*The Privileges belonging to the City of Jerusalem, according to the Jewish Rabbins.*

**M**ANY are the Traditions of the *Jewish* Doctors concerning the Dignity and the Privileges that belonged to the City of *Jerusalem*, which, I think, will serve to illustrate the Subject I am upon. *Jerusalem*, say they, was not divided among the Tribes, yet it was divided between the Tribe of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the distinguishing Line went through the very Court of the Temple. The Mountain of the Temple, the Chambers of them that kept it, and the Courts were in the Lot of *Judah*. The Porch of the Temple, and the Temple, and the Holy of Holies, was in the Lot of *Benjamin*; and a Line went out of the Lot of *Judah*, and passed on in the Lot of *Benjamin*, and in it was the Altar built; and in so exact Distinction were these Lots observed, that the

Bab. Joma fol. 12. 1.



Book VI. *South-East* Corner of the Altar had no Foundation, because that small Part was in the Portion of *Judah*, when the whole Altar ought to have been within the Portion of *Benjamin*.

Maimon. in  
Bethhabbetch.  
c. 7.

*Jerusalem* (they go on) was holy above all other Cities, girt with Walls, because in it they eat the lighter holy Things, and the second Tithe. They do not suffer a dead Body to remain a Night in this City; they do not carry the Bones of a dead Body through it; they do not let out Houses in it, to such as come to the Feast, but give them their Lodging gratis; they do not let out a Place to a Profelyte Inhabitant. In it they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the House of *David*, and that of *Huldah* the Prophetess; nor in it do they suffer a Dunghill for fear of Pollution by creeping things; nor do they set up Scaffolds in the Streets against the Walls, by Reason of Defilement; nor in it do they make Chimneys, by reason of the Smoke; nor do they breed up Cocks, lest they should scratch up the Bones of creeping things, from whence holy things, which were to be eaten, might be polluted; nor do the Priests nourish Cocks through the whole Land of *Israel*, for the Sake of Purity; nor is there in it a House for shutting up the Suspected of the Leprosy; nor is it polluted with Leprosy; nor is it become any way a City to be cursed for Idolatry. Never did Serpent or Scorpion harm any one within *Jerusalem*; nor has a Fire or Desolation happened there; nor do they make Paradises or plant Gardens, except Gardens of Roses, which were there from the Days of the former Prophets, because of the Stink arising from the Weeds that are thrown out, and rot upon the Ground.

Avoch. c. 5.  
hal. 5.

Avoch. ubi  
Supra.

Nor is the Temple, if you believe the *Talmudists* without its Wonders. Many Miracles, they tell you, were done for their Fathers in the Sanctuary. No Woman ever miscarried by the Smell



Smell of the holy Flesh, nor did the holy Flesh ever stink or breed Worms ; nor was there ever seen a Fly in the House, or Place for Slaughter ; nor did ever the *Gonorrhœa* happen to the Priest upon the Day of Expiation ; nor did Rains put out the Fire of the Altar, nor the Wind prevail over the Pillar of Smoke ; nor was any profane thing found in the Sheaf of the first Fruits, or the two Loaves of the High-priest, or in the Shew-Bread.

Chap. 3.



But the Rights and Honours that belonged to this holy City are related with great Judgment and Exactness by *Cunæus* ; with which I shall conclude this Chapter. Among all the Cities most eminent was the Sanctity of *Jerusalem*, and (as the *Talmud* delivers) it remained perpetual, ever since the Dedication by the most glorious King *Solomon*. That *Ezra* should consecrate it again was unnecessary, for it was not capable to be profaned like other Cities by the Hands of the Sacrilegious ; whence it came to pass (as the Tradition is) that it was lawful to sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, and to feast upon the Sacrifices even in the Dust and Ashes of the destroyed City. But how great was the Religion of the Place, appeared by those *Jews* whom *Adrian* the Emperor permitted once a Year to visit the deformed Reliques of the holy City, and there to lament and deplore the Misery of their Nation. This City was not assigned by Lot unto any one Tribe, but was common to them all ; wherefore the *Talmudists* free it from that Law, which commands the Blood privately shed in the Borders of the Tribes to be expiated by slaying of a Heifer. This which follows is not from Superstition, but from the antient and approved Custom of the Nation. *Maimonides* relates, that if any had an upper Room so high that it gave them a Prospect to the Holy of Holies, they might indeed go up once a Week to see all safe, but oftener, or for other Reasons they might not ; and

De Rep. Hebr.  
L. x. c. 7.



Book VI. therefore King *Agrippa* gave great Offence to his People, when from a lofty Room, in his Palace, he took a frequent View of the Temple, and saw from above what was done within it. The *Jews* thinking this to be an unsufferable thing, raised a high Wall to cut off the King's Prospect, and immediately sent ten Embassadors to *Rome*, with *Ishmael* the High-priest, and *Eleazar* the Treasurer, to petition *Nero* for a Confirmation of that which Religion had compelled the People to do.

What *Hecataeus* of *Abdera* says in *Flavius Josephus*, that *Jerusalem* was of fifty Furlongs Compass, inhabited by an hundred and twenty thousand Persons, were not so material for us to know ; but that there is something of singular note concerning the Enlargement of their *Pomaria*, which *Maimonides* has declared out of the *Talmudical* Books, and this it is. In the Enlargement of the City, the great Senate of the *Sanhedrim*, and the King, and one Prophet, consulted the Oracle called the *Urim* and *Thummin*. After they had agreed among themselves about the Interpretation of the divine Answer, the Senators of the *Sanhedrim* recited two Verses of Thanksgiving ; and having taken two Loaves of leavened Bread, and departing presently with Instruments of Musick, made a Stand at the Turning of every Street, and at all Monuments erected in the City, and pronounced these Words. *I will extol thee O Lord, because thou hast lifted me up.* At last, when they were come to the Place designed for Consecration, because it was to be the Bound of their *Pomaria*, they all stopped, and there of the two Loaves taken with them, after the Verses sung, they eat one, the other they burnt in the Flames. These things received from their Ancestors, the *Talmudical* Writers have thus left upon Record ; nor are they improbable, since the like, and almost the same, are extant in the twelfth Chapter of *Nehe-*  
*miah's*



*miab's* Commentaries ; Yet in aftertimes the Chap. 3.  
 Liberty of the *Jews* being oppressed by the *Ro-*  
*mans*, this Prolation of their *Pomaria* depended  
 not upon the Pleasure of their great Council, but  
 of the *Roman* People. *Cornelius Tacitus* likewise  
 relates, that the *Jews* with a great Sum of Mo-  
 ney purchased Leave to fortify ; from whence it  
 appears, that the Queen of Cities, *Jerusalem*, was  
 in the same Condition with all Towns under  
 the *Roman* Power, whose Walls could not be re-  
 paired without the Authority of the Prince or  
 Governor, nor any thing joined to them, or set  
 upon them. And truly *Claudius Cæsar*, when  
 he had received Intelligence that they were en-  
 closing *Jerusalem* with a mighty Wall, admo-  
 nished *Agrippa* of that new Attempt ; and there-  
 upon the King, in Obedience to the Emperor,  
 left off the Work he had undertaken.

*Jerusalem* was the Capital City, the Seat of  
 Religion, and holy Rites ; therefore that being  
 overthrown, there fell with it the Form of the  
*Jewish* Republick, both civil and sacred. What  
*Flavius* says of a Voice heard out of the Temple  
 before the Destruction of the City, *Let us go hence*,  
 seems to me to signify nothing less, than that the  
 Commonwealth was to be dissolved, and the  
 Sceptre to be taken away, which of old was  
 given to the holy Nation ; for within a short  
 time the Orders, and Functions, and Rites, and  
 almost all their Laws ceased, and there followed  
 great Confusion, Desolation and Distraction. The  
 most sacred College of the *Hasideans*, that drew its  
 Original from the Prophets, was now no more ;  
 because their Custom was to go every Day to the  
 Temple, and to bestow voluntary Charges upon  
 Sacrifices, and upon the Porches and Walls of  
 the Sanctuary. And whereas *Moses* imposed upon  
 Strangers, that should become Profelytes, the Ob-  
 lation of some certain Gift, this upon the Dis-  
 solution began to be deferred altogether till ano-  
 ther Time, when the third Sanctuary, which they



Book VI. yet expect, shall be built. Nor do they any more marry their Brothers Widows who have no Children. And the Solemnity of the Passover never since that Time, has been rightly celebrated; for the Law commanded it should be kept in that Place wherein God had chosen to fix the Seat of his House. Of so much Consequence was the Fall of one City; it has changed and perverted all things, and brought to Ruin the Republick of the greatest People in the World.

#### CHAP. IV.

#### *Of the Patriarchs of the Jews, or Heads of Captivity in the West.*

THE Ruin of *Jerusalem* was the Cause that the *Jews* were very much dispers'd; whilst those who had escap'd the Sword of the *Romans*, and the Flames which reduced *Jerusalem* and its Temple to Ashes, or who, after the Desolation of this great City, were not sold in the Market, as Slaves, and Horses, sought out Places of Sanctuary and Retreat: One they found in the *East*, and at *Babylon*, where there was still a great Number of those that had been carried away captive in the antient Wars; it being natural for them to go and implore the Charity of their Brethren, who had rais'd themselves there to considerable Fortunes. Others took Refuge in *Egypt*, where there had been likewise for a long time *Jews* potent and rich enough to receive these miserable People: But they carried with them their Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, which occasion'd a fresh Massacre of them. The *Rabbins* affirm, that the considerable Families were, even at this time, transported into *Spain*, which they called *Sepharad*; in which Country are still the Remains of the Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Juda*,  
and



and the Descendents of the House of *David*: Chap. 4.

Whereupon the *Spanish Jews* have always look'd upon those of other Nations with Contempt, as if the Blood-Royal, and the Distinction of the Tribes were better preserv'd among them. We will examine in the Sequel, whether they are well grounded. At present let us observe that there was a fourth Class of *Jews*, who with juster Pretensions might boast of their Origin. These remain'd in their Country, either in the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, or the neighbouring Places, where they distinguish'd themselves by gathering up a little Body of their Nation, and by the Employments they exercis'd. The *Rabbins* also affirm, that *Titus* removed the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne*, or *Jamnia*, and that two Academies were erected, one at *Tiberias*, and the other at *Lydda*. Lastly, They maintain, that there was also at that Time a *Patriarch*, who having first labour'd to re-establish Religion, and his forelorn Church, extended his Authority over all the Synagogues of the *West*; and 'tis of these *Western Patriarchs* of the *Jews* I will first treat, before I give the History of the *Babylonish Captivity*.

Every Body knows, that the *Eastern Jews* sent their Offerings annually to *Jerusalem*, all the time the Temple stood. They came themselves thither in Multitudes to worship; and these Multitudes of Strangers were sometimes so great, that they startled the *Roman Governor* of *Judea*, and made him acquaint the Emperor with it; as fearing some potent Succours might come from thence, to relieve their oppressed Brethren, and defend their Religion, annex'd to the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

But when the Temple and Altars were demolish'd, and the Custom of sacrificing abolish'd, the *Eastern Jews* ceas'd coming to worship at *Jerusalem*, and began to despise that Part of their Nation which was in the *West*, or was miserable in *Judea*: Insensibly they became divided into



Book. VI. two different Parties, one of which, that inhabited *Egypt, Judea, Italy*, and the other Parts of the *Roman Empire*, were called *Western Jews*, in Opposition to those who were settled at *Babylon*, in *Chaldea, Assyria* and *Persia*, which were call'd *Eastern Jews*. In process of Time they had different Doctors and Heads. The Heads of the *West*, who lived in *Judea*, stiled themselves *Patriarchs*, and the Heads of the *East*, *Princes of the Captivity*.

The *Jews* make a great Difference betwixt the *Patriarchs* of *Judea*, and the *Princes* of the *Babylonish Captivity*, calling the latter *Rabbana*, and the others simply *Rabban*: They maintain that the *Princes* descended from *David* in a direct Male-Line, whereas the *Patriarchs* proceeded only from the Females: They say that the *House of David* has its whole *Vigour*, because there are still illustrious Persons of this Family at *Bagded*, out of which are chosen the Chiefs of the Nation, as has been ever done time out of Mind.

*Jerusalem* being destroy'd, and the People dispers'd in divers Places, there remain'd only a small Number of the Priests and Laity, who endeavour'd to settle themselves in *Judea*: The Remainder of the Priests and Levites labour'd to gather up the shatter'd Reliques of their Nation; for which *Tiberias* and *Japhne* seem'd the properest Places. The Authority was then entire in the Hands of the Priests, who were best instructed in the Law they were willing to preserve, and the fittest to teach it to the People. The *House of David* was almost extinct: His Descendants reduc'd to get their Bread by the Tillage of a few Acres of Land, had for a long Time laid aside the Thoughts of re-establishing the Throne of their Ancestors. The People were still less mindful of restoring them, or even of giving them any Shadow of Authority, because this would have stirr'd up the Jealousie of the *Romans*, and re-awaken'd their Cruelty. *Agrippa*,  
the





the last of the *Herodian* Family, was gone to *Rome*, where he lived as a private Person, far from any Design of assuming the Empire of the Nation. So that if there was any Shadow of Superiority among the *Jews* that remain'd at *Tiberias*, it fell into the Hands of the Priests, of the Race of *Levi* and *Aaron*, whom their Science and Understanding of the Law rais'd above the Vulgar. 'Tis easie to conclude, that this could be no great Authority in so astonishing a Desolation as was that of the *Jews*. They were only a parcel of poor Fugitives, whose Misery had made them slighted and despised of the *Romans*: But insensibly their Authority increas'd proportionably as the People grew numerous and potent; and as the chief of every Class of Priests was call'd *Rosch Abbot*, the Chief or Head of the Fathers, they took the Title of *Patriarch*, which signifies the same in *Greek*, a Language better known than *Hebrew* in the *Roman* Empire. And thus the Heads of the Captivity in *Judea* were not of the House of *David*, but of the Tribe of *Levi*.

This Patriarch was the Head of the Nation in all the *West*, ( the Prince of the Captivity was in the *East*) *Egypt*, and the neighbouring Places where there were any *Jews* depending on him. He decided Cases of Conscience, and the important Affairs of the Nation: He presided over the Synagogues; he levied Tributes to defray the Expences of his Visits; he had Officers under him which circuited the Provinces to execute his Orders. In a Word, he obtained by Degrees a very great Authority over all the dispersed *Jews*, who were proud to acknowledge him for their Chief, and to depend on him, whereby to maintain some Shadow of Union. Besides the Patriarch, the *Jews* placed Doctors over their Academies, to whom they commonly gave the Title of *Heads* and *Princes*; either to raise the Dignity of the Office, or to testify the Veneration

Dis-



Book VI. Disciples have, and ought to have for their Masters. These Heads of the Academies were commonly Rivals of the Patriarchs, and there were sometimes violent Contests betwixt them. The same Person also sometimes exercised both these Offices, which causes a great deal of Confusion : However they must be distinguished.

If we credit the Jews, the Institution of the Patriarchs preceded the Ruin of the Temple an hundred Years ; for they tell you, that thirty Years before the Birth of Christ, *Hillel*, surnamed the *Babylonian*, ( because he came from that Country ) arrived at *Jerusalem*, and was consulted about the Celebration of the Passover, which fell that Year upon a *Saturday*. His Answer was so satisfactory, that they made him Patriarch of the Nation, and his Posterity succeeded him down to the fifth Century of the Christian Church, in which the Patriarchs of *Judea* were abolished.

They made a second *Moses* of this first Patriarch, because he lived an hundred and twenty Years as that Legislator ; forty Years of them he spent in Obscurity ; at fourscore he was chosen Head of the People, and forty Years after he died.

They also compare him to *Esdras*, because like that sacred Writer, he came from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*. Besides that, he had his gentle Temper, and other good Qualities. They ascribe a thousand Disciples to him, though some bring down this Number to fourscore. In fine, his Death was bitterly lamented with this Out-cry, *Where is the Saint ? Where is the Disciple of Esdras ?*

*Hillel* is commonly made to be succeeded by *Simeon*, his Son, in his patriarchal Dignity and Presidentship of the *Sanhedrim* ; and the Christians seeing this Man to bear a considerable Figure among the Jews, have fancied that he was that old *Simeon* mentioned in the Gospel, who waited for the Kingdom of God, and received Jesus Christ into his Arms.





*Jochanan* succeeded *Simeon*, whose Reign was short. He was not of the Family of *Hillel*; but his Merit rais'd him to this Dignity, and superceded the Laws of Succession. This Man is one of those whom the modern *Rabbins* immoderately extol. He attained the Age of *Moses*; he spent forty Years in Commerce, and pleading before the *Sanhedrim*, and composed such Multitudes of Precepts and Lessons, that if the Heavens were Paper, and all the Trees of the Forest so many Pens, and all Men so many Secretaries, they would not suffice to write his Lessons. He became Prince of the Nation and reigned but two Years, though some allow him five. It was he that seeing the Gates of the Temple open of themselves, cry'd out; *O Temple! Temple! why dost thou trouble thy self? We know that thou must be destroyed; for Zachariah has prophesied it, saying, Mount Libanon open thy Gates, and let the Flame consume thy Cedars.* He left *Jerusalem* besieged, and came to *Vespasian* in his Camp, whom he called King: *Vespasian* surpriz'd with a Title which it was dangerous to receive under the Empire of *Nero*, imposed him Silence: But he answered the General, that though he was not as yet King, he should be so, since the Temple was to be demolished by a King, according to *Isaiah's* Prediction. The *Jews* should at least know that *Vespasian* never besieged *Jerusalem*, for he was proclaimed Emperor the Year before the Siege, and had Business enough to defend himself against *Vitellius*, who was supported with a great many Legions. It was *Titus* that formed this Siege, and it was then too late to predict an Empire to *Vespasian*, which he had already. Some more exact Doctors avoid the Fault, by saying only, that *Jochanan* waiting on this Prince discovered a profound Knowledge, which rendered him so agreeable to the Emperor *Titus*, as to obtain his Leave to remove the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne*. That City, which is also called *Jamnia*, was situated near



Book VI. near the *Mediterranean* Sea in the Tribe of *Dan*.  
 Here it is said a famous Academy was erected, which subsisted till *Akiba's* Death, in which were reckoned three hundred Classes of Scholars : And this Academy was at the same time the Mansion of the Patriarch. Thus the *Jews* relate this.

*Jochanan* died full of a profound Humility. He is made to weep and lament because his Sins were to follow him before the Throne of God : And whereas the Kings of the Earth inflict only transient Punishment, which determines with Life, God being more severe, difficultly pardons ; and the Fire into which he plunges the guilty eternally burns.

*Gamaliel* of *Japhne*, or of *Dibanah*, filled his Place. The Design was to put him to death with his Father, when *Jerusalem* was taken ; but *Titus* gave him Life at *Jochanan's* Request. He escaped a second Time when *Turnus Rufus* caused the Plough to be drawn over the Temple : He was so haughty and severe, that they were obliged to set Bounds to his Authority. Some even maintain, that he was deposed ; but the *Rabbins* affirm at the same Time, " That his Authority " was so great, that not only the *Jews* through- " out the Universe obeyed his Laws, but fo- " reign Kings permitted the Execution of them, " and not one of them opposed them." *Samuel the little*, lived at that time, who was the Composer of the Prayer against Hereticks, which has ever been solemnly repeated, begging of God, *That there may be no Hope for Apostates : That all Hereticks may perish by a sudden Death : That the Reign of Pride may be broken and annihilated in our Days : Blessed be thou, O Lord God, who destroyest the Wicked, and humblest the Proud.*

*Simeon II.* His Son was Prince and Martyr, for he was kill'd during the Siege of *Jerusalem*. It is affirmed, that he was so far from Extortion, and enriching himself in the Temple, that he considerably abated the Price of the Birds, which the





the Women were obliged to buy for their Purification; and his Death was so regretted, that the *Jews* added three Cups of Wine to those they used to drink at the Funerals of their Saints and great Men: They were obliged to drink ten, and they resolved to drink thirteen in Memory of the first Martyr that was made by the *Roman* Emperors. They grew drunk so often, by this Addition of Cups, that the *Sanhedrim* was obliged to retrench them. Judicious People will wonder to find such Things produced as glorious to those they were instituted for; but the *Rabbins* have no Delicacy or good Taste in their Elogies: They have preserved *Jochanan's* Answer to the Question, What he did to live so long? I never made Water within four Cubits of an House of Prayer; I have never disguised my Name; I have celebrated the Feast Days, for which Purpose my Mother sold even the Ornaments of my Head to purchase Wine, of which she left me three hundred Casks when she died. That of *Baba* the Son of *Baba* is more ridiculous: He was accused of being one of the most famous Cuckolds of his Nation: Pish, says he, what signifies it, *Semen non uritur igne, ut albumen ovi coagulatur calore.*

These are the Patriarchs that must have preceded the Ruin of *Jerusalem*, or according to others, immediately followed it; but to me they seem all imaginary: And indeed the Scripture never mentions these Princes of the Nation. The *Asmoneans* who at once made themselves Kings and High-priests, would have been far from suffering an Head of a People of the Race of *David*, whose bare Presence would have reproached their Usurpation: They were themselves supream in Church and State; how then would they have suffered the Patriarchs? and would these Princes that are made to succeed one another, from *Esdras*, have tolerated Usurpers that dethroned them? On the other Hand, *Herod* would never have placed a Prince of the People near him, who



Book VI. who might so closely straighten his Authority. We still find in the Gospels the High-priest at the Head of the Council : *Caiaphas* presides when it is deliberated about the Death of Christ, and pronounces that *it is expedient that one Man should die for the People*. Jesus Christ should have been carried before the Prince of the Nation rather than before the High-priest ; for *Ecclesia nescit sanguinem* ; and yet he was led still before *Caiphas* and *Annas*. It is the High-priest that imposes Silence on the Apostles, who had been haled and accused before the *Sanhedrim* : From him it was that *Saul*, going to *Damascus* to persecute the *Saints*, received credential Letters to the Heads of the Synagogues. *St. Paul*, when converted, appeared before *Ananias*, another High-priest, who, as Judge and Head of the *Sanhedrim*, commanded to give him a Blow on the Face. Is it possible the Gospel should speak so often of the High-priest in all Processes, and never mention the Prince of the Nation, who was the ordinary Judge ?

Besides, these Princes or Patriarchs are as unknown to *Josephus*, as to the sacred Writers. He could not be ignorant of their Names, Succession and Privileges, if they had been established before *Jerusalem* was destroyed ; and yet he has not said a Word of these Patriarchs. On the contrary, he places the High-priest at the Head of the Council, and gives *Ananias* the Direction of the War, which must of Right have belonged to the Prince of the Nation, preferable to a Priest ; an evident Proof that there were then none of these Princes.

These Princes must often have suffered from the Persecution of the *Herods*, and the Inconstancy of the People : How is it possible that they alone should be the only undisturbed Possessors of so important a Post at *Jerusalem*, whilst the High-priest was so often deposed ; and yet we see no Revolution in the Family of these Patriarchs, where



where the Son constantly succeeded the Father ; Chap. 4.  
we find them neither at the Head of the People,  
nor at the Head of the Church ; neither in the  
Temple, nor the City ; neither among the Re-  
bels, nor those that preferred Peace to the trou-  
bles of War : Where could they hide them-  
selves, and of what Use were these clandestine  
Men, on whom, at present, such mighty Elogies  
are bestowed ?

I am persuaded therefore, That we must  
leave to the High-priests the Authority of Govern-  
ing the Church while the Temple stood, and  
that there was then neither Prince nor Head of  
the Nation, nor Patriarch that presided over the  
*Sanhedrim*, in a middle Order betwixt the High-  
priest and the King. After the Destruction  
of *Jerusalem*, the *Levites*, and the Priests that  
remained in *Judea*, took on them the Govern-  
ment of the People ; but their Authority was  
proportioned to the Misery of the Nation, that  
is very weak and obscure. But when they began  
to reassume Vigour, the Heads of the People ap-  
peared under the Title of Patriarch, and their  
true Origin was under *Adrian's* Empire, as we  
shall see in the following Chapter.





## C H A P. V.

*The Dignity of the Patriarchs of Judea, or the Princes of the West: Their Rights, Privileges and Office, after the Ruin of Jerusalem. Of the Primates.*

THE Emperor *Adrian* being in *Egypt* was informed, That a Patriarch sometimes came there, and that then some importuned him to worship *Serapis*, and others would have him worship *Jesus Christ*. In vain should we seek for this Patriarch in *Egypt* among the Heathens, where there never was any; and as vainly should we search for him among the Christians, as if *St. Mark* and *St. Peter* had established them at *Alexandria* in the Infancy of the Church; for that Dignity was not founded among the Christians till long after the Empire of *Adrian*, and the second Age of the Church. He that the Emperor speaks of did not reside at *Alexandria*; but came there from time to time to visit the Synagogue, and his Nation. He was not an Heathen, since they would have forced him to worship *Serapis*; nor was he a Christian, since he refused to adore *Jesus Christ*: And of what Religion could he be, since he equally rejected *Heathenism* and *Christianity*? He was a Jew, and the Patriarch of that Nation which we are in Search of: And here we discover the Origin of that Office which is absurdly made more antient.

*Titus* who dispersed the Nation of the Jews, and sold the Inhabitants in the Market, like Horses, was far from granting them a Council with a supream Head. *Domitian*, his Brother, who

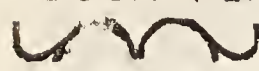


who succeeded him, treated the *Jews* with great Cruelty. It was only then under the Empire of *Nerva*, which was much more gentle, that they began to take Breath again ; and the Priests who remained in *Judea*, took advantage of so favourable a Circumstance to restore some Form of Government. The first of these Priests, who was the *Rosch Abbot*, the *Patriarch*, began to distinguish himself from the rest. There was scarce any mention of him under the Reign of *Trajan*, because this Prince punished them severely ; but he made himself known under *Adrian*, by the Visits he made from Time to Time into *Egypt*, to take Cognizance of the State of the Synagogues of that Country, and to collect some Money for the Relief of his own and the Peoples Necessities.

Consequent to this Origin, it must be owned, that *Simeon III.* Son of *Gamaliel*, is the first *Patriarch* that is known to us ; for he lived under the Empire of *Adrian*. He descended in a right Line from *Hillel the Old*, and this Dignity remained in his Family till the Year 429 of the *Christian Æra*, when it was abolished.

This *Patriarch's* Residence was neither at *Lydda* nor *Jamnia*, as is commonly supposed, but at *Tiberias*, a City situate upon the Banks of the Lake that bears its Name, and is frequently mentioned in the Gospels. *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, who built it, named it *Tiberias*, and its advantageous Situation quickly rendered it a considerable City, and it became the Metropolis of *Galilee*. *Agrippa* being obliged to leave *Rome*, retired thither with his Uncle. *Claudius* gave it him afterwards, which is the Reason of its bearing the Name of *Claudia Tiberias* in Medals. *Josephus* seized on it during the War, and sustained a Siege ; but *Vespasian* at last made himself Master of it. It abounded with Fishermen ; and that Multitude of Seamen which battered down *Herod's* Temple, because the Figures of some Birds and Beasts were painted in it, came



Book VI. from *Tiberias*. For the same Reason we see a  Bark in many Medals struck by this City. In another that was struck under *Trajan*, we find *Health* surrounded with a Serpent, and seated upon a Mountain, from whence issued a great deal of Waters, because *Tiberias* was famous for its Waters and hot Baths, which were very salutary to the Sick. In a Town so convenient as this and less suspected than *Jerusalem* to the *Romans*, some *Jews* gathered together, and some of their Priests. Here they laid the Foundations of an Academy, which became famous by the Composition of the *Misnah*, and the Reputation of the Doctors that taught in it: And here also was the Residence of the *Patriarch* of the whole Nation.

The *Patriarch* had under him considerable Officers, some of which had the common Title, with others, of *Rosch Abbot*, *Patriarchs*, or Heads of the Fathers, and the others were *Apostles*.

The *Patriarchs* often mentioned in the Imperial Laws, were subaltern Officers to the *Grand Patriarch*. Their Jurisdiction was confined to certain Places. They depended on his Orders, and were obliged to see them executed: They were even inferior to the Heads of the Synagogues; for they are constantly placed after them in the Emperor's Edicts: There the *Grand Patriarch* is stiled *Illustrious*, *Illustris* & *Clarissimus*, and the Christians who were often transported with a fierce Zeal, were forbidden to affront them; whereas much less regard was had to the *Patriarch* of the second Order, to whom the Emperors never granted so honourable Titles.

There were also some Apostles. We must not look for any great Mysteries in this Title, as if he that applied it to the Ministers of the *Jewish Patriarch*, had a Design to imitate or insult the Christians, to whom that Office was venerable; or as if *Jesus Christ*, the true Head of all the Church,



Church, and of the Fathers, had borrowed this Expression from the *Jews*, as being in use among them; for the *Jews* first Acquaintance with these Officers, and using this Term, was not till after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*; when being totally subject to the *Romans*, they borrowed several Expressions from the *Greeks*; besides, the observing its Signification is sufficient to inform us, that there is nothing mysterious in it. For the Apostles of the *Jewish Patriarchs* were *Envoys*, or *Legates*, who circuited the Provinces by their Master's Order, to regulate, in his Name, the Differences that arose betwixt private Persons, or in the Synagoges. They had also a Commission to levy the Impost that was paid annually to the *Patriarch*, and at their Return they informed him in what Condition they found the Churches. They served him as Counsellors, and bore a distinguishing Character in the Nation.

The *Patriarch's* greatest Revenue was the Tribute, or Impost which he levied upon all the Synagogues under his Jurisdiction. It was an ancient Custom in the Nation, to bring or send every Year a *Didrachm* to the Treasure of the Temple. *Moses* commanded it, and they that limit this Tribute to the Time of the Legislature, have not read *Josephus*, who asserts, that it was paid still in his Time. Most Interpreters also believe that it was this Tribute which was demanded of our Lord in *Galilee*, because the Capitation imposed by the *Romans*, was much greater, and proportioned to the Substance of the Persons that paid it. Besides, the Collectors of the Empire would not have been so civil to *Jesus Christ*, as to ask his Disciple whether he would pay it, but would have exacted it with more Rigour. The *Didrachm* was the half of a *Sicle*, which was worth about our Fifteen-pence. It is said, there was upon this Coin, an Harp on one Side, and a Vine on the other. But since, it is certain, that the Rod of *Aaron*, and the Urn of Manna



Book VI. were engraven upon the *Sicles* : I see no Reason why they should change this Signature, to put another upon the *Semi-Sicles*. It is true, the remote Synagogues changed their Silver into Gold, for the Conveniency of Carriage, but those of *Judea* made use of the common Money.

The *Talmudists* affirm, that Proclamation was made every Year in the Synagogues, with the Sound of Trumpets, to mind them of the Payment of their Tax, and that the last Day of *May* was the utmost Term for the Payment : It is much more certain, that the Synagogues had need of the Emperor's Warrant, and a particular Order to levy this Money, after *Judea*, and a part of *Syria* were conquered. At least *Josephus* has related *Agrippa's* Letters, and *Augustus's* Order, permitting the Synagogues of *Asia* and *Egypt*, to send their Money to *Jerusalem* ; and if it be true, that it was the ecclesiastical Tribute which our Lord pay'd at *Capernaum*, we must not seek for the Civility of the Exactors in the Corruptions of those Times, as the learned *Grotius* does. It proceeded rather from this, that the Farmers who had not perhaps as yet received the Emperor's Permission, or who durst not ask it of *Tiberius*, for fear of being refused, could not constrain any Body, and obliged none to pay, but who did it voluntarily, and out of Devotion. For this Reason the Receiver at *Capernaum* asked *St. Peter*, whether his Master would pay the *Didrachm*.

The Emperor seized this Tribute, after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*. *Domitian* exacted it with a Severity answerable to his insatiable Avarice. *Nerva* relaxed a part of it, which the *Patriarch* of the *Jews*, who then began first to appear, appropriated to himself.

The *Patriarch* exacted this Tribute of all the Synagogues of the *West*. He especially drew great Sums out of *Egypt*, where the *Jews* had been long established, and were rich ; and to do it



it the easier, he went thither in Person. There it was that the Emperor *Adrian* heard of this Head of the Nation. There *Origen* knew another of these *Patriarchs*, unless we had rather say he had seen him in *Judea*, when he retired there to avoid the Insults and Persecutions of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. *St. Epiphanius* says, that the Apostles went to make their Levies as far as the Provinces of *Cilicia*; and we see by the imperial Laws, that they came into all the Provinces of the Empire, where there were any *Jews*. Chap. 5.

This Power was often abused; for covetous or necessitous *Patriarchs* rendered themselves odious to the Nation by their vexatious Ways of gathering of Money. They exacted the Tribute, with such Severity, that the People complained of it, and published their Complaints, presenting a Petition to *Julian* the Apostate, to be freed from it. The Emperor not only received them favourably, but abolished the Impost, and forbade the Payment, *that the People, said he, being discharged from all Taxes, and enjoying an happy Liberty, may pray more ardently for the Prosperity of the Empire.* This artful Prince was in the right, for the People never pray so earnestly to God for the Sovereign, as when he lessens the Taxes, though they appear necessary for the Preservation of the Church, and the Subsistence of its prime Ministers.

Besides the Tribute which the Synagogues paid the *Patriarch*, he had also a great Authority over them: First he nominated their Heads, who often bought this Dignity of him. *Palladius*, a zealous Defender of *St. Chrysostom*, actually charged the *Patriarch* of his Time with his selling Ecclesiastical Dignities; and that the easier to enrich himself, he deposed those he had set over the Synagogues, that he might draw a new Sum of Money from other Candidates. Thus the *Greek Patriarchs* at *Constantinople* often depose



Book VI. the Metropolitans and Bishops of their own Creation, that they may more frequently sell the Priesthood; and the *Grand Visier*, in Imitation of them, makes the *Patriarch* experience the same Fate. He had moreover the Power of erecting new Synagogues, but this Privilege was often limited, and cancelled by the Imperial Laws, which prohibited the *Jews* from making any new Structures, and commanded them to be content with those they were in Possession of. They judged the Differences that arose betwixt the Synagogues; they decided the Controversies and Difficulties relating to the Law. *Lastly*, *Origen* says, that the *Patriarchs* sentenced the Guilty to Death. And yet he wrote to one of his Friends, that this Nation had lost the Right of condemning Adulterers and Murderers, and punishing them as the Law commanded. If he spoke only of Adulterers, we might easily reconcile the Contradiction, because he might have been able to show the Cessation of the Miracle, which the *Waters of Jealousy* wrought upon the Women that violated their conjugal Faith. But since he adds Murderers, how can it be said that the *Patriarchs* sentenced them to Death, and that he had lost the Right of punishing them? whoever reads the Imperial Laws, would easily discover that the *Patriarchs* were far from having a Power of Life and Death over the *Jews*; nor can we find in all their History one Example of such an Execution, made publickly in due Form. *Origen* therefore is mistaken in giving the *Patriarch* this Authority; or rather he meant to say, that they had the Privilege of punishing Criminals with great Severity in the Synagogues, where they whipt them till Blood was drawn, and even to Death, particularly when they were Persons that designed to embrace Christianity, or had already done it. The Christian Emperors permitted the *Jews* the Exercise of their Discipline and Censures. Sometimes this Permission

was



was abused by the Extravagance of the Punishment ; and the Judges either tolerated, or being corrupted by the Head of the Synagogue, connived at this Encroachment upon the Sovereign Authority. But this was not a Privilege annexed to the *patriarchal Dignity*, and it is still true that the *Jews* had lost the Power of inflicting capital Punishments. Chap. 5.

The Emperor *Theodosius*, under whom the *Jewish Patriarchs* flourished, was obliged to set Bounds to their Power. This Prince's Edict is obscure in several Places ; but by unravelling its true Meaning, we may come to a perfect Knowledge of the Extent of the *patriarchal Jurisdiction*.

*First*, He forbids *Gamaliel*, who was then *Patriarch*, to build new Synagogues, and commands *Aurelian* to demolish those that were little frequented, if it could be done without occasioning Commotions in the Cities. *Gamaliel* had abused his Power at Court ; and fancying himself at Liberty to build new Temples, because he was protected, he built some. In the mean Time there was a general Law in the Empire, That no Body could erect new Churches without the Emperor's Concession.

*Theodosius* also forbade *Gamaliel* to judge of Differences that arose betwixt *Christians* and *Jews* ; and when the Parties were of two Religions, he referred the Cause to the ordinary Magistrate. This shews that the *Patriarch* had Right only to determine the Differences of his Nation, which were commonly concerning the Observation of the Law. *Gamaliel* imagined it was sufficient for one of the Parties to be of his Religion, to bring the other to his Tribunal, and give him Power to judge of the Case ; but *Theodosius* put a Stop to that second Usurpation, with which he only charges *Gamaliel*, who then governed.

The same Law forbids the *Patriarch* to dishonour any Man, slave or free, with the Mark of *Judaism*. This Mark was Circumcision, which



Book VI. the *Patriarch* thought he had Right of conferring on all those that quitted Heathenism, or the Christian Religion, to become *Jews*. This happened particularly to the Slaves which the *Jews* bought, and more easily instructed in the Principles of their Religion; but this part of Liberty of Conscience was taken from them. *Antoninus* had given a like Law before, which made it capital for a *Jew* to circumcise a Man who was not of his Nation; but in order to cure this Mischief still more effectually, *Theodosius* forbade the *Jews* to keep Christian Slaves; because, as we have observed, they were the Slaves that were kept in *Jewish* Houses that most commonly embraced their Masters Religion. This Nation therefore had Liberty of Conscience left to themselves, but they were not allowed to make Conquests and Profelytes.


Here follows what is most obscure, and most important in the Law of *Theodosius*. This Prince orders *Aurelian* to withdraw out of the Hands of the *Patriarch Gamaliel*, the Letters of command he had received, and to leave him only the Honour he had before, since he thought he might transgress with Impunity, whilst he saw himself raised to a greater Dignity. It is a Punishment the Emperor imposes on this *Patriarch*, because puffed up with his new Exaltation he had sinned against the Laws. But what was that Dignity that had rendered *Gamaliel* so haughty; and what must we understand by the *Letters of Command* which the Emperor orders to be taken from him? It is certain *Gamaliel* had great Credit at Court, since *Theodosius* caused *Dudus Hesychnus* to be condemned to Death at his Prayer and Entreaty, because he had carried away his Papers. And the Decree was executed, tho' *Hesychnus* was of consular Dignity, and a considerable Person in the Empire. And yet it cannot be imagined that this *Jewish Patriarch* had any Cominand. Interpreters think hereby is meant Patents



Patents of Doctor of Physick, because *Gamaliel*, tho' a *Patriarch*, was notwithstanding a Physician, and exercised his Profession, and gave Medicines, which have been commended by *Sextus Empiricus* : But the Quality of Physician neither distinguished *Gamaliel* in the Empire, nor among the *Jews*, who have always exercised that Profession to get a Livelihood. Nor can it be said that these Letters of Command were those he obtained of the Emperor to become *Patriarch* : For besides that this Office was hereditary, *Theodosius* insinuates, that it was some particular Favour he had granted *Gamaliel*, which he deprived him of, because he had abused it. These Letters of Command were rather the Patent of an honorary Prefecture, which was sometimes granted to Persons in the Empire distinguished by their Birth, Merit, or Services, or whom the Emperor pleased to honour. These Patents gave no real Jurisdiction, but a Man bore in Publick the Ensigns of his prefectoral Dignity. He might even ascend the Tribunal, and take his Seat among the Judges, tho' he had no decisive Voice, nor sat there otherwise than as a Post of Honour. The Emperor alone had the Power of granting these Patents. *Gamaliel* had procured to him this Mark of Distinction, but lost it by his Pride ; and *Aurelian* was charged to take out of his Hands that Patent of Command, or honorary Prefecture.

This is the Sense of the Law of *Theodosius* the younger, by which we see before the *Patriarchs* could have Power to erect new Synagogues, they were first to obtain the Prince's Permission : That the Authority of judging respected only the Differences that arose betwixt the *Jews*, and that if a Christian was one of the contending Parties, he brought the Cause before the ordinary Tribunal. If they had Liberty of Conscience, it did not extend to the making Profelytes. However, that was the happiest Time for that Nation,



Book VI.  tion, since *Gamaliel* was, perhaps, the only Person of it that ever enjoyed an honorary Patent. This Dignity was abolished in the Year four hundred twenty nine, after having lasted three hundred and fifty Years.

There remains but one Thing to be examined concerning the Authority of the *Patriarchs*, which respects their Deposition. As they were the Heads of the Religion and Church, it seems that no Tribunal in the Nation could pretend to judge, try and depose them when they had violated the Law. These judicial Assemblies had been formed with great Difficulty in the Empire, where the Nation was most commonly oppressed : And yet the *Rabbins* maintain, that a Society cannot be deprived of a Right of deposing an Head, that is not vigilant to preserve the Body, or that endeavours its Destruction. They alledge the Example of *Meir*, who had a Design to expel *Simeon* III, and formed a Conspiracy to deprive him of his Office. *Meir* was Vice-President of the Council. *Simeon* perceiving the same Honours paid to him, as to himself, when they entered into the Assembly, resolved to make some Distinction in them. *Meir* provoked, resolved to lay a Snare for the *Patriarch* ; to interrogate him upon an important Question, it was that of Lice ; and as they thought ; he could not be ready upon the Subject, they were resolved to depose him. But having notice of their Design, he prepared himself and answered their Difficulties. However *Meir*'s Design proves a Right of deposing the *Patriarch*, when he was found ignorant. It is said that *Gamaliel* was actually deposed for some Time. Lastly, They maintain that this Dignity was so little hereditary, that *Judah the Saint*, preferred *Chanina* before one of his Children, because he thought him abler and fitter to fill the patriarchal Chair. The last of these Facts is evidently false : For *Judah the Saint* conferred the Office of *Prince*, or *Patriarch*, on his Son

Gama-



*Gamaliel*, and *Chanina* was only made Head of Chap. 5. the Academy. St. *Epiphanius* likewise informs us, that the Patriarchat was so much hereditary, that tho' *Hillel* left but one Son who was a Minor, yet he was created *Patriarch*; and he had learnt this from *Joseph* a Jew, and Tutor to this Child, who ought to have understood the Laws of his Nation.

The Fathers of the Christian Church seem to have had no great Notion of all these *Patriarchs*. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* insulted their Extraction, and maintained that it would be a Shame to search into the Baseness of their Race. St. *Chrysostom* would not allow them to be descended from the Race of *Aaron*: And *Cyril* denied their Descent from that of *David*. And some accused them of a great Corruption of Manners, and an insatiable Avarice.

The *Primates* succeeded the *Patriarchs*, but their Authority was different. It has been pretended, that these *Jewish Primates* resembled those of the Christians; Heads of a Province, and Presidents of the Council assembled in it. But I question the Truth of it; at least I observe that there were many *Jewish Primates* in that one City of *Alexandria*, when *Cyril* the Bishop of it terrified them. It was the People that elected their *Primates* by the Plurality of Voices. Whereas the *Patriarchship* was hereditary in the Family of *Hillel*. *Cunæus* has allotted them the same Authority as the *Patriarchs*, but he bottoms upon a Law of *Theodosius*, which that ingenious and bold Critick had not well read. He makes this Prince say in his Law, That the *Primates* rule in the Council or *Sanhedrim*; but he should have read, that they are nominated, or elected by the Council of the two Provinces. *Palestine* was then divided into three Provinces; and yet the Law speaks but of two; but there is no Necessity of changing the Text, because perhaps there was neither *Sanhedrim* nor *Jewish Pimate*, in the



Book VI. the third part of that Province, which was called the *Salutary*. Each Province maintained its *Primates*, and to that End, the antient Tribute was continued for some Years, which the *Patriarchs* exacted. But *Theodosius* the younger had it brought into his Treasury, and levied by his Officers.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Princes of the Captivity at Babylon.*

**T**HE Origin of the Heads of the Captivity is not known ; it only appears, that there was nothing of them before the End of the second Century. Indeed whilst the Temple of *Jerusalem* stood, the *Eastern* Refugees sent their Presents to *Jerusalem*, and came thither from Time to Time, to pay their Devotions. The Spirit of Schism expired in these strange Countries, and they acknowledged the High-priest for Supream in the Nation : If any continued addicted to the Schism of *Samaria* and *Gerizim*, they sent also their Oblations thither : There was no Thought therefore of setting up an Head of the Captivity, whilst there was any Form of Government in *Judea*.


We must not look for a Prince of the Nation, either in the *West* or *East*, before the Ruin of *Jerusalem*. There was none in the *East*, for no Historian has mentioned any ; and the first of these Chiefs that appears upon the Stage was *Huna*, who lived not till the End of the second Century of the Church. Nor were there any other Princes at *Jerusalem*, besides those that were appointed by the *Romans*. It will be asked, no doubt, whether no Change was made in the *East* after the Downfall of *Jerusalem*. Some Cri-



Criticks maintain, that the Nation was divided into three different Portions, which made to themselves as many Heads. They that remained in the holy Land, continued to have for their Head the President of the *Sanhedrim*. The *Egyptians* elected a *Patriarch*, of whom the Emperor *Adrian* speaks, and the Orientals set up in *Babylon* a Prince of the Captivity. Sometimes it is pretended, that the *Patriarch* of *Judea* ruled over the whole Nation; and the Argument is, that the Emperor *Adrian* speaks only of one *Patriarch* who extended his Authority into *Egypt*, and from thence into the *East*. *Origin* and *St. Jerom* have spoken after the same Manner; and it is in vain to turn over the Imperial Laws, among which there are so many which regulate the Government of the *Jews*; we there only find the sole Dignity of *Patriarch* elevated above the rest.

If a Man may have Leave to produce his Conjectures, on a Subject barren and destitute of Proofs, it appears to me much more propable, that the *Eastern Jews* imitated those of the holy Land, who had made themselves an Head. Having no longer that Bond of Unity which was formed by the Temple of *Jerusalem* and the High-priest; these two parts of the Nation, vastly remote from one another, made themselves Chiefs. According to all Appearances, the Orientals durst not take this Liberty, till the *Parthians*, who tyrannized in the *East*, were beaten under the Empire of *Alexander Severus*, and the last of their Kings ended his Life in a tragical Manner. As they then enjoy'd some Rest by the Overthrow of their Tyrants, they might take that Advantage to give some Form to their Government. This Conjecture agrees with the Time in which *Huna* lived, the first that is known of all the Princes of the *Babylonish* Captivity: For *Huna* was cotemporary with *Juda* the Saint, and was elected Prince of the Nation.



Book VI. tion in the Year 220, or 222. It is true, a-  
 *Jewish* Chronologer sends *Huna* to the End of  
 the third Century, the Year 4060, or 300 of our  
 Saviour. But all the other Writers of the Nation  
 acknowledge, that he was cotemporary with *Ju-*  
*da* the Saint ; and was elected Prince during his  
 Life, or a little after his Death. Lastly, it is  
 easy to remove all the Difficulties urged by the  
 Criticks, about the Unity of the *Patriarch*, or  
 the Plurality of Heads assigned to the *Jew-*  
*ish* Nation, which is what I shall attempt in the  
 following Article.

First, it is true that the *Patriarch* of *Tiberias*  
 was alone for some Time, because the *Jews* of  
*Babylon* had not the Liberty after the Ruin of  
*Jerusalem* to make to themselves a particular  
 Head ; yet it cannot be said that this *Patriarch*  
 extended his Authority over the *Jews* of *Babylon* ;  
 for we find no Track or Proof of it. It must  
 not be wondred at, if in Process of Time only  
 one *Patriarch* was mentioned : *Adrian* had Rea-  
 son for this, since the Princes of the *Babylonish*  
 Captivity were not yet known ; and this Empe-  
 ror took notice only of what passed in *Egypt*.  
 Christian Authors, and the Imperial Laws only  
 respected the *Roman* Empire, on which *Judea*  
 depended ; and it was not known what was  
 done in the *East* under the *Persian* Empire. This  
 Remark ruins the Sub-division that is made of the  
 Nation into three Portions ; for the *Egyptian*  
*Jews* depending on the *Roman* Empire, were sub-  
 ject to the *Patriarch* of *Judea* ; and therefore  
*Adrian* affirms, that he came into this Country  
 from Time to Time. His Seat was not there,  
 nor did he reside in *Egypt*, but he came from  
*Tiberias* to visit his Nation, and raise the Tribute  
 in *Egypt*. *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, and *Theodosius*,  
 could not have been ignorant that there were two  
 Heads of the *Jews*, one in *Egypt*, and the other  
 in *Judea* ; and since they own but one, it is ab-  
 surd to multiply them. But in Tract of Time  
 the



the *Patriarchs* of *Tiberias* being abolished, the Refugees of *Egypt*, who were not accustomed to depend upon that of *Babylon*, thought they had Right to set up a particular Chief of their own; and therefore *Benjamin de Tudela* does not put *Egypt* into the Diocess of the *Babylonish* Chief, whereof he has given a large Description: But moreover, sets over the *Jews* in *Egypt*, a Prince of Princes, who was of the Nation, and presided over the Synagogues of this Country. Lastly, After the Institution of two Heads of the Nation, one for the *Roman* Empire, and the other for the *Persian*, they have ever been independent of one another. The *Babylonish Jews* would not submit to the *Patriarch* of *Tiberias* after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*; and it was, doubtless, to be quit of the Obeisance and Homages that the *Jewish Patriarch* required of them, that they set up an Head of their own.

It is pretended that the Head of the Captivity was superior to the *Patriarch*, because all that were of *David's* Race, left *Judea* and retired into *Babylon*. They maintain, that there it was that the Scepter was found mentioned by *Jacob*, because the Heads of the Captivity enjoyed a great Authority, while the Lawgiver was in *Judea*, where the Descendants of *Hillel*, and some other very able *Rabbins* have taught the Law. Lastly, They cite a Confession of *Judah* the Saint, who owns, that if *Huna*, who was Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*, came into *Judea*, he should be obliged to give him Place, and to rise before him; because *Huna* was of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Race of *David* by King *Jehoiakim*, and he was only of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and of the Race Royal by the Women.

These Princes of the Captivity were installed with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony. The Truth is, the Heads of the neighbouring Academies, the Senators and the People came in Throngs into the City of *Babylon*: The Assembly



Book VI.



bly being formed, and the Prince supposed to be of the Race of *David*, seated upon a kind of Throne, the Head of the Academy of *Syria* exhorted him not to abuse his Power, representing that he was called rather to a Slavery than an Empire, by Reason of the sad Condition of the People. *Thursday* following the Governours of the Academies laid their Hands on him in the Synagogue, with the Noise of Trumpets and Acclamations. The People having conducted him home, in Pomp, sent him great Presents. *Saturday* Morning all the considerable Persons came to his House ; he put himself at the Head of them, and left his House, having his Face covered with a Piece of Silk : In this Equipage he went, the Multitude following him, to the Synagogue, where the Heads of the Academies, and the Chanters, sung Canticles of Benediction about his Chair. There they brought him the Book of the Law, which he read the first Line of ; afterwards he spoke to the People, with his Eyes shut, out of respect , and if he fail'd, the Head of the Academy of *Syria* made the Sermon : He enlarged particularly upon the Charity that ought to be had to the Students, and gave himself an Example, by large Alms, and that Example was followed. The Ceremony ended with Acclamations to the Prince, and Prayers to God that he would deliver the Nation under his Reign. He blessed the People, and prayed in particular for each Province, that God would defend it from Plague, or War. He ended with a Petition in a low Voice, for fear any one should hear him, and go and acquaint other Princes that he wished their Ruin ; because indeed, the Empire of the *Jews* could not be erected, but upon the Wreck of other Monarchies. Upon leaving the Synagogue, the Prince was conducted pompously to his Palace, where he made a sumptuous Entertainment for the principle Persons of the Nation. This was his last Exit ; for after that, he

was






was not permitted to leave his House, except to go to the Academy, and then every Body rose and stood, till he desired them to take their Seats. He went to pay a Visit to the King of *Babylon*, which was done with a great deal of Pomp after his Installation. The King having notice of his Design, sent his Chariot for him: The Head of the Captivity durst not accept this Offer, but ordered it to go before him, to testify his Respect and Dependance. He was then vested with a magnificent Cloth of Gold; fifty Guards marched before him; all that met him upon the Road, made it a Piece of Devotion to follow him to the King's Palace. The Eunuchs met him, and conducted him to a Throne, while one of his Officers that marched before him distributed Gold and Silver. Upon approaching the King, he prostrated himself to the Earth, to signify that he was his Vassel and his Subject: The Eunuchs raised him, and placed him on a Seat on the left Hand: After the first Compliments, the Prince opened the Complaints and Affairs of his Nation, which the King decided.

These Heads of the Captivity have sometimes had their Residence at *Mahazia*, but it was translated to *Babylon*, or *Bagded*: There he had ten Courts of Justice, over which he presided. There was also twenty eight Synagogues, amongst which was that of the Prince, supported with Pillars of Marble of all Colours. Before the Chest, which contained the Law, was a Tribunal raised with ten Steps, on which was placed the Seat of the Prince of the Captivity and his Family. His Sovereignty extended over all the dispersed *Jews* in *Asia* and *Chaldea*, and all the Kingdoms of the *Parthians*: *Esdra*s commonly calls them Orientals, in Opposition to those who lived in *Judea* and *Egypt*, which are often called Occidentals. He conferred Ordination on all the Heads of the Synagogues



Book VI.  nagogues of the *East*; thence also he received the necessary Contributions to support his Dignity, and pay his Tributes exacted by the Kings of *Persia*.

This Prince was to be of the House of *David*, but it would not have been extreamly difficult to have observed this Order in a Place where there were but few *Jews* of the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Little Benjamin*, and where on the contrary the Posterity of the other Tribes were infinitely the uppermost. This was perhaps only imagined, that they might not in any Thing be inferior to those who continued in *Judea*, whose *Patriarchs* descending from *Hillel*, traced their Pedigree up to *David*; or to raise the Glory of the Nation.

This Principality subsisted in the eleventh Century, when it received a deadly Blow. The famous Academies were shut up; the People and Disciples fled to the *West*, and particularly to *France*, where they taught for some Years with great Reputation. The Heads of the Captivity lost their Power by the Desertions of the People, and the Oppression of the Infidels: Their Name remained till the twelfth Century, since *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled into these Parts, found one still there; but we find no Footsteps of them from that Time.



C H A P. VII.

*Judicial Laws among the Hebrews :  
Of Murder.*

**T**O commit no Murder was one of the Precepts given to the Sons of *Noah*, with this solemn Sanction, *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*; for notwithstanding the Fall of our first Parents, there still remained in Man so much of the divine Image as intitled him to God's immediate Protection. The Murderer was to be delivered to the Magistrates and Judges to be punished; for till now God had reserved the Punishment of Murder in his own Hand, as appears from the History of *Cain* whom he had banished, but suffered no Body to kill him. This was afterwards one of the Commandments delivered by God from Mount *Sinai*, and established by *Moses* into the Body of the *Levitical* Laws under the most severe Penalties.

Gen. ix. 6.

Wilful Murder was punished with Death by Strangling; nor was the Case altered, whether the Act was designed and deliberate, or done in Anger and Passion; for if a Man in the Height of his Rage resolved to kill another, and laid wait for him, to execute his Designs; it was justly to be judged wilful Murder, and accordingly punished: This Law was understood by the *Hebrew* Doctors to include only an *Israelite*, or a Profelyte of Justice; as for others, if an *Israelite*, or such a Profelyte killed one of them, he was not, say they, to be put to Death: But this Construction defeats the Intent of the Law, which no doubt had regard to the Preservation of all that lived amongst the *Hebrews*,  
M 2 that

Exod. xxi. 14.  
15, &c.



Book VI. that they might dwell with Safety and Security of their Lives. If the Murderer fled to the Altar for Refuge, he was to be taken from thence by the Elders of the City and brought to Justice. This, it seems, was an *Asylum* as well as the Cities of Refuge, but under many nice Limitations, both with respect to the part of the Altar, to the Persons that fled thither, and to the Crime they had committed. Though he was the High-priest, and in the Act of Sacrifice, he was to be taken from thence; for as *Maimonides* observes, the Mercy which is shewn to wicked Men is no better than Tyranny and Cruelty to the rest of God's Creatures; and therefore, though such Persons sought to God for his Patronage, by betaking themselves to that which was dedicated to his Name; he would not afford them any Protection, but commanded them to be delivered up to Justice.

More Nevoch.  
p. 3. c. 39.

The Judges appointed to try the Fact, were the Court that sat in the City where the Fact was committed; they had Power to examine into the Matter, and enquire into the Evidence of two Persons, at least, that were allowed to be competent Witnesses. There were ten Sorts of Persons, according to the *Hebrew* Doctors, that were incapable to give Evidence, Women, Servants, Minors, Fools, the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, the Impious, the Audacious, near Relations, and those who had been convicted of Perjury; and they endeavour, after their Manner, to find Reasons against all these in the Law itself. If there was but one Witness, the Criminal could not be put to death; yet say the *Jews*, he was thrown into a very strait Prison, and there fed with Bread and Water of Affliction, till his Bowels were sorely pinched with Want of Sustenance. If the Accused was found guilty by the Evidence of two Witnesses, he was put to Death, say some *Jews*, by the Sword. Nothing could prevent the Execution

Numb. xxxv.  
30. 31, &c.

Selden c. 4.  
de Jure Nat.  
c. 1.




cution of the Sentence. If a Murderer would give all his Estate to save his Life ; or if the Avenger of Blood ( who was always the next Relation ) would accept of a Compensation, or freely let him go, ( when they had found him guilty ) the Judge could not restore him to the City of Refuge, but he was to suffer Death ; for the Life of him that was slain ( as *Maimonides* speaks, quoted by *Selden* ) was not part of the Goods of the Avenger of Blood, but belonged to the Almighty God, who set such a Value on a Man's Life that he would not suffer any Price to be taken for it. The next of Kin was bound to prosecute the Murderer unto Death, for the Good of his Country, which otherwise would have had a Guilt upon it, and that very grievous. It is, says the Author above mentioned, a Piece of universal Justice, to make a Man suffer what he has made another endure. If he has hurt his Body, he must suffer for it in his own Body ; if in his Money, his own Purse must pay for it ; if he has taken away his Life, he must die for it himself, and the Punishment can neither be mitigated nor Compensation accepted for it. If he that was murdered should lie a few Days or Hours after his deadly Wound, and being in sound Understanding, should desire that he that killed him might not die for it, declaring that he freely forgave him ; his Desire was not to be granted, but Blood was to be punished with Blood, whether he that was slain was a great or a mean Man, a Freeman or a Slave, a wise Man or a Fool, because there is no greater Sin committed among Men, than that of Murder.

Upon Tryal the Judges proceeded by these Rules ; If a Man had no Intention to kill another, but it was purely involuntary, he was to be acquitted : If there appeared any Design upon his Life, or such Hatred and Enmity, as might move them to conclude, he had an Intention to

*Selden in Lib.  
Sup. 1. 4. c. 2.*



Book VI. kill him, he was to be put to Death ; but here  
 the *Hebrew* Doctors ( as *Mr. Selden* observes ) distinguish the killing of a Man into *three* Kinds : The *first* was when, though it was from pure Ignorance and Error, yet there was some Negligence in it which a prudent Man might have avoided. The *Second*, when a Man kills another ignorantly, and cannot be blamed for any Negligence, because such a Thing seldom happens. An Example of the *First* they make to be, when a Man coming down a Ladder falls upon another and kills him. An Example of the *Second*, when going up a Ladder a Man happens to do the same ; the former is more frequent, and therefore they say has some Kind of Blame in it ; the other seldomer, and therefore has none. A *Third* Kind when any Man kills another out of Ignorance and Error also, but it approaches nearer to voluntary Murder ; as when a Man intending to kill one Man, happens to kill another with a Stone, or otherwise. In none of these Cases, they say, the Court of Judgment could put any Man to Death. The Court were obliged likewise to enquire with what Weapon, or Instrument, the Person was slain. If he was killed with an Instrument of Iron, or with a great Stone, or with a Battoon, or wooden Club, or with any Thing that was likely to kill him, he was esteemed a Murderer, and the guilty Person must suffer for it.

Numb. xxxv.  
 16, 17.

In Rotseahh,  
 Per. 2.

Upon this Subject *Maimonides* has this Gloss : Any one that kills his Neighbour with his Hand, as if he strike him with a Sword, or with a Stone that kills him, or strangles him till he die, or burns him in the Fire, or kills him any how in his own Person, such a one must be put to Death by the *Sanhedrim* : But he that hires another to kill his Neighbour, or that sends his Servants and they kill him, or that violently thrusts him before a Lion, or the like, and the Beast kills him ; any one of these is a Shedder of Blood, and the  
 Guilt



Chap. 7.  
 Guilt of shedding Blood is upon him, and he is liable to Death by the Hand of Heaven ; but he is not to be put to Death by the *Sanhedrim*. And where is the Proof that it must be thus? Because it is said, *He that sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* This is he that slays a Man himself, and not by the Hand of another. *Your Blood of your Lives will I require.* This is he that slays himself. *At the Hand of every Beast will I require it.* This he that delivers up his Neighbour before a Beast to be rent to Pieces. *At the hand of Man, even at the Hand of every Man's Brother will I require the Life of Man.* This he that hires others to kill his Neighbour. In this Interpretation *requiring* is spoken of all the three ; *behold* their Judgment is delivered over to Heaven, or God. And all these Manslayers, and the like, who are not liable to Death by the *Sanhedrim*, if the King of *Israel* will slay them by the Judgment of the Kingdom and the Law of Nations, he may.

If there chanced to be a Fray, and a Woman Exod. xxi. 22, &c. with Child interposed between the contending Parties, or came perhaps to assist her Husband, and received a Hurt, so as to make her miscarry, the Husband might justly require Compensation, both for the Loss of his Child, and the Grief and Anguish suffered by his Wife. The Matter was to be brought before the publick Judges, who considered in their Decree what Damage was done, which was estimated by the Hurt the Wife received in her Body, and by the lessening of her Price, if she were a Slave and might be sold. But if the Mother died, the Law insists, *Life shall be given for Life* ; concerning the Sense of which Expression, says *Jarchi*, our Masters differ ; for some by Life understand that which is properly so called, or the Person himself ; so that it should signify *being put to Death*. But others understand by it a pecuniary Mulet, that so much Money should be paid to the Heirs, as

Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. cap. I.



Book. VI. the Person killed might have been sold for. The *Seventy* carry it to quite another Construction, which is, that if a Woman miscarry, and the Child was not yet formed and fashioned, the Man who occasioned the Miscarriage was to pay a Fine; but if it were formed, then Life was to be given for Life. So that the whole of this Law is to be understood of an *Abortion*, and according to the Condition of the *Abortive*, (not the Life or Death of the Mother) so the Punishment was to be inflicted.

Numb. xxi.

28.

The Blood of Man was to be required at the Hand of every Beast, and for this Purpose the Law of *Moses* made Provision, by instancing an Ox, that if he gored a Man or a Woman that they died, the Ox was to be stoned, and his Flesh was not to be eaten, that the Owner might lose all Benefit by him, and be admonished to take better Care of his Cattle. The *Hebrew* Doctors say, that if a Man eat so much as an Olive of this Flesh, he was to be scourged. The Reason why the Flesh was not to be eaten, is given by some, because being stoned, it was a Carcase whose Blood was in it. But *Maimonides* answers to this in his Treatise of *Forbidden Meats*, that the Scope of the Law is, that as soon as the Sentence for its being stoned was pronounced, it became unclean; nay, if a Man, to prevent this Sentence, killed it after a legal manner, no Man might taste of it; and when it was stoned, the flesh was neither sold nor given to the Gentiles, nor to the Dogs. If the Ox did not kill the Man, but only wounded him, in that Case, the Owner was obliged to make him full Compensation as the Judges thought equal, and to take Care to prevent the same Misfortune for the future: But if the Ox has formerly been known to be so unruly, and he had been told of it, and yet omitted to secure him from doing further Mischief, then he as well as the Ox, were to be put to Death. The *Jewish* Doc-

tors



tors indeed, have softned this Law by divers Ex-  
ceptions. As *first*, They say, it was to be prov-  
ed that the Ox had pushed upon *three* several  
Days ; for though it appeared he pushed a great  
many Times in one Day, it would not make  
the Man liable. And *secondly*, It was to be testi-  
fied not only to the Owner but before the Magi-  
strate, that he had pushed so often. And *lastly*,  
They interpret the Words of the Law, *The*  
*Owner also shall be put to Death*, of Punishment  
by the Hand of Heaven, that is, they leave him  
to God. Indeed the Law itself allows the  
Owner in some Cases to save his Life by a pe-  
cuniary Mulct, though the Ox had been used to  
push, and the Master had been told of it. The Cir-  
cumstances that attend this Law, are difficult to  
be adjusted ; and the most reasonable Solution I  
have met with is what is given by a Man of  
great Learning in this Manner. Either the Know-  
ledge which the Owner had of the ill Conditions  
of his Ox was certain, or uncertain, and his  
Carelessness in preventing the Mischief which he  
used to do, was greater or less, or the Friends of  
him that was killed pressed the strictest Justice, or  
were content to remit it. In the former Cases  
(if the Knowledge was certain, the Carelessness  
very gross, and the Friends were strict in the  
Prosecution ) he was punished with Death : But  
if otherwise, he was punished only by setting a Fine  
upon him. It is certain that this Law might  
prove too rigorous in many Cases (as if the  
Ox pushed, being provoked, or broke loose when  
he was tied up, or was let go by the Negli-  
gence of a Servant ) and therefore God per-  
mitted the Judges to accept of a Ransom as they  
saw Cause, which was to be paid according as  
the *Sanhedrim* thought fit. The Owner was  
obliged to submit to the Fine whatsoever it was,  
and it was given to the Heirs of him that was  
killed. If a Man's Wife was killed, the *Jews*  
say, it belonged to the Heirs of her Father's Fa-  
mily,

*Constantine*  
L'Empereur in  
Bava Kama.  
c. 4. Sect. 5.



Book VI. mily, and not to her Husband. This Law extended to Children and Servants, Men or Maids: Whether the Servant was of greater or lesser Value, says *Maimonides*, the Punishment was the Payment of thirty Shekels (and the Loss of the Ox) half the Price of a Freeman, who was estimated, he says, at sixty Shekels. He adds in his Treatise of *Pecuniary Mulcts*, that the Owner was not bound to pay this Ransom unless the Ox killed the Man out of his own Ground; for if he was killed within the Owner's Ground, the Ox indeed was stoned, but no Ransom was pay'd.

More Nevo-  
chim. p. 3. c.  
40.

## C H A P. VIII.

### *The Expiation of an Uncertain Murder, by the beheading of a Heifer.*

Deut. xx. 12.  
&c.

THESE are the Laws in the *Levitical* Code that relate to wilful Homicide, when the Person, or Beast is known, that committed the Fact: But in Case of secret Murder, when a Person was found dead, and the Murderer unknown, the Guilt was purged and Expiated by solemn Ceremonies in this Manner. The great *Sanhedrim* were obliged to send out some of their Body, called in the Law, the *Elders* and *Judges*. Two of the wise Men, or Elders, (says the Paraphrase ascribed to *Uzielides*) and three of the Judges were sent by the *Sandedrim*, about this Business. Now it may be proper in this Place to observe, that there were a Sort of Elders who were not ordained by Imposition of Hands, but only were venerable Persons for their Age and Prudence, who some think might serve for this Employment; and they called such Elders, *Elders of the Street*, or  
vulgar

Selden de Syn.  
l. 3. c. 1.



*vulgar Elders*; but none, I think, have more critically discoursed upon these Words of the Law, *thy Elders and thy Judges*, than our Mr. *Thorndike*; who observes that there had been Judges constituted to determine Cases by *Jethro's* Advice, the greater Causes being referred to *Moses* alone, for whose Assistance God appointed seventy Elders, who made up the great Court of Judgment in that Nation. Now they of this great Consistory are called *Elders of Israel*; but they of other Consistories, or Inferior Courts, are called barely, *Elders*, or *Elders of such a City*. He alledges this very Law, and by *Elders* understands the *Elders of Israel*, the lower Elders being mentioned afterwards. And so those of the great Consistory are commonly called in the Gospel, and in like manner, *the Scribes of the People*, and *thy Scribes*, signify there, those of this High Court; whereas the bare Name of *Scribes* is extended farther to the inferior Doctors of the Law. As also the Name of *Rulers*, and that of *Rulers of the People*, are to be understood with the like Difference. But to return.

Review of the  
Rights, &c.  
p. 70.

If it was dubious what City lay nearest to the dead Body, these Members of the *Sanhedrim* were to measure to the Cities that were round about the Slain. It is a frivolous Dispute in the *Mischna* from whence they were to measure, whether from the Navel, or the Nose, or the Forehead, which last seems most rational to *Maimonides*, who calls it the Center of the Body: But they did not (if we believe the *Jewish* Doctors) in their measuring take notice of any City wherein there was not a Court of twenty three Elders, and *Jerusalem* was excepted. If the dead Body lay nearest to the Country of the Gentiles, then they did not measure at all, but it was presumed the Man was killed by them. After they had measured to the next City, from whence it might be supposed the Murderer came, or to which he was fled,



Book VI. fled, these Elders of the *Sanhedrim* returned to *Jerusalem*; after they had seen the Body buried. If there was no Discovery of the Murderer, then the Senators of the City next to the dead Body performed the following Ceremonies.

They were to provide a *Heifer* that was not above two Years old; if it were a Day more they could not use it for this Purpose. If she had ever drawn in the Yoke she was improper for this Expiation; and such a one in this Case (wherein the Beast was not to be offered) was absolutely necessary, as many think, that it might the better represent the Person that had committed this Murder, who was a *Son of Belial*, subject to no Law, and deserves to be beheaded as this Heifer was. It is not required that it should be without Blemish, as those Beasts were to be that were offered at the Tabernacle; but it was sufficient if it had never been yoked; yet this is not to be taken without all Limitation; for if it wanted any Member, or were diseased, it might not be employed in this Service. The Elders of the City were to bring this Heifer into a Valley that was unploughed, and through which ran a Stream of Water, and which generally is the most fertile Ground: The Reason of this is given by *Abendana*, that the Inhabitants of each City might be the more careful to prevent such Murders, being in Danger otherwise, to lose the best Ground that belonged to their Inheritance; for the Land where the Body was found, (if we may believe the *Mischna*,) was never to be sown any more. In this Place one of the Elders coming behind the Heifer, struck off her Neck; for so the Murderer was supposed to have treacherously surprized the slain Man, and should have been thus used if he could have been found.

Not. Marg.  
*Michbal. Jophi.*  
*Sota. c. 9. Sect.*  
 5.

The Priests that belonged to the City were obliged to attend, not as Judges, but as Directors of the Ceremony; and all the Elders were to purge themselves of the Murder by washing their Hands





Hands over the Heifer, in the Water of the Brook which flowed through the Valley, and there solemnly to protest their Innocence in this Form ; *Our Hands have not shed this Blood, neither have our Eyes seen it.* The Wisdom of this Law is thus represented by *Maimonides*. The Elders called God to witness that they had not neglected to secure the Ways, not to set Watches to examine diligently those that travelled, saying, as our *Rabbins* express it. *This More Nevoch, Man was not killed through any Negligence, or Forgetfulness which we were guilty of, in not observing our publick Constitutions ; nor do we know who killed him.* Now by this Inquisition into the Fact, by this going forth of the Elders, and the striking off the Heifer's Head, and the other Ceremonies, a great deal of Discourse necessarily arose about this Business, which made the Thing publick, and was a probable Means of discovering the Murderer by some or other, that were there, or should hear of all this. If any one came and said, he knew the Author, then they forbore to behead the Heifer : But the Man being apprehended, if the House of Judgment did not put him to Death, the King had Power to do it ; if he neglected it, the Avenger of Blood might kill him wheresoever he met him.

Then was this solemn Supplication pronounced ; *Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy People Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent Blood unto thy People of Israel's Charge.* This Prayer, says the *Mischna*, was delivered by the Priest alone ; though *Josephus* (who often differs from the *Talmudists* ) is of another Opinion, and affirms, that both the Priests and Elders prayed that God would be propitious to them, and prevent the like Calamity for the future. Thus was the Guilt expiated, which in some Sort would have lain upon them, if they had taken no notice of a Murder committed so near



Book VI. near their City, nor made Inquisition after it, nor expressed their Abhorrence of it. This Ceremony was to be performed in the Day-time, and the Body of the Heifer was to be buried, but none of it eaten, or any part of it employed to other Uses. If the Murderer was found before its Head was struck off, it was to be let go into the Pasture among other Beasts, if after, he was to suffer capital Punishment, that is, says the *Mischna*, be cut off by the Sword.

Sota c. 9. Sect.  
7.

## CHAP. IX.

### Of Manstealing : Of Wounding.

Exod. xxi. 16.  
More Nevoch.  
P. 3. C. 41.

**T**O steal an *Israelite*, whether a Freeman or but a Servant, was accounted a Species of Murder, and punished with Death by strangling; for says *Maimonides*, it might well be thought he intended to kill him whom he violently carried away, at least, if he had no Opportunity to sell him. It was equally criminal, whether the Man was sold by the Thief or found upon him: No *Israelite* would buy him; and therefore such Kidnappers disposed of him to Men of other Nations, which made the Action more cruel; not only to take away his Liberty, but to make him a Slave to Strangers. And if he had not actually sold him, his Intention was sufficiently known by his stealing him away.

Exod. xxi.  
18, &c.

The Law of *Moses* had placed so strict a Guard over the Life of Man, that one could not wound another with Impunity, though it was in his own Defence; for if two Men quarelled and come to Blows, and one received a Wound that forced him to his Bed, from whence he never arose, it was pronounced Murder by the Judges. Indeed, if the Man recovered so far as to get up after



after the Stroke, and walk abroad, (though he died not long after ) it was presumed his Death was occasioned by his Negligence, or by some other Cause, and not by the Blow he received ; and upon hearing the Cause the Judges were to acquit the Man that gave the Blow ; that is, he was not to die for it ; but he was not excused a pecuniary Punishment. Satisfaction, say the *Jews*, was given to the Sufferer for the Loss he sustained in five particulars ; for the Hurt in his Body, for the Loss of his Time, the Pain he had endured, the Charge of Physician and Surgeon, and the Disgrace. They distinguish between the Cure of the Wound, Bruises or Swelling caused by the Stroke, and of any other breaking out he chanced to have at the same Time. He was bound to pay for the Cure of the former, and not of the latter : And if after a Man was cured, he fell ill again, he that struck him was not obliged to take Care of him. There is a Law among the *Mosaic* Institutions, which enjoins that an *Eye* should be given for an *Eye*, a *Tooth* for a *Tooth*, and *Blemish* for *Blemish* ; but the *Hebrews* generally, and the best Christian Expositors understand this of Pecuniary Mulcts, and indeed there seems to be great Reason in many Cases, to admit of a Compensation ; for it is impossible that this Law should be justly executed according to the Letter of it ; for the same Member of the Body is far more valuable to one man than another ; for Instance, The right Hand of a Scrivener, or a Painter, cannot be so well spared as the right Hand of a Singer ; therefore the *Jews* commented justly upon this Occasion. Does any one cut off the Hand or Foot of his Neighbour ? They value this according to the Example of selling a Servant ; computing at what Price he would be sold before he was maimed, for how much less afterwards ; and so much of the Price as is diminished, so much is to be paid to the maimed Person, as it is said,

*Bava Kama.*  
c. 8. Sect. 1.

*Exod. xxi. 24.*  
*Lev. xxiv. 19.*

*Bava Kama.*  
c. 8. Sect. 1.



Book VI. said, *An Eye for an Eye*. We have received by Tradition, that this is to be understood of Pecuniary Satisfaction.

Deut. xxv. 11,  
12, &c.

In the Quarrel between two Men, if the Wife of the one took her Husband's Part, who was likely to be overcome, and for that purpose seized the other by the Secrets, as a sure means to make him let go his Hold; she was sentenced by the Court to have her right Hand cut off for her Impudence; and because she had offered to injure those Parts that served to the Propagation of Mankind. She was not to be pitied upon the Account of her Sex, but to suffer the Penalty to the utmost.

## CHAP. X.

### Of Theft.

Exod. xxii. 23.

THE Provisions made for the lesser Injuries will properly follow the Laws of Murder. To avoid Theft and Robbery was one of the Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*, and afterwards made the Eighth Command in the Decalogue. A Thief if he was taken with a weapon or Instrument about him, in the Night, breaking into a House, or any other Place, the Master might lawfully kill him, because it might justly be presumed, the Robber intended to kill him rather than lose his Booty: But the *Hebrew* Doctors make some Exceptions, as if he did not fly, and if there were no Witnesses present; for if there were, then it was like Theft in the Day time. If the Sun was up, so that the Thief might possibly be known who he was, and it might be supposed he intended only to steal and not to kill, then to kill him was accounted Murder, and accordingly punished. If he was taken in the Fact he was sold by the *Sanhedrim*



*drim* for six Years. But the *Jewish* Writers have many Mollifications of this Law; for they say, a Woman was not to be sold, nor a Man, but for the *principal* Sum; for *double*, or *four* or *five* Fold he was not to be sold, but to have Credit for it till he was able to pay. And he was not to be sold who robbed a *Samaritan*, nor if he had stolen less than he was worth when sold, with many other Evasions, which so mitigate this Law, that they almost abrogate the Force of it.

To steal an Ox, or a Sheep, and to kill it, or sell it before the Theft was discovered, the Penalty was to restore five Oxen for an Ox, and four Sheep for a Sheep. The Reason of this Disproportion is thus given by *Maimonides*. Of Cattle in the Field an Ox was more easy to be stolen

*More Newcomb.*  
p. 3. c. 42.

than a Sheep; for Sheep feeding in Flocks may be all in View of the Shepherd; but Oxen feeding scattered one from another, are not so easily observed, and secured by the Netherd; but the true Reason seems to be because an Ox was of greater Value, and likewise useful to more Purposes in Husbandry, which made the Punishment the greater. Yet there was a Difference

between a Thief who came and voluntarily confessed his Sin, and he that stood out till he was apprehended and convicted of it; for in the former Case *Moses* seems only to require the Re-

Lev. vi. 4, 5.  
See Vol. 2.  
Book 4. p. 536.

stitution of that which was stolen, with the Addition of a fifth Part of the Value, and a Sacrifice. A great Difference likewise was made between killing or Selling, after the Stealth; and having these Cattle found alive with him: In the former Case the Thief was punished four or five Fold, but in the latter only double, because the former concealed his Theft with more Industry, and left less hope of Discovery and Restitution than the latter, as *Bockart* observes.

*Hierozoi con.*  
P. I. L. 2. c. 4.

Nor was the Thief to restore double if he was not otherwise found out, but confessed the Fact himself, before he had either killed or sold that



Book VI. which he stole. He that stole from another Thief was not bound, as *Maimonides* thinks, to restore double : But in Case a Thief killed what he had stolen, and after that consecrated it to God, he was obliged, notwithstanding, to restore four Fold ; though if he consecrated it before he killed or sold it, only to restore double ; for though the Satisfaction of a Thing, after the Sin was committed, did not take away the Guilt, yet before he aggravated his Fault by killing or selling what he stole, the Satisfaction lessened the Punishment.

Exod. xxii. 7, 8. If a Man deliver to his Neighbour Money or Goods to keep, without any Advantage to himself, and the Things be stolen, the Thief, if he be found, was to pay Double. If the Thief could not be discovered, the Matter was brought into a Court of Justice, where three Judges, at least, were to examine upon Oath, and endeavour to find out the Truth : The Issue was, that he who pretended to have deposited the Goods, was to pay double if he brought an unjust Charge against his Neighbour ; or he with whom the Goods were deposited was to pay it, if it appeared he had dealt fraudulently ; but if it proved that the Goods were lost by meer Chance, he was not bound to pay any Thing. This Law is thus explained by *Maimonides*, according to the Opinion of the *Talmudist*. When a Man brings an Action against another about such Things as are here mentioned, and the Defendant confesses Part of the Charge, but denies the rest, he was to restore as far as he confessed ; but for the other which he did not confess, he was to be put upon his Oath : Or if he denied the Whole, and he that brought the Action had but one Witness against him, he was purg'd by an Oath ; for it seems this was one Case where a Man was compelled to clear himself by Oath, when he had been proved guilty by one Witness.

*Selden de Synedr.*  
L. 2. c. 12.






## C H A P. XI.

*Of Lending and Borrowing: Of an Ox that gores with his Horns. Of Damages and Trespases.*

**A**N Ass, an Ox, a Sheep, or any other Beast, if it was lent to a Neighbour, upon certain Conditions, or let for Hire, and the Man affirms that he died, or was hurt, or driven away by Enemies; but there was no Witness of any of these Allegations, then the Cause was brought before the Judges to find out the Truth. The Method was, that the Man, to whom the Beast was delivered, was to purge himself by Oath, that he had not killed it, nor done any Thing to hurt it, and the Owner was to trouble him no further; nor was he bound to make any Satisfaction, provided he had used these Goods, according to the Agreement between them; for if he had employed them contrary to their Contract, then he was bound to make them good to the Owner, of whom they were borrowed or hired. If he refused to take the Oath, he was pronounced guilty, and Restitution was ordered to be made out of his Goods. But there were some Temperaments of this Law, for every Man was not allowed to purge himself by Oath; for Instance: He whose Reputation was so bad that they suspected that he would make no Difficulty to perjure himself, was not admitted to be adjured; no, though he that brought the Action required it. If it appear'd that the Beast was stolen through Negligence, he was obliged to make Restitution to the Owner, either because he was bound to have looked better after it by receiving Wages for his Care in keeping it, or engaging to



Book VI.  make it good, if he did not take the same Care of it as if it had been his own. If he would produce any Part of it as an Evidence that it was torn, and he endeavoured to rescue it, he was not to make it good. But here the *Hebrew Doctors* make many Exceptions ; for they would have him make good what was torn by one Wolf alone, because they think he might have been able to defend the Cattle against one, though not against many. If also he put the Oxen, or Sheep into a Pasture that used to be infested with wild Beasts or Thieves ; or if he did not call in the Help of his Neighbours : In these and such like Cases he was to make Reparation for the Damage.

A Beast lent to a Neighbour out of Kindness, without any Consideration for the use of it, if any Controversy arose about it, if it had received a Maim, suppose, or had died, the Matter was brought before the Judges. If the Owner was with the Beast that was lent at the Time of its Hurt or Death, it was presumed he would do his best to preserve it, and see it was not ill used, and so must bear the Loss. But if he was not present at that Time, then the contrary was presumed, that the Borrower was in Fault, and therefore bound to make it Good ; which, though it may seem hard, was but necessary to make Men careful to preserve what was lent them out of pure Kindness. *Rabbi Livi of Barcelona* interprets this Law quite another Way : That if the Owner was with it at the Time it was borrowed, though not with it at the Time of its Hurt, or Death, the Borrower was free ; but if the Owner was then present, but not at the Time of lending, he was bound to make it good ; for *the Matter*, says he, *depends upon the Beginning of it*. If the Thing were borrowed with a Condition to pay so much for the Use of it, as the Lender demanded, then the Man who hired it was not bound to make it good, whether the

Precept 56.



the Owner was present or not when it was hurt Chap. 21.  
or died, but the Owner was to run the Hazard, because of the Hire which he received for the Use of it.

A Man that opened a Pit in the Street, or the publick high Way, and left it uncovered, was to make good the Damage, by a Sum of Money, if a Neighbour's Beast fell into it and perished; but the dead Beast was to be his own: He was not concerned in this Law, if he digged a Pit in his own Ground, nor was he bound as before if he did cover it conveniently, and in Time the Cover grew rotten, and a Misfortune followed to another's Loss.

If one Man's Ox gored another that he died (and the Law was the same among other Cattle, an Ox being mentioned only for Example) and the Ox that was killed was worth as much more as the other, yet Satisfaction was to be made only out of the live Ox which did the Mischief; he was to be sold and the money divided: But it might so happen that the Ox which was killed was of little Value, and the live Ox worth many Pounds, in which Case it seems so unreasonable, that the Man whose Loss was small should be a great Gainer by the Sale of the Ox which did the Damage, that the Jewish Lawyers resolve the Meaning of this Law is, the Man whose Ox was killed should receive for half the Loss he had sustained; but if it appeared that the Ox used to push, and was notoriously mischievous, the Sufferer was to receive a full Price for his Damage, but the dead Ox belonged to him who paid for the Loss. And by this general Rule the Jews regulated all other Cases, making those Mischiefs that were done by Beasts that were used to hurt, or were of a dangerous Nature to be punished above as much more, than the Damage done by a Creature that was commonly quiet, or with a part of his Body that was usually inoffensive.

L'Empereur in  
Bava Kama. c. 1.  
Sect.



Book VI.



Exod. xxii. 5.

The Trespafs done by Beasts eating another Man's Corn, or Grafs, or spoiling his Vineyard, was thus repaired : The Sufferer was to have Satisfaction made him out of the best of that Kind which the Owner of the Beasts possessed. The *Jews* were so scrupulous in this Matter, that to prevent the Damage one Man might do another, they made a Constitution that no Man should keep Goats, or Rabbits, or any such small Creatures, near the Corn Fields, or Vineyards, or Oliveyards of his Neighbour ; no, says the *Mishna*, nor in any part of the Land of *Israel*, but in *Syria*, or in the Desarts of their own Land.

Bava Kama.  
c. 9. Sect. 7.

Exod. xx. 6.

If a Man kindled a Fire in his own Ground, and within his own Bounds, and it spread farther to the Damage of his Neighbour, he was obliged to make Restitution, though he had no Hand in putting Fire to the Stacks of Corn that were burnt by it, because he should have looked better after it when he had kindled it. But here the *Jewish* Lawyers consider at what Distance the Fire was kindled, and resolve, that if there was a Fence of four Cubits high, or a publick Highway, or a River between the Fire and the Field, or Stack of Corn that was burnt, the Man that kindled it was free.







C H A P. XII.

*Laws of Mercy.*

**T**HE judicial Laws relating to Mercy, to Charity and Compassion, were truly divine, and suitable to the Bounty and Goodness of the great Lawgiver to the meanest of his Creatures. A *Hebrew* was obliged to lend Money to the Poor of his own Nation without Usury; by the Poor, say the *Jews*, is not to be understood one that goes a begging, but a Person in such want as to deserve Pity more than those who have the Confidence to beg in the Streets. The Foundation of this Precept was to impress upon them the great Virtue of Kindness and Clemency, whereby poor People being assisted in this way of lending them Money *gratis*, might recover again into a better Condition under the Blessing of divine Providence. This Sort of Charity is frequently in the Scripture distinguished by the Name of *Righteousness*, which Word says *Maimonides*, does not merely signify the giving to every Man his own, but what a Man does out of pure Love to Virtue and Goodness, is properly called by that Name; that is, says Dr. *Hammond*, (in his *Practical Catechism*,) that Degree of Mercy, which the Law required of every *Jew*, without which he could not be accounted righteous. Usury in the Law is supposed to mean that which is taken for Money lent; and by *Increase* is understood what is received for the Use of Corn Fruits, or Goods; both these Oppressions are forbidden by the Law, which is so strictly interpreted by some *Jews*, that all *Israelites* are required to have no Hand in letting out Money, to Usury, either by writing the Bonds, or being a Witness to them,

Exod. xxii. 25.

Deut xxiv. 13.

More Necess.  
p. 3. c. 53.

Lev. xxxv. 37.



Book VI.



Exod. xxii. 25.

De Jure. N. &amp;

G. l. 6. c. 9. 10.

or by being bound with others for the Interest of their Money ; for the Word they observe is in the Plural Number, *Ye shall not put upon him Usury* ; which Law is fully handled by Mr. *Selden*, who shews that some Usury was forbidden by the Law, other by the Decrees of the wise Man. The Law forbid them to contract, to receive back again any Sum of Money more than they lent. But it was further required by their wise Men that they should not receive any Gift before Hand, to induce them to lend, nor any thing by way of Gratuity to express their Thankfulness afterwards ; yet this last was permitted in the Loan of Orphans Money, as *Maimonides* remarks ; and there are some who think this Law only forbid them to take Usury of a *poor Israelite*, but not of a *rich*, it being unreasonable that he should increase his Wealth by the Use of his Neighbours Money, and he have no Profit by it himself.

No Usury was to be taken for Money lent to Profelytes ; but some *Jews* will have it to be an affirmative Precept, that Usury must be taken of a Stranger, or a Gentile ; but others of them have been so modest as to decree, that though the Law did permit them to take Usury of a Gentile, yet they were not to practise it, unless it was to provide for themselves that they might live more safely among other Nations ; and they add this Reason for this Limitation, lest the *Jews* by this Way of Commerce and Traffick should grow too familiar with the Gentiles, and learn their Manners. Only Men that studied the Law might freely lend their Money upon Usury, for this very End, as they think, that they might make a Gain of it and enrich themselves. It is six Times forbidden in the Law, according to their antient Doctors, to lend to their *Brethren* upon Usury ; and as nothing was more reasonable than this, that their Neighbours making great Gain by Merchandise, ( such as the *Sidonians*,

*Wagenfeil. in*  
*Sota. p. 60.*



*Sidonians, Tyrians*, and those that lived upon the Red Sea, and *Egyptians* ) should not borrow Money of the *Israelites* for nothing ; so it was no less equitable, that the *Israelites* themselves, whose chiefest Profit was by Husbandry and breeding of Cattle, should have Money lent them freely by one another without any Interest, their Land not being a Country of Traffick wherein Money might be improved as in other Countries. *Abarbinel* is so tender as to say that Usury has something in it so unequal ( at least as it is commonly practised ) that God did not permit the *Israelites* to exercise it among all their Neighbours, but only those of the seven Nations of *Canaan*. And thus far he is in the right, that every one who was not a *Jew* was not to be esteemed a Stranger. An *Edomite*, for Instance, is called their Brother ; and therefore this Precept, *Thou shalt not lend upon Usury to thy Brother*, is to be extended to the *Edomites*. In like manner, says he, neither do the *Ismaelites* come under the Name of Strangers, nor other People, but those of the seven Nations. And this Opinion *Leo* of *Modina* follows in his present *History of the Jews*, who observes further, that it is only their present Distress in which they have no other Way of Livelihood left, that makes them think it lawful to lend upon Usury to those among whom they live.

Chap. 12.

Deut. xxiii. 30.

ver. 7.

Part II.  
Chap. 5.

But though one *Hebrew* was not allowed to take Usury of another, yet he might require a Pledge for Money lent, to secure the Payment of it. Yet he was not allowed the Privilege of going into the House of the Debtor and take what he pleased ; he was to stand without and take what the Borrower could best spare, who was to chuse what was proper to give ; and if it was sufficient the Lender had Reason to be satisfied with it. If the Man was poor, so as to be obliged to pawn the Coverlid of his Bed, or any of his Bed Cloaths, or any Thing that contributed

Deut. xxiv 10.

Exod. xxii. 26



## Book VI.



tributed to the Preservation of his Life or Health ; his Pledge was to be returned before Night, lest, (says the Law particularly) he should be forced to borrow from others a necessary Covering to defended him from the Cold, and not be able perhaps to procure it. Any Barbarity that was exercised in Defiance of this Law God resolved to punish from himself ; and say the *Hebrew* Doctors, the Offender was likewise to be beaten by Order of the Court of Judgment. This Injunction seems to have been intended to keep them from taking any Pledge of a poor Man ; for to what Purpose should they every Morning fetch a Pledge, and every Evening carry it back again, which would only create them a great deal of Trouble.

Dent. xxiv. 6,

7.

The nether or the upper Millstone was particularly forbidden to be received as a Pledge, because it was the Man's Livelihood, by which he maintained himself and his Family, and kept them from starving. Upon this Account it was unlawful to take any other Thing for a Security, by the want of which a Man might be in Danger to be undone ; for Example, They did not allow a Man to seize upon the Oxen that were at Plough : He that broke this Law was scourged.







C H A P. XIII.

Of Charity to Widows and Orphans,  
and the Poor.

**T**H E Widows and Orphans were intituled by the divine Law to all possible Tender-  
ness and good Usage. No one (as *Rab-*  
*bi Levi* remarks) was to give them Trouble in  
Word or Deed, but in all Commerce with them  
in buying, selling, or any other Intercourse to  
treat them not only civilly but kindly and benignly;  
because such have few or none to protect or plead  
their Cause; and therefore the Law took Care of  
them as if their Husbands and Parents were yet  
alive, to have Justice done them; it was Cruel-  
ty to take their Raiment for a Pledge. Who-  
ever reviled, or insulted, or defrauded them, much  
more if any Man struck them, he was liable to  
the Judgment of God, who intended himself to  
be their Avenger, and punish him with Measure  
for Measure, by making his Wife a Widow, and  
his Children fatherless. If a Woman, say the  
*Jews*, shall afflict the Widow or the Orphan,  
she shall die, and her Husband shall marry ano-  
ther Wife who shall afflict her Children.

Exod. xxii. 2:  
Precept. 65.

A competent Provision was made for the Poor  
by an express Law. Every one was obliged to  
leave a Corner of his Field unreaped, for their  
Use; it must be a sixtieth Part, at least, as their  
wise Men have determined, and that in the ex-  
tream Part of the Field, rather than in any other  
Place, that the Poor might know where to  
come for it; if a Sheaf was forgotten, the Owner  
was not to go back to fetch it: But the *Talmu-*  
*dists* have given such a Construction of this Law,  
as to make it of little Use; for they say, a Sheaf  
was

Lev. xix. 9,  
10, &c.  
Deut. xxiv. 1



Book VI. was not taken to be forgotten, unless, not only the Owner of the Field, but all the Labourers forgot it; and if none of them remembered it, yet if a Man that passed by that Way came and gave them notice of it, it was not look'd upon as lost by Forgetfulness. Yet they are so kind as to extend this Law not only to Sheaves of Corn left in the Field, but to Bunches of Grapes, and other Fruit which was left behind in their Vineyards and Orchards; and it seems no unreasonable Interpretation of this Law that if an owner of a Field, or his Workmen called to Mind, before they were gone quite away, that a Sheaf was left in such a Place, they might go back and fetch it; but not if they did not remember it till they came into the City. They that would see more Cases about this Matter, may look into *Maimonides de donis Pauperum*, translated by the late Dr. Prideaux, and his very learned Annotations upon it. *Josephus* seems to have interpreted this Command with the greatest Charity, where he observes, that they were not only not to go back to fetch what they had forgotten, but to leave on purpose Corn and Grapes, and Olives, for the Benefit of the Poor, who are commonly put together as proper Objects for Relief, under the Name of the Stranger, the Fatherless and the Widow.

Cap. 5.

Antiq. l. 4. c. 8.

Rabbi Levi  
Precept, 214.

If an Ear of Corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the Sheaves, or from under the Sickle, they were not to gather it from the Ground; but if three Ears fell at a Time, they might, say the *Talmudists*, be picked up.

Lev. xix. 10.

In those Countries the Olive Trees were beaten with Sticks to bring down the Fruit, and the Owner was not to search the Boughs after they were once beaten; but the Poor might go into the Oliveyards, and gather what they found still remaining on the Trees. A Vineyard was not to be gleaned after the Grapes were once gathered; nor if any fell to the Ground as they gathered



thered them, were they to take them up ; that is if Chap. 13.  
 one or two Clusters fell, but not if three, much  
 less if more ; for they understand this as they  
 do the Precept about the Ears of Corn. They  
 also say, they were bound to leave the Corners  
 of the Vineyard uncut, as well as the Corners  
 of the Field ; and that, says the Law, for the  
 Benefit of the Poor and the Stranger, who is sup-  
 posed to be a Profelyte of Righteousness, yet  
 they did not hinder any poor Gentile from par-  
 taking of this Charity ; and the Violation of *Selden de Jure,*  
 these Laws, by the Owner, was punished with *N. & G. c. 6.*  
 Beating : But say the *Jews*, if the Poor them-  
 selves left any behind, after the usual Time al-  
 lowed for the gathering such Fruits, or Corn,  
 as was left for them, it was lawful for the  
 Owner to take it himself ; and he was not  
 bound either to pay the Poor the Price of it, or  
 leave it for the Beasts and the Birds : For the  
 Command is, say the *Jewish* Doctors, ( who  
 nicely scan these Things ) that it shall be for  
 the Poor, and that it be *left* for them ; but not  
 any Thing given them in the Place of it.

These Precepts obliged such Strangers as were *Schickard Jus*  
 Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion, who before *Regium. Theo-*  
 they were admitted into the Church, were exa- *rem. 17.*  
 mined whether they understood that they must  
 observe such and such Laws, particularly these  
 of Charity to the Poor, which were propound-  
 ed to them plainly and distinctly ; and after  
 they had promised to keep them they were re-  
 ceived by Circumcision.

There is a Law which allowed the Poor, espe- *Deut. xxiii. 24*  
 cially Travellers as they passed through a Vine-  
 yard, to eat what they pleased for their present  
 Use : This the Writers of that Nation under-  
 stand to be an Indulgence granted to poor  
 Labourers, who were hired to work in the  
 Vineyard in the Time of Vintage, whom the  
 Owners might not hinder from eating as many  
 Grapes as they would ( and the same held good  
 in



Book VI. in Olives, Figs, Dates, and all other Fruit )  
 as long as they were at Work, but not after they  
 had done working : And if their Master would  
 not allow them the Benefit of this Law, he was  
 to be scourged with forty Stripes, save one. But  
 there is no Reason to restrain this Indulgence to  
 Hirelings of whom there is no mention at all in  
 this Law ; and therefore *Josephus* seems to have  
 justly enlarged this Privilege to all Travellers on  
 the High-Way, though they were not *Israelites*,  
 ( to whom, and to Profelytes of Justice alone,  
 they confine this Advantage ) but mere Stran-  
 gers of any other Nation, who had Occasion to  
 pass by a Vineyard and wanted Refreshment. By  
 this Permission they were not allowed to tread  
 down the Vines, and make waste among the  
 Grapes, but only to step aside out of their Way  
 into the Skirts of the Vineyard, which lay near  
 the Road, and there to satisfy their Hunger with-  
 out entring further in ; which was no Damage to  
 the Owner, considering the great Plenty of Fruit  
 in that Country. They might eat for their present  
 Necessity or Delight, but not to carry any away  
 with them in their Pouches, or Garments, or Bo-  
 soms, or so much as in their Hands. They  
 had the same Advantage in a Corn Field, which  
 say they, extended to *Jews*, but not to *Gentiles*,  
 under the Restrictions above-mentioned.



C H A P. XIV.

*Mercy to Strangers, to Servants, to the Deaf, the Blind, to Beasts and Birds.*

**S**Trangers, who had renounced Idolatry, had a Right to Humanity, and Tendernefs, by Exod. xxiii. 9. an exprefs Command; they were to be dealt with equally in Courts of Juftice without Dictinction between them and *Israelites*. They were neither to vex a Stranger, nor opprefs him; the firft of which the *Hebrews* will have to confift in not upbraiding him with his former State of Paganifm, nor give him any afflicting Words, fuch as, *Remember what thou wast, or, what thy Father did*; and this was neither to be done to a Profelyte of Juftice, nor to a Profelyte of the Gate, as far as Mr. *Selden* could judge of their Opinion. The Second *not to opprefs him*, confifted in not uſing him hardly in their dealing with him, by making him pay (for Inſtance) more for any Thing than it was worth; which De Jure N. & G. c. 4. the ſame Mr. *Selden* thinks, the *Hebrews* were of Opinion, belonged only to their Uſage of Profelytes of Juftice, who were perfectly in their Communion: But this is unreaſonable; as *Levi* of *Barcelona* obſerves, by thus treating any Profelyte they might endanger their Return to Paganifm again, out of Indignation to be ſo deſpiſed, and much more, when they ſaw they were wronged, which God took care they ſhould not be becauſe they were more helpſeſ than other Men, and had fewer Friends; and this is the Reaſon that this Precept, as the *Jews* themſelves have computed, is inculcated in one and twenty Places. The Motive to inforce Obedience to this Law was the Remembrance of the Oppreſſions they ſuffered in *Egypt*, where they were  
Stranger,



Book VI. Strangers, and from whence they were delivered only by the divine Mercy which they ought to imitate.

  
Deut. xxiv. 14.

A hired Servant was not to be oppressed either by putting more Work upon him than he was able to do, or by detaining his Wages when it was done : There were two Sorts of People, say the *Jews*, that wrought for Hire, one were Day Labourers, the other Labourers by Night ; neither of which were to stay for their Wages beyond the Time appointed, but the one were to have it before Sun-set, the other before Morning ; for it was due as soon as the Day or the Night was done ; for says a *Rabbi*, the merciful God would have his Creatures subsist, which poor Labourers cannot do if they want their Wages to buy them Victuals. No Difference was made between a natural *Jew* and a Profelyte of the Gate ; the Hire was to be paid that was due to him either by Contract, or by natural Equity, whether he had agreed to serve for a Day, a Month, or a Year, unless he was willing it should remain in his Master's Hands. The Breach of this Law was punished by God, who promised to hear the Cries of the Poor, and to avenge them.

Levi Barcel.  
Precept- 238.

Lev. xix. 14.

It was a cruel and base Indignity to curse the Deaf, whether Man or Woman, though he could not hear the Curse, so was insensible of the Injury, nor could he do himself right, or answer for himself. The Case of the Sick and Infirm, or the Absent, was the same with the Deaf. As for others who were not deaf, it was forbidden to curse them, says *Maimonides*, because it provoked Men to Anger, and Rage, and incited them to Barbarity and Revenge. It was equally inhuman to put a Stumbling Block before the Blind, which proceeded from so savage a Disposition, that the *Hebrew* Doctors seem to think Men incapable of it ; and therefore expound this Law of giving ill Counsel to simple Persons, and advising them

More Nevoch.  
P. 2. c. 5.



to their Disadvantage. If any Man was convicted of either of these Crimes, he was beaten. Chap. 14.

Nor were the brute Beasts forgotten in the Laws of Mercy, and Compassion, enacted by *Moses*; the Cattle that were usually employ'd in their Labours had a Right to the Benefit of the Sabbatical Rest; and this was absolutely necessary, it being impossible for their Servants to observe the Sabbath as they are required, if they were obliged to set their Beasts to Work. Exod. xx. 10.

It was a Matter of common Right for one Man to take care of the Beasts of another, and this belong'd to their Enemies as well as Friends. If a Man met an Ox or a Sheep, or any other Beast going astray, he was bound not only to give Notice to the Owner, but to bring it back himself; if the Owner lived at a great Distance, or it could not be discover'd who he was, he was obliged to make Proclamation by the publick Crier, that such a Beast was with him, and that, say the *Jews*, three or four times. But here they are pleased to make a Distinction, that they were to do this, if there were Marks upon the Beast; but if there were none they were not bound to cry it, which seems to be an unreasonable Limitation. The Beast was to be restored when demanded by the Owner, he paying the Charges of Keeping it from the Time it was taken up till it came into his Hands. But if no body could prove a Right in the Beast that was lost, it became his who found it, and he might lawfully, by Right of Possession, keep it as his own. In all other Cases of Things lost, the same Law was to be observed. Deut. xxii. 1, 2, &c.

An *Israelite* was forbidden to turn away his Eyes, as if he did not see the Danger an Ox or any other Beast was in that was fallen down, or oppressed by his Burden, but was commanded to help it up, though the Owner was his avowed Enemy. This Precept the *Jewish* Doctors, after their usual Severity, would have belong only to an *Israelite* that hated them; and they put several Cases upon this Selden de Jure. N. & G. c. 4.



Book VI. Law ; as what if the Beast be a Gentile's, and the Burden was the Property of an *Israelite*, or on the contrary, what is to be done ? And if they meet with two Beasts belonging both to *Israelites*, and labouring under Burdens ; but one the Beast of a Friend, the other of an Enemy, which is he bound to help ? In which they resolve, that he is by this Law to have regard to the Beast of his Enemy, that he may subdue his evil Affection which would persuade him otherways. These Writers have raised many other Difficulties which are equally nice and insignificant. *David Chytraeus*, a Man of Learning, in his Observations upon this Law gives a famous Example of this Sort of Piety in *Alphonsus*, King of *Naples* who travelling upon the Road with a great Number of Courtiers, and seeing a poor Ass with a Burden sunk into a deep Slough, ( when all that went before him passed by without any Regard ) when he came to the Place stop'd, and went himself to the Driver, and lent him Assistance to help the Ass out of the Dirt.

In Locum.

Deut. xxv. 4. It was a Custom among the *Hebrews* ( as well as among the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans* ) to use Oxen in treading out their Corn, either with their Feet barely, or by drawing a Cart or other Instrument over it ; and while they were at Work some muzzled them, others daubed their Mouths with Dung ; others hung a wooden Instrument about their Neck, which hindered them from Stooping down, or put sharp pricks in their Mouths, or kept them without Drink, or covered their Corn with Skins to prevent their coming at it ; which Inhumanity is forbidden by *Moses*, who instructs his People, by shewing Mercy to their Beasts, to be kind and compassionate one to another.

Deut. xxii. 6.

The Birds, especially such as were clean, and might lawfully be eaten, were likewise to be used with Tendernefs. If a Man found a Nest, he might take the Young, but the Dam he was obliged



obliged to let fly : It being a sufficient Affliction, Chap. 15.  
as *Maimonides* calls it, to the old One to lose her Young ; and it being unreasonable also, that Men should consider only their own present Interest, without regard to Posterity, to whom the Breed ought to be continued, by letting the old One go free. Long Life and temporal Prosperity are annexed to the Observation of this Law ; from whence the *Jews* have fancied that the Observation of this single Precept was of so great a Value, as to procure even Forgiveness of Sins, and a long Life, which is such a foolish Conceit, that it makes all other Commands unnecessary. The plain meaning is, that God would reward them for their kind Usage even of brute Creatures ; if they were possessed of other Virtues, such as Charity to their poor Neighbours. And so the *Mischna* discourses well, if in a light Precept concerning a Thing which is scarce worth a Farthing, the Law says, *That Tract. Cholin. it may be well with thee, and thou mayst prolong thy Days* ; how much more may this be expected from obeying more important Matters of the Law ?

## CHAP. XV.

### *Laws concerning Food. The eating of Blood forbidden.*

THE first Grant made to Mankind concerning Food was soon after the Creation, Gen. i. 29. and extended no further than to the Plants and Fruits of the Earth. There is no mention of Beasts, or Birds, or Fishes in this Assignment ; for being made in Pairs, in their several Species (we may well suppose) and not being yet multiplied, the killing of them would have been the Destruction



Book VI. instruction of the Kind ; whereas there were Plants innumerable, and great Variety of Fruit for Sustenance. Mankind therefore, though there was no Prohibition, yet are thought to have abstained from the eating of Flesh till after the Flood, unless it were upon some special Occasions ; as perhaps, when they sacrificed living Creatures, which they did in Process of Time, though not at the first.

Gen. ix. 3.

This Grant was enlarged immediately after the Deluge, by allowing the Eating of all living Creatures ; otherwise, says *Abarbinel*, there would not have been Food enough for *Noah* and his Sons ; the Fruits of the Earth, which were before abundant, being all destroyed, so that for the present there were not sufficient for their Support. Others think the Reason of it was, because the Fruits of the Earth were not so nutritive as they had been, before the salt Water of the Sea very much spoiled the Soil. But this Privilege was restrained by an Exception, that the Blood of Beasts should not be eaten, just, as at the first, one Fruit in the midst of the Garden was excepted when all the rest were allowed. The *Hebrew* Doctors generally understand this to be a Prohibition, to cut off any Limb of a living Creature, and to eat it while the Life, that is the Blood, was in it : For *Maimonides* conceives, that there were some People in the old World so fierce and barbarous, that they eat raw Flesh while it was yet reeking from the Beast, out of whose Body it was cut, and this he makes to have been a Part of their idolatrous Worship : The Pagan Kings, says he, used to follow this Custom in the Sacrifices of their Idols, when they cut off the Limb of the Beast and feasted upon it. But it was certainly a positive Precept that the Blood of no Creature should be eaten, and the true Design of this Injunction was, that God intending in after-times to reserve the Blood for the Expiation of Sin, required this early Abstinence from it, that the

He-

*More Nevoch.*  
p. 3. c. 48.



*Hebrews* might be the better prepared to submit to that Law, and understand the Reason of it, which was, that it was *the Life of the Beast*, which God accepted instead of their Life, when they had forfeited it by their Sins. Chap. 15.

This Prohibition was renew'd several times in the *Mosaic* Law, and the *Jews* make a particular Remark upon the Penalty annexed to it, which was, that God would set his Face against the Criminal, which Threatning is denounced but once more in the whole Scriptures. God says (as *Maimonides* notes) I will set my Face against that Man that eats Blood, as he says of those that did immolate their Children to *Moloch*, that he would set his Face against them; and this Expression is to be met with no where else, but only in these two Commandments against eating of Blood and Idolatry; the Reason is, because the Eating of Blood had a Relation to certain Sorts of Idolatry, and gave Occasion to the Worshipping of the Devil: And this he proves by observing, that though among the *Zabii*, Blood was looked upon as a very unclean and defiling Thing, nevertheless they did eat it, because they regarded it as Meat proper for the Gods, and believed that such Persons as did eat it, enter'd thereby into a Correspondence with the Deities, who would reveal to them future Things. There being some among them who look'd upon it as a great Hardship to eat Blood, against the Use of which Nature it self seemed to have raised an Abhorrence in Man, they used the following Expedient. They sat down in a Circle to eat the Blood, not that they did actually eat it, but flatter'd themselves with a Notion that whilst they were feeding upon the Flesh the Gods did eat the Blood, and that by so doing, they contracted a certain Commerce and Correspondence, and Familiarity with them, since they did eat at the same Table and of the same Meats.

Lev. xvii. 10.  
More Nevosh.  
P. 3. c. 46.



Book VI. The *Jews* have made a vast Number of Observations upon this Prohibition of eating Blood, too long to be inserted here. They were extremely careful in the Manner of the killing of their Beasts, so that no Blood might remain in the Fleshy or musculous Parts; and *Maimonides* thinks, he has found out a singular Mystery in the Words of the Law, *The Blood is the Life*. He distinguishes the Blood into that which, as it issues forth, carries the Life along with it, being the same that is poured upon the Altar, and which springs out with a considerable Force or Impetuosity when the Beast is killed; he who eats this Sort of Blood is to be cut off from his People; but he who eats of the Blood which comes out by Drops after the Beast is dead, or that which Issues immediately after the Wound is given, before the Beast begins to die, deserves to be scourged only: The Writers of that People assert further, that the Blood forbidden to be eaten must be separated from the Body of the Beasts, because they did not think fit a Person should be made a Criminal, for having eaten some of the Blood distilling from the Wound, which ought not to be taken as separated from the Body. According to the Tradition of the *Jews*, this Precept concerning Blood (which is the seventh among those they call the Commandments of the *Noachides*) was the only one given to *Noah*, whereas the other six were delivered to *Adam*. This Law was equally obligatory upon *Israelites* and Strangers.





C H A P. XVI.

Of Beasts Clean and Unclean. Of Fishes.

THE divine Bounty having bestowed upon Mankind after the Flood every living thing to be their Food, it has raised a Question among learned Men, why he should restrain his own People from the Benefit of this general Grant; and some have thought this so unaccountable, that they think it in vain to enquire into the Reasons of the Difference that is made of Meats; concerning which *Cunæus* declares (as *Plutarch* does of the Laws of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*) that no doubt they were enacted with wise Counsel, but the Reason of the Law-givers cannot be known. But others conceive the Reason is sufficiently plain, and the *Jews* are of Opinion, that the Creatures called Unclean were forbidden to be eaten, because they were unwholesom Food. This Opinion perhaps is not wholly groundless, for though there be some Creatures prohibited which seem to us of as good Nourishment as those which are allowed, yet considering that Climate wherein the *Jews* lived, and the Temper of their Blood which was very hot and apt to be extremely corrupted (as appears by the unusual Leprosie, to which they were subject more than other Nations) it is reasonable to conclude, that God had some Respect to this in the Ordering of their Diet. But the principal Design was certainly to separate the *Israelites* from all other People in the World, by a Rule of Eating peculiar to themselves, which kept them from such familiar Conversation as otherwise they might have had with the *Gentiles*, and consequently from learning their idolatrous Customs. Besides, it may be observed, that most of the Creatures which are

Lev. xi. 12, &c.

De Rep. Heb.  
cap. 24. lib. 2.



## Book VI.



*Contra Celsum.*  
l. 4.

L. 3. περι  
Ἀποχῆς.

Gen. xxxii. 31.

*Selden de Syned.*  
L. 2. p. 552.

pronounced Unclean, were such as were in high Esteem and sacred among the Heathen; as a Swine was to *Venus*, the Owl to *Minerva*, the Hawk to *Apollo*, the Eagle to *Jupiter*, and even the Dog to *Hecate*; which gave Occasion to *Origen* justly to fall into Admiration of the Wisdom of *Moses*, who so perfectly understood the Nature of all Animals, and what Relation they had to Dæmons, that he declared all those to be unclean which were esteemed by the *Egyptians* and other Nations to be the Instruments of Divination, and those to be clean which were not so: And if in the Time of *Moses* such Creatures were not sacred to Dæmons, it is a greater Wonder that he should mark out those for impure which proved to be so sacred to after Ages; as a great Number of Birds mentioned in *Porphyry*, who says, the Gods used them as Heralds to declare their Mind to Men; and several other Creatures mentioned by other Authors, as peculiarly appropriated to other Deities.

All Beasts, it is observed, were lawful to be eaten before the Restraint laid upon Food by the *Levitical* Institution; but before the Law was deliver'd and long afterward, there was one particular Part of clean Creatures that the *Israelites* avoided to eat, upon the Account of a Misfortune that happen'd to the Patriarch *Jacob*, when he wrestled with the Angel, who in the Contest touched the Hollow of his Thigh, and dislocated his Hip-bone; in Commemoration therefore of this Adventure, his Posterity forbore to eat that Sinew or Tendon which fastens the Hip bone in its Socket, which comprehends likewise the Flesh of that Muscle which is connected to it. The Offender against this Law, as the *Jewish* Masters tell us, was to be punished by Beating.

The Law concerning the Eating of living Creatures, is divided into four Branches, and relates to Beasts, to Fishes, to Birds, and to creeping Things. Of Beasts, there are some whose Hoofs are solid and not at all divided, such as Horses, Asses, and Mules;



Mules ; others that are divided into several Parts like Toes, as Lions, Wolves and Dogs ; a third Part are only divided into two Parts, as Oxen, Deer, Sheep ; and these are of two Kinds, for some divide the Hoof into two Parts, but is not cloven quite through as the Camel, whose Hoof is parted above but joined by a thick Skin below, and therefore reckoned among unclean Beasts ; others are both divided and cloven, which are in that Respect pronounced clean by the Law. Chap. 16.

But to render Beasts perfectly clean, it was necessary that not only the Hoof should be cloven entirely through, but they were to chew the Cud, that is, they were to be such as had not a Set of Teeth above and below ; such are Oxen, Sheep and Goats, which want upper Teeth, and therefore bring their Meat up again into their Mouths after it has been sometime in the Stomach, that it might by a new Chewing of it be better prepared for Digestion. The Author of a Book called *Porta Cæli* explains this very exactly ; when he says, for want of Teeth they cannot chew their Food perfectly at one time, nor can the Stomach make a perfect Digestion till it be ground a second time, and therefore such Creatures are provided with a double Stomach, an upper, into which the Meat goes down after the first Chewing, and another, into which it is sent after it has been grinded a second Time. All Kinds of Animals which had not every one of these Marks (of parting the Hoof, and being cloven footed, and chewing the Cud) were unlawful to be eaten ; and such are these.

The *Camel*, who chewed the Cud, and whose Hoof, though it divided, yet it was not cloven through.

The *Coney*. This Beast is said to chew the Cud, which it certainly does not ; and therefore the learned *Bochart* proves by many Arguments, that the Original signifies a Mountain Mouse, which make their Holes in Rocks, as Rabbits do not, *Hierozoic. P. 1. L. 3. c. 33.*



Book VI. not, and chew the Cud, but because he did not divide the Hoof, he was unclean.

Prov. XXX. 26.

Lib. 3. c. 22.

Bartholinus

Cent.

Anatom. 2.

Hist. 36.

The *Hare*. This Creature does not divide the Hoof, but chewing the Cud is ascribed to it; and *Aristotle* in some measure confirms it by saying, it has a Runnet in the Stomach. An eminent Anatomist has made this Observation in his Dissection of a Hare, that though he found but one Stomach, which made him wonder, at first, that *Moses* should reckon it among the Creatures that ruminates; yet he found that what was wanting in the simple Stomach was supplied by the Largeness of the *Intestinum Cæcum*, which Gut is of a great Bigness, consisting of two Parts; in one of which he found liquid and white Excrements, (like to Chyle) as if it were another Stomach; the other Part toward the *Ileon* being full of black Excrements.

More Nervo.

p. 3. c. 48.

Census de Rep.

Heb. 1. 2. c. ult.

The *Swine*; which, though it has the first part of the Mark of a clean Creature compleatly, being cloven footed as well as having the Hoof divided, yet not chewing the Cud, is forbidden to be eaten. And this, no doubt, was the sole Foundation why the *Jews* abstained from this Meat; whose filthy feeding and wallowing in the Mire, *Maimonides* fancies, was the only Cause why it was prohibited; others give the Reason, because it feeds upon Flesh, and some that it breeds the Leprosy; to which the Inhabitants in those Countries were very subject: But whatever Grounds there might be of this Prohibition, that alone could not be the Reason why the whole Nation of the *Jews* abhorred this more than any unclean Creatures which were equally forbidden with this, insomuch that they called it *another*, or a *strange Thing*; which arose certainly from some other Cause, that in process of Time made this the most abominable of all other Creatures; and that was, it is supposed, because the Gentiles used it in their Sacrifices and Mysteries of Religion, and because nothing was accounted a more delicious Food





Food among many great Nations ; which, ( if a strong Abhorrence had not been infused into the *Jews* of this Creature ) might have invited them to their Tables, and bred such Familiarity with them as might have concluded in Idolatry. They were not allowed so much as to open these Beasts to take out the Fat, and apply it to any Use. In this the *Jews* are so scrupulous, that they say they may not touch them though alive, with one of their Fingers, for fear of the Leprosy, it being a proverbial Saying among them, *that ten Measures of Leprosy descending into the World, Swine took to themselves nine of them, and the rest of the World one.* The Touch of these Beasts that were prohibited to be eaten when they were dead, made a Person unclean until the Evening : but while they were alive it was not unlawful to touch them, for they used Camels, and Horses, and Asses, for their necessary Service.

*Moses* gives the Names of some of those Creatures that had the Marks to pronounce them clean, and in the first Place he mentions

The *Ox*, the *Sheep*, and the *Goat*, because they were the only Creatures offered to God in Sacrifice.

The *Hart* and the *Robuck*, and the wild Goat, these, though they might not to be sacrificed, yet were allowed to be eaten ; and are often named as the principal Food in the Land of *Canaan*.

The *Pygarg*. This is also a Kind of Doe, or Goat, which the *Hebrews* call *Dison*. We find mention of *Pygargus* in the eleventh Satyr of *Juvenal*, where the old Scholiast gives this account of it, that it is a kind of Deer, *quæ reteriores partes albas habet*, whose hinder Parts are white ; whence it had its Name among the *Greeks*, who call the Buttocks, *Pugæ*.

The *wild Ox* ; *Bochart* asserts, that there were no such Creatures in *Judæa*, which are bred in colder

Deut. xiv. 4, 5.

Deut. xii. 15, 22.

Hierozoic. P. I. l. 3. c. 28.



Book VI. colder Countries ; therefore he reckons this among the Deer or Goats.

The *Chamois*. This also was a Kind of Goat, or Hart, of which there were great Variety in those Countries ; but this was remarkable for Activity and Jumping. There are no more Particulars of clean Beasts mentioned in the *Mosaic Law*.

Though some of the Heathens abstained constantly from all Fish, and others for some time only when they were under strict Obligations of Purity, yet the *Hebrews* were left at greater Liberty, being forbidden only some kind of Fish, by abstaining from which they were sufficiently distinguished from those Nations which did eat all indifferently, and accounted Fish the greatest Delicacy. Fish, whether they were found in Seas, or Rivers, or Lakes, or Ponds, that had Fins and Scales, were to be eaten : But their Doctors say that if but one Scale was found upon a Fish it was accounted lawful ; and they had no Occasion to observe whether it had Fins or no ; for all that have Scales, they say, have Fins, though on the contrary, all that have Fins have not Scales. They observe also, secondly, that it was lawful to eat young Fish before the Scales appeared, if they were of that kind that have Scales, when they are grown : And thirdly, all Fishes that have Scales when they are in the Sea, but cast them when they are taken out, are lawful. It was an *Abomination* to eat any Fishes that had not these Marks, ( which is not said of Beasts, that are only called *unclean* ) because there was greater Danger of offending in this Matter, Fishes being a more common Food among the People of the *East* than Flesh, or any other Diet.

Levi Barcel.  
Precept. 150.





C H A P. XVII.

*Of Birds clean and unclean.*

**T**H E Lawgiver of the *Hebrews* laid down no Notes to distinguish clean Birds from unclean ; and therefore their Doctors say, all Birds are lawful to be eaten, but those hereafter mentioned, which they were to have in abhorrence ; yet they venture to give certain Marks of a clean Bird, the Principal of which are, if it does not fasten its Talons ; that is, if it be not rapacious, and has one Claw longer than the rest. The Birds forbidden are

The *Eagle*, whose Flesh is very hard, and Nature ravenous ; and therefore upon a natural and moral Account some Authors fancy it was prohibited : But *Origen*, I think, has given a better Account in the Place above-mentioned, that *Moses* by his admirable Wisdom understood what *Lib. 1. Orat. 5.* Creatures were look'd upon as propheticall by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, and these he forbid to the *Jews*, among which he expressly names the *Eagle* and the *Hawk* ; for *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the People of *Thebes* worship the *Eagle*, looking upon it as a royal Bird, worthy of *Jupiter*, ; and *Julian* in his Oration upon the Mother of the Gods, says, that in the Time of their strictest Purifications they were permitted to eat Birds, except a few which had commonly been held sacred, which is a plain Acknowledgement of the Sacredness of some Birds among the Gentiles.

The *Offisfrage* ; a Species of the *Eagle*, but of what Kind is not so certain.

The



## Book VI.



The *Ospray*, or *black Eagle*, which though it be the least, is the strongest of all other ; and therefore called *Valeria* by the *Romans*.

The *Kite* and the *Vulture* after his Kind ; that is, all the Species of them.

Every *Raven*, of which the *Arabian* Writers mention four Kinds ; and some think under this Name is comprehended, not only *Crows*, and *Daws*, and *Coughs*, but *Starlings* and *Pies* also.

The *Owl*. The *Hebrew* word signifies a Bird which inhabits the *Wildernesses* and desolate Places, by which the antient Interpreters of Scripture understand the *Ostrich* ; and it is certain it was the constant Persuasion of the *Jews*, that God did not permit them to eat the Flesh of an *Ostrich*, which is no where forbidden if not in this Law. It is supposed to mean the Female *Ostrich*.

*Hierozyic. P. II.*  
l. 2. c. 14.

The *Night-Hawk*. The Word in the Original, says the learned *Bochart*, signifies the Male *Ostrich* ; for there is no general Name for this Bird in the *Hebrew* Language to comprehend both Sexes (as there is for an *Eagle* and a *Raven*) and therefore *Moses* mentions both Male and Female distinctly, that none might think by forbidding one of them only, he allowed the other.

The *Cuckow*.

The *Hawk* after his Kind. There are various Kinds of these Birds ; *Callimachus* mentions six, *Aristotle* ten, and *Pliny* sixteen Sorts.

The *Little Owl*. The learned Author above has collected many ingenious Arguments to prove that the Word in the Original signifies a *Bittern*.

The *Cormorant* : The same excellent Person does not approve this Translation, yet he confesses the *Hebrew* Word signifies some Sea-Bird, which sits upon Rocks, and strikes at Fishes with great Force, and draws them out of the Waters.

The



The *Great Owl*. St. *Hierom* takes the Word to signify a *Stork*, and others a *Bustard*. Chap. 17

The *Swan*.

The *Pelican*.

The *Gier Eagle*. It was of a dubious Kind, between an *Eagle* and a *Vulture*; and therefore happily translated by us a *Gier Eagle*, that is, a *Vulture Eagle*. It was a harmless good natured Bird, and was made the Hieroglyphick of Mercy and Tendernefs among the *Egyptians*.

The *Stork*. This Bird, notwithstanding his Piety, so much celebrated by Authors, and which is the very Import of the Word, in the Original, was prohibited, it is supposed, because it feeds upon Serpents; though upon this Account it was had in Honour by the *Egyptians*, and the People of *Thessaly*.

The *Heron* after his Kind. The Word in the Original being derived from another, which signifies Anger, *Bochart* rather takes it for a Mountain *Falcon*, which is a fierce Bird, and very furious.

The *Lapwing*, conceived by the *Hebrew* Doctors to be a Mountain Cock with a double Crest.

The *Bat*. *Moses* begins the Catalogue of Birds with the noblest, which is the *Eagle*, and Ends it with the vilest, which is a *Bat*, being of a dubious Kind between a Bird and a Mouse. The Name in the *Hebrew* imports it to be a Bird of Darknefs. It is observed the Birds that are forbidden are either rapacious, and live on Flesh, as *Eagles* and *Hawks*, or are Night Birds, as *Owls* and *Bats*, or haunt Marshes and Lakes, as the *Cormorant*, or are heavy and not easily raised from the Earth, as the *Ostrich*, or live upon Dung and Course Diet, as the *Lapwing*; and upon these Accounts are prohibited by *Moses*, who allows those that live upon a cleaner Food.





## C H A P. XVIII.

## Of creeping Creatures that flew.

**A**LL flying Things that go upon four Feet (called in our Translation, *Fowls that creep*) are expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic Law*, such as *Flies*, *Wasps* and *Bees*. A *Fly* indeed is observed to have six Feet, yet it goes only upon four, the two Forefeet serving for other Uses. From this Prohibition are excepted such flying Insects, as beside their four Feet wherewith they go, have two Legs, or Thighs, which give them Power to leap upon the Earth as well as to go. As to the various Sorts of *Locusts*, it is observed, there are nine Kinds of *Locusts* mentioned in the Scriptures; four of which are only permitted to be eaten; the first is called,

The *Locust* after its Kind, which is supposed to signify a peculiar Sort which leap'd as well as walk'd.

The *Bald Locust* after its Kind, which takes great delight in climbing upon Rocks.

The *Beetle* after its Kind. This Sort of *Locust* seems to have its Name from the vast Company wherein they fly: But the Word is improperly translated a *Beetle*; for those Insects are never eaten; nor are they four footed, with Legs to leap withal.

The *Grasshopper* after its Kind. These are likewise a Species of *Locusts* in the Shape of *Grasshoppers*, which were fit for Food, being large and fleshy in the *Eastern Countries*, and used to fly in such Troops that they seemed to darken the Sun it self. These *Locusts* that were to be eaten are called in the Original *Arbeh*, *Solam*, *Chargol*, and *Chagab*; but by what Marks they were



were distinguished, the *Hebrews* differ so much, Chap. 18. that it plainly shews they are ignorant in this Matter. The most that can be made of what they say, (as a Man very learned in these Things has observed) is that the first hath neither a Bunch on his Back, nor a Tail; the second has a Bunch and a Tail; the third has both; the fourth has a Tail but no Bunch; which, whether it be true or false, is of small Importance to us. But this is certain, that before the Destruction of *Jerusalem* the *Jews* knew very well what Kind of *Locusts* were meant in the *Levitical* Law, and accordingly perfectly understood what might be eaten and what not; otherwise *John the Baptist* would have been under great Difficulties in the Wilderness when he had no other Diet but this and wild Honey. And indeed in desert Places there was little other Food but this by which whole Armies of Men have been relieved when they were in Danger to perish in *Lybia*; for that *Locusts* were a common Food in the *Eastern* and *Southern* Countries, is so evident, that I have no occasion to produce Authorities to prove it. The learned Author before cited has shewn at large, how many Nations live upon them, in his Commentary upon his *Ethiopick History*, and more lately in his most excellent *Dissertation concerning Locusts*; wherein he relates what Clouds of them came into *Germany*, not many Years since, (in the Month of *August*, - 1691,) of which seeing the Hogs and Hens, and other Creatures, feeding greedily, he, and his Family, ventured to eat freely of them also, and found the Taste of them like that of a *Crab*. And a *Jew* of *Jerusalem*, who was then in that Country, assured him, that the *Locusts* in *Judea* were much of the same Shape, with these in *Germany*, which he demonstrated to him by a Draught he had made of them.

*Ludolph. Dissert.  
de Locust. P. 1.  
c. 23.*

It may be proper in this Place to observe once for all, that the Phrase, *after his Kind*, so often



Book VI. repeated in the Laws concerning *Fowls* and *Flying Things*, does not necessarily signify, that there are different Kinds of every Bird, or flying Thing to which it is applied, but only imports, *every one of that Kind*; for *Moses* does not speak in the plural Number, *according to their Kinds*, but in the singular, *after his Kind*, which only denotes that the whole Species is prohibited; and what he says of some Fowls, is in Reason, to be applied to all; though, to avoid Repetition, he does not add these Words, *after his Kind*, to every one of them.

All other flying creeping Creatures (as they are called) that came under the Description and Character above-mentioned, whether they were Locusts, or of any other Species, were strictly forbidden; if they did either eat of them, or so much as touch the Carcase of them, they might not be admitted to come into the Tabernacle, nor to taste of any holy Thing, or to converse with their Neighbours. In this Uncleanness they continued till Sun-set. It is not said, (as in other Cases) that they were to wash themselves, or their Clothes, which makes it probable that their meer Separation, for all the Day, from Communion with God, and one another, was their Cleansing without any other Purification. But there are so many Commands for washing themselves and their Clothes in other Defilements no greater than this; that it has persuaded some to think that such cleansing was necessary upon this account also. The Law enjoins expressly that whoever bore any of the Carcase of them, though it were only to carry them out of the Camp, or City, to prevent Infection, was defiled till the Evening, and was obliged to wash his Clothes, and his Body in all likelihood, as was required in other Purifications. No Time is appointed for this, which perhaps a Man might think fit to do presently, but notwithstanding he was to remain unclean till the setting of the Sun.

Lev. xv. 5, 6,  
7, &c.





C H A P. XIX.

Of Beasts that went upon their Paws.  
Pollution by touching their Carcases.  
Of Creeping Things that move upon  
the Belly.

**C**reatures that go upon their Paws (or as it is in the *Hebrew*, upon their *Hands*) whose fore Feet resemble *Hands*, such as the Ape, the Lion, the Bear, Dogs and Cats, might neither be eaten, nor their Carcases touched without incurring Uncleanness till Sun-set: To bear them when they were dead contracted the same Pollution, besides the Penalty of purifying the Clothes, and perhaps the Body, by washing.

The Law of *Moses* descended to creeping Things, Creatures that have such short Feet, that some of their Bellies seem to touch the Ground;

Of this Kind are,

The *Weasel*, which is supposed rather to signify a *Mole*.

The *Mouse*, that is, say the *Jews*, the *black Mouse*, the *red* and the *white*; for they are of so many Colours.

The *Tortoise* after its Kind: The *Seventy* understand this Creature to be a Land *Crocodile*, which is a Sort of *Lizzard*, a Cubit long, to be found frequently in the Deserts of *Arabia*.

The *Ferret* is said to be another Sort of *Lizzard*, which the *Latins* call *Stellio*, and in those Countries has a shrill Cry.

The *Cameleon*: The Word imports the strongest of all the *Lizzard* Kind; remarkable in those Countries for its sharp Encounters with Serpents and Land Crocodiles.



## Book VI.



The *Lizzard*; it is agreed, that this likewise is a Species of the *Lizzard*, but of what Kind is hard to determine. The learned *Bochart*, out of the *Arabian* Writers, has shewn, it resembles that which is of a reddish Colour, and lies close to the Earth, infesting the Meat, which it touches, with its Poison.

The *Snail*, a Sort of *Lizzard*, says the same Author, that lies in the Sand.

Hierozoic P. I.  
L. 4. c. 6.

And the *Mole*, conceived by the same admirable Person, to signify the *Cameleon* which gapes to draw in the Air. But after all that can be said, it must be confessed, that the Signification of all these Words are lost among the *Jews*; for as a great Man among them freely owns, neither these eight Sorts of creeping Things, nor the Birds above-mentioned, are known to us but by Tradition; and it is certain that the *Talmudists* send those who are doubtful, what Birds are lawful, and what not, to be informed by those who are Masters in the Art of Fowling. The eight Creatures, here mentioned, were forbidden to be eaten, and to touch their Carcases contracted a Pollution till the Evening; for nothing was unclean by the Law of *Moses* while it was alive, but only a Leper, and a Woman in her Separation; all other Reptiles, say the *Jews*, as Serpents and Scorpions, you may touch and not be polluted.

Aben-Ezra in  
Lev. xi. 30.

The very touch of the Carcases of these Creatures defiled every Vessel of Wood, or Mettle, all Raiment, Skins, Sacks, and other Things upon which they fell; they were purified by washing, and remained unclean till the Evening. By their Contact the Vessel and whatever was contained in it was defiled; if the Vessel was of Earth, it being of small Value, was to be broken. Any Meat, which otherwise might be lawfully eaten, was made unclean, if any Water poured out of such a polluted Vessel, came upon it; for the Water being defiled, it made the Meat, on which




which it fell, to be unclean also. Every Thing Chap. 19.  
liquid, though otherwise not prohibited, that  
came out of such a Vessel, was to be poured out;  
yet dry Things, such as Bread, were not forbid-  
den to be used, because they did not so soon  
receive any Effluvia's from a dead Carcase as  
the Liquid did; and the Pollution was the same if  
the least Part of the Carcase fell upon a Vessel,  
it was to be used no more but to be broken in  
Pieces.

All Places where Meat and Drink were com-  
monly prepared (such as Ovens, and Pots, and  
Wine-Presses and Cellars) the *Hebrews* were  
obliged to keep clean and pure; the Touch of  
these Carcases made them unclean, they were to  
be no more used but to be broken down. From  
this Law was excepted a Fountain, or Pit of Wa-  
ter, into which these Carcases might fall. This  
was a merciful Provision for their speedy cleansing  
from such Pollutions as they frequently contract-  
ed, by allowing them to make use of any Col-  
lection of Waters (notwithstanding a Carcase  
had dropt into it) in their own private Grounds  
as well as in the publick Baths, such as *Bethesda*  
seems to have been, which had five Porches,  
that they who laboured under the same Sort of  
Pollution might betake themselves to the same  
Porch, and go down into the Water together.  
If this had not been permitted, it might have  
been impossible (considering the few Rivers they  
had in that Country) to have cleansed themselves  
after their Defilements. The Man who should  
draw out these Carcases out of such Waters was  
unclean until the Evening, or at least, as some  
*Jews* explain it, the Instrument, whatever it was,  
that served him to pull the Carcase out of the  
Fountain or Cistern, was polluted, and to be used  
no more.

But a Carcase, or the least Part of it falling  
upon dry Seed that was to be sown, gave it no  
Defilement; if a Mouse, for Example, was found



Book VI.  dead among the Wheat, it might, notwithstanding be used for Seed; but other Wheat which was not intended for Seed was made unclean, and might not be used till it was washed; the Reason of this Difference was, that the Seed to be sown went through many Alterations before it could become Food, which took away all the Pollution. Wet seed might be supposed to have received some Tincture from the Carcase which dry did not, and not being so fit to be sown, till it was dry, was in that Time to be cleansed.

All creeping Things that go upon the Belly, such as Worms and Serpents, were prohibited as abominable, vile and filthy, because they crawled upon the Earth. All Reptiles were forbidden that have abundance of Feet, such as Caterpillars, Hoglice, Forty Legs, and others; to eat them was unclean, and to touch them abominable. By this separate Sort of Diet, and these Ceremonies of Purification the *Hebrews* were distinguished from other People, and preserved from the Idolatrous Customs of the neighbouring Nations; not that there was any Uncleaness in any of these Things forbidden but what was made by the Prohibition of them. It was the Duty of the Priests to be well skilled in the Marks whereby what was lawful to be eaten might be known from what was unlawful, and therefore they are frequently charged by God himself to attend carefully to the Laws that were given upon this Occasion.

Deut xiv. 14.

Though the *Hebrews* were allowed to kill and eat any Creature that was clean, yet, if it died of it self, and consequently had the Blood remaining in it, or was torn of wild Beasts, and so beginning to be a Carcase, it became unlawful, not only to be eaten but to be touched. If he offended ignorantly, when he came to know it he was bound to purify himself by washing his Clothes and his Body in Water, and to remain till the Evening in his Uncleaness. If he neglected

Lev. xvii. 16.



neglected the Means of his Purification he was liable to be punished by God, and if while he continued thus unclean, he presumed to eat of the Peace-Offerings he was in Danger to be cut off from his People: But, if the Man wilfully violated this Precept, it was a high Crime against an express Law, and punished, as some think, by Death. But I suppose they mean he was obnoxious to the divine Displeasure, and in Danger to be cut off by him if he did not offer a Sacrifice, which seems to be allowed upon such Occasions to expiate his Offence. The *Jewish* Doctors say, He who violated this Law was only to be beaten, for *cutting off* either by the Hand of God or the Court of Judgment, was never threatened to Sins of so light a Nature as this: Profelytes of Righteousness were bound by this Law, which had no Obligation upon such as had not receiv'd the *Jewish* Religion; and yet *Maimonides* confesses, that the *Israelites* themselves when they went to War and enter'd the Countries of the Heathens and subdued them, might eat that which died of itself, or was torn of Beasts, when they were in want of Provision, or in Danger of suffering by Hunger. This sort of Food was allowed to be given to Strangers who were only Profelytes of the Gate, who had no concern with the Law being not Circumcised; and it might be sold to others who were meer Gentiles and happen'd to be in their Country. Now, it may be remark'd, that there were these sorts of People call'd by the Name of *Strangers*, being not of the *Jewish* Nation; First, Such as had received Circumcision, and consequently embraced the *Jewish* Religion, who were called *Gerezedek*, Strangers and Profelytes of Justice. Others were not Circumcised, but yet worshipped the God of *Israel*, who were called Strangers of the Gate, or *Gere-toshab*, Strangers dwelling among them; because they were to abide constantly in their Country. But there were a third

Chap. 19.

Lev. vii. 20.

Lev. vi. 1, 2, &c.

More Nevoch,

P. III. c. 42.

Schickard. Jus.

Reg. cap. 5.

Theorem 18.



Book VI. Sort called *Nocherim*, which we translate *Aliens*, who were meer *Gentiles*, and not suffered to have an Habitation among them, but only to go backward and forward for the purpose of Merchandise and Traffick.

## CHAP. XX.

### *The Art of Butchery : Their Kitchen Furniture, and way of dressing their Meat.*

**T**O kill Beasts, and to exercise the Office of a Butcher with dexterity, was, among the *Jews*, of more Reputation than to understand the Liberal Sciences ; and this Art was to be attain'd by much Reading and long Experience. They have a Book concerning Shamble Constitutions, and in Cases of difficulty they apply to some learned Rabbi for Advice ; nor was any allow'd to practice this Art without a License in Form, which gave the Man, upon Evidence of his Abilities, a Power to kill Meat, and others to eat what he killed, provided he carefully read over every Week for one Year, and every Month the next Year, and once a Quarter during his Life, the Constitutions above-mentioned. They have particular Knives for this Business, great ones for larger Cattle, and small for the smaller ; the greater have blunter and broader Points, and if they had any Notches or Flaws in them, they were not to be used. The Feet of the great Beasts must be bound in Remembrance of *Abraham's* binding of *Isaac*, and then with one Cut or Thrust, he cuts the Wind-pipe asunder ; then he looks upon his Knife to see if there be any Flaw in it, for that, say they, would terrify the Beast, and cause the Blood to recoil back to the Heart, whereby the Beast would be unfit for





for having some Blood in it. After this he hangs up the Beast, takes out the Inwards, and cutting a Hole on both sides the Heart, thrusts his Hand through it into the Body of the Beast to search for Blood, and if they find any remarkable Blemish in the Beast it is not to be eaten. They cut the Throat of a Bird in the same manner, if it be a Fowl that has Quills in the Wings, it bleeds into a heap of Ashes, and therein they cover the the Blood; and this they do in Memory of a particular Office done by Birds, as they say, to *Rebecca*, when she alighted from her Camel at the Sight of *Isaac*. They cover likewise the Blood of other Creatures in the Ground, because the Earth opened her Mouth to drink in the Blood of *Abel*; and because *Satan* should not accuse Men of Cruelty when he sees the Blood of so many innocent Beasts shed. When they have killed a great Beast, they cut out all the Veins and Sinews (upon which Subject they have written particular Treatises) and take out all the Suet; which done, they leave them sometime soaking in Water to mollify them, to cleanse them thoroughly, and to draw out all the Blood; then they lay them upon a Board to drain off the Water; after which they Salt them in a Vessel full of Holes, that the Salt may carry off all the Blood that remains. They never eat the hinder Parts in remembrance of *Jacob's* Thigh.

*Tunc temporis (aiunt) infirmitas muliebris eam invasit, & cum surrexisset de terra volucres advolarunt, sanguinemque virginitatis in terram occuluerunt: ideoque Deus mandavit sanguinem avium mactatarum tegere.*

The *Jews* generally buy their Kitchen Furniture all new, for fear it should have been used in dressing Viſuals which are forbidden by the Law; and if they happen to buy any that belonged to a Christian, they break all the wooden and earthen ware, and take all possible Pains in cleansing those Vessels that are of Metal. The Law commands in this Case, that they shall make every thing pass through the Fire which can bear it, and shall purify with the Waters of Expiation



Book VI.



ViGt. Carbons.  
A. D. C. 12.

piation those things which cannot. Their Vessels are of two Sorts, one for Flesh, the other for White-meats. Their Milk Vessels of Wood are marked with three Cuts, because the Law, *Thou shalt not see the a Kid in his Mother's Milk*, is repeated three Times. Every Jew carries two Knives with him, one for Flesh, the other for Cheese and Fish, and these also are marked with three Cuts; and if these Vessels should be intermingled, they were not to eat what was dressed in them, they were broken if they were made of Earth, most carefully washed if of Wood; and if of Iron other Metal, they were purged by Fire: So very nice are they, that a Knife was not used unless heated red-hot for three Hours, and three Days hid in the Earth, and three times put into Water. They never boil Milk and Fish at one time and over one Fire overagainst each other, nor place them together upon the Table, but separate them with somewhat set between: One Cloth is laid for Flesh, and another for White-meat. After they had eaten Flesh, or the Broth of it, they were not to eat White-meats for an Hour after; the most religious among them would abstain for six Hours, yet they might eat a Hen together with the Milk of Almonds. If a Man had not the Gift of such abstinence, he was obliged carefully to cleanse his Teeth and wash his Mouth, and with a piece of dry Bread take away the taste of the Flesh. If any Suet fall into their White-meats they were not to be eaten, except there was sixty times as much of the Meat as of the Suet. An Egg was not to be poched in a Flesh Vessel; they break it also, and diligently observe that none of that bloody resemblance in the top of the Egg remain. If in cutting up of a Hen they find Eggs, they were not allowed to eat them till they were washed and sofined in Water and salt; Flesh and Fish was not to be dressed, or set on the Table, or eaten together, for that they say would produce the Leprosy.



profy. In the Difficulties concerning their Diet, they ways consulted their *Rabbins*, who have loaded them with fo many insignificant Niceties and Superftitions, that to mention them would be too tedious, and of no Manner of Importance. Chap. 21.

C H A P. XXI.

*Their Meat, Bread, and Drink : Their Postures at Table : Their Manner of Feasting.*

**T**H E *Hebrews* were no great Lovers of Flesh, and their Diet was ufually Bread and Milk, and Fruits, and Herbs, very fimple, and far from the Luxury and Delicacy of our modern Tables. All Sorts of Meat and Drink are often in the Language of Scripture called Bread and Water. Their Bread was generally made of Wheat, or Barley, or Lentils and Beans. The Bread of Wheat was the moft excellent. That of Barley was a bafier Sort, ufed commonly in Times of Scarcity and Diffrefs. They had a worfe Sort made of Lentils, Millet and Fitches. The manner of making Bread no one can be ignorant of. They had a Sort they called Unleavened Bread. The Effects of Leaven are very well known. It fwells the Pafte and makes it fharper, and from thence the Scripture takes feveral Comparifons ; but it requireth fome Time before it has this Effect. Their Way of baking was upon Coals or hot Afhes ; they covered their Dough with Embers, and fometimes they baked upon hot Stones. Their Grain, in the firft Ages, was parched, afterwards they ufed a Mortar to pound it ; and at length they invented Mill-ftones, fuch as our common Mills ; and there were two Sorts of them, a greater Sort and

*Dent. xxxii. 14.*

*Ezek. iv. 9.*



Book. VI. and a lesser. They made use of Horses or Asses to turn the great, the small were turned by Men, and Slaves were often condemned to this Work by Way of Punishment. Hand-Mills also were in use among the *Jews*; they were made of two Stones, which they put one upon another.

Ruth. ii. 14.

Their Sauces to relish what they eat was commonly nothing but Salt and Vinegar. They had Cheese, but not Butter in that hot Country, as we now understand the Word, but only a thick Cream skimmed off their Milk when it had stood some Time. In the Country of *Judea* there was abundance of wild Honey, which dropped from the hollow Trees, or the Clefts of Rocks, where Bees made their Combs, which they sometimes did upon the very Ground.

Exod. xvi. 13,  
14.

*Manna* was the Food of the *Hebrews* in the Wilderness. It fell upon the Evening Dew, and was covered with the Dew of the Morning, by which Means it was inclosed, and kept pure and free from the Dust that was upon the Ground. It

Wild. xvi. 20,  
21.

seems to have been like a Drop of Dew frozen, as to its Form and Figure like unto Coriander Seed, of a pure white Colour, and bright, like Pearl, when newly fallen; it tasted like Honey, but when it was prepared by boiling or baking, it had the Taste of fresh Oil. The *Jews* indeed say, it had all Sorts of Tastes, according to every ones Appetite: It is certain it pleased every

Bechai  
Numb. xi. 6.

Man's Palate, was grateful to Young and old, refreshed the Spirits, and kept their Bodies in good Order. It is compared, says a *Rabbi*, to fresh Oil, which is fat and sweet, and shews how unjust their Complaint was, that they had no moisture left in them, but were *dryed away*. It was gathered every Morning, and then either ground into Flour with a Handmill, or bruised with a Pestle in a Wooden or Stone Mortar, or boiled in Pans, or in a Pot, or made Cakes of in an Oven, or in a Pan. In short, say the *Jews*, it was of such an excellent Composition, that it might



might be dressed divers Ways, or eaten as it Chap. 21.  
fell; and it was agreeable in what way soever it  
was prepared. That which remained ungathered  
was melted when the Sun waxed hot; though  
*Abarbinel* will have it, that what they had brought  
into their Tents melted also when the Sun grew Exod. xvi. 21.  
hot, which obliged them not only to gather it  
early, but to bake and prepare it presently, while  
it was yet hard and not dissolved; but the plain  
Sense is, that the Sun which melted it exhaled  
it also into the Air, from whence it came, and it  
returned again the next Morning. All this was  
wonderful, says the great *Huetius*, as was also Quest. Alnetane.  
its melting, when the Sun shone upon it, and L. 4. c. 2.  
that it putrified before the next Day, except on  
the Sabbath, and yet kept in an Urn many Years. Drusius Quest. Hebraic. L. 1. c. 62.  
This Food was called Manna by the *Israelites*,  
which may reasonably signify it is a *Gift* or *Por-*  
*tion*; and the Meaning is, this is the *Gift of*  
*God*, or this is that which God hath appointed us;  
for the Word *Manah* signifies to *order* or *appoint* a  
Method of Diet. The Quails that covered the  
Camp of the *Israelites*, were only Provision for  
one Evening. The *Jews* are divided in their Opi-  
nions concerning these Birds; some conceive they  
were Pheasants, others, a Sort of Sea Fowl:  
They came up from the Country over against the  
Desert, from the *Arabian* Gulf, because they  
were in great abundance upon that Coast.

The Drink originally used by the *Hebrews*,  
was Water drawn out of Wells, or Rivers into  
which they sometimes squeezed the Juice of Ci-  
trons and Pomegranates, with it they often mixed  
Honey; they had a Sort of strong Drink of  
which the Principal Ingredients were Honey,  
Dates, Barley and Wheat: But their chief Li-  
quor was Wine, called in Scripture, the Blood  
of the Grape, because the Red was in greatest  
abundance. They frequently mixed Water with  
it, for the Sake of Sobriety; and sometimes, to  
make it more palatable, they infused Spices in-



Book VI. to it. They preserved their Wine in Skins and Bottles, and they usually drank it in a triental Cup, that contained about half an *English* Pint. When the Weather was exceeding hot they used to cool their Wine with Snow from Mount *Libanus*.

They never eat in the Morning till after nine o'Clock, when the Sacrifice was over; they had afterwards two Meals, a Dinner, which was sparing and short, and a Supper about six in the Evening, more costly and entertaining. The *Jews*, says Mr. *Basnage*, had commonly every one their Table; this might be in the early Ages; for it is certain, that afterwards their Tables were round, and convenient for three to eat on; not but some were larger, and would hold more. When the Meal was over the Table was hung up by a Ring, (which shews it was but small and light) to set it, I suppose, out of Danger of contracting any legal Defilement.

It is supposed that sitting was the original Posture used by the old *Hebrews*, in eating and drinking; they either spread something upon the Ground, and sat upon it, or they sat at Table. Whatever some Criticks have suggested concerning the Antiquity of another Position of Body, it is certain this was the antientest of all; for in the Old Testament there are Examples of this long before any of those that are alledged out of profane Authors. The old *Hebrew* Patriarchs sat at Meat, as appears from the Words of *Jacob* to his Father, *Sit and eat of my Venison*. There are many other Examples to the same Purpose. In those elder Times every one was seated according to their proper Rank and Quality. Thus *Abner* sat by *Saul's* Side, and *David* had his peculiar Situation allotted him, which is signally stiled his *Seat* and his *Place*. It seems to have been the Practice, when the Custom of sitting prevailed, to put off their Shoes at Meals; for they washed their Feet even at that Time, as appears from *Abraham's* entertaining the Angels,

*Hist. of the  
Jews. B. 5.  
c. 16.*

*Bava Bathra.  
fol. 57.*

*Gen. xxvii. 19.  
Exod. xxxii. 6.  
1 Sam. xx.  
3, and 25.*





so that they must put off their Shoes for that, and it is probable they did not put them on till they went out.

This Posture was afterwards changed; for when Men gave themselves to Ease and delicacy, they grew Soft and Effeminate, and lay down at their Dinners and Suppers upon Beds. They lay with the upper part of their Body leaning on the left Elbow, the lower Part stretched at length, and a little raised, and the Back had Cushions under. The first lay at the Head of the Bed, and his Feet stretched out at the Back of him that sate next. The Talmudists express it in this manner; They were used to eat leaning on the left Side with their Feet to the Ground, every one singly upon their distinct Beds: But when there were two Beds, he that was Chief sate highest, and he that was second to him sate above him; the Bed of him that sate second, was by the Bolster of him that was first. When there were three, the worthiest Person lay in the middle, and the second lay above him, and the third below him: The third lay at the Feet of him that was first. If he that sits chief would talk with him that is second to him, he raises himself and sits upright, for so long as he leans or lies down, he cannot talk with him, because he that lies second, lies behind the Head of him that lies first, and the Face of him that lies first is turned from him; so that it were better for the second to sit below him, because then he may hear his Words when he sits leaning: Not but that sitting was in Use, but with this difference, says the Tradition, if they sate, every one said Grace for himself, but if they lay along, one said Grace for them all.

Gloss. in Bera-  
coth. fol. 46.

They used Washings and Purifications before they eat; their Hands they washed by plunging them into the Water to the joyning of the Arm, and their Feet were washed by their Servants, (which their Wives likewise were obliged to do) lest their Couches should be made dirty, and to prevent



Book. VI.

Leidekker de  
Rep. Heb. lib.  
22. c. 7.

Deut. 8. 10.

x Sam. ix. 23.

Nehem. 8. 11.

prevent offensive Smells, but not under any Notion of a legal Cleansing. They observed great Decency at their Meals, and it was downright Impiety not to discourse about their Law and upon religious Subjects while they were eating. The old *Hebrews* began their Meals with this Benediction at the Cup, always performed by the Master of the Family, *Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the World, who has created the Fruit of the Vine*; and then the Cup was put about the Table: Then follow'd the Blessing of the Bread, which he held out in his Hand, saying, *Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the World, who has produced Bread out of the Earth*. It was an established Rule, that none of the Company should touch any thing till he who broke the Bread tastes it first. To give Thanks after a Meal is a Levitical Injunction, and say they, an affirmative Precept; but there is no Form deliver'd in the Law, tho' many and various are to be found in the Books of the *Italian* and *German Jews*. By the Feast made by *Samuel* for *Saul* and the People, it appears, that antiently the Masters of the Feast distributed to every one their Portion, or ordered what should be set before them.

The *Jews* were very magnificent and even expensive in their Feasts and publick Entertainments, which they had frequently; as upon their Birth-days, the Weaning of their Children, the Inauguration of their chief Priests, and other extraordinary Occasions. It was usual to pour Ointment upon the Head of their Guests as a Perfume, and to burn Incense for their Refreshment and Delight; they were attended by Servants, who waited at the Table with their Garments girt close to make them the more Active, and expeditious. The Guests always came dressed in their best Attire and diverted themselves at Table with pleasant and delightful Stories, tho' they never admitted *Heathens* to eat with them, yet they relieved Strangers from their Tables with great Hospitality;



talities; nor was the Poor forgotten, for it was Chap. 22.  
common with them to send Messes abroad to  
Neighbours that were in Want. All was Gaiety  
and Mirth; and to complete the Festivity, they  
had the Entertainment of Musick, which play'd  
continually before them. Drunkenness and In-  
temperance soon grew common at their Feasts,  
for which Reason the Prophet denounced, *Wo* Isa. Chap. 5. 11,  
*unto them that rise up early in the morning to* 12.  
*follow strong Drink, that continue until Night till*  
*Wine inflame them, and the Harp and the Viol, the*  
*Tabret and Pipe and Wine are in their Feasts.*

Learned Men are not agreed whether there was John 2. 8.  
any such Officer among the Jews as a *Symposiarchus* or Governor of the Feast: It is certain there  
was such a one among the *Greeks* and *Romans*,  
whose Character is drawn by *Plutarch*; but whe-  
ther the Guest that presided at the Marriage-Feast in *In Sympos.*  
*Cana*, was in the same Post is difficult to de- *Quest. 4.*  
cide: He was, says our Author, one chosen a-  
mong the Guests, the most pleasant and diverting  
Person in the Company, that would not be drunk,  
and yet would drink freely: He was to rule  
over the the rest, to forbid any Disorder, but to  
encourage their Mirth. He observ'd the Temper  
of the Guests, and how the Wine work'd upon  
them; how every one could bear his Wine, and  
accordingly to apply, to keep them all in Har-  
mony, and in an even Composure, that there  
might be no disquiet nor disturbance. Effectu-  
ally to do this, he first proclaimed Liberty to  
every one to drink what he thought proper, and  
then observing who among them was most ready  
to be disorder'd, mixt more Water with his Wine,  
to keep him in an equal pace of Sobriety with  
the rest; so that this Officer took Care that none  
should be forced to drink, and that none should be  
drunk though unforced. Now, had *Plutarch's*  
*Symposiarchus* been at this Wedding, he would  
in all probability have known what Quantity of  
Wine, and what Variety there was in the House.

Q

He



Book VI. He would have well known (they are the very  
 Wotks in Fol. vol. I. P. 547. Words of Dr. *Lightfoot*) that the Wine was gone,  
 and that they were at a loss for more ; for the  
 Yeomanry of the Wine was his Office at that  
 time above all other Things, and above all other  
 Men ; but this *Architriclinius* knew none of these  
 Things, but thought the Bridegroom had used a  
 friendly Deceit to reserve the best Wine to make  
 up their Mouths, whereas others used to reserve the  
 worst ; and he speaks as a Guest, and not as a Yeo-  
 man of the Feast ; and our Saviour sends the Wine  
 to him as to the chiefest Man at the Table, and as  
 the fittest from whom the Taste of the Wine, and  
 the Taste of the Miracle wrought might be distri-  
 buted throughout all the Company of the Feast.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*The Matter and Fashion of their Gar-  
ments.*

**T**H E first Clothes of Mankind were of the  
 Leaves of Trees, which they made them-  
 selves, being ready at Hand, woven by  
 divine Art. The next were of the Skins of Beasts,  
 which were much warmer, and better able to  
 defend them from the Injury of cold Weather,  
 and these were made by God's Direction : He  
 entered into Covenant with our first Parents, and  
 it is not unreasonable to suppose that he signified  
 that they should, for the confirmation of it, offer  
 Sacrifices to him ; by the Blood of which, Co-  
 venants were ratified in after Times by this Ex-  
 ample, and with the Skins of these he order'd  
 their Clothes to be made ; for it is not probable  
 that the Beasts, of whose Skins these Coats were  
 made, died of themselves, or that they were kil-  
 led merely for this Use, or for their Food. But  
 whether this was done by dressing these Skins and  
 making



making Leather of them, or only by drying them and letting the Hair still continue on them, it is impossible to know. Certain it is that there was a very antient sort of Clothing, as we learn not only by Profane Authors, but from the Sacred ; the *Jewish* Doctors, have carried this Matter so far as to say, That *Adam* being a Priest these were his priestly Garments. The Skin indeed of the Burnt-Offering, under the Law, is given to the Priest, but not to make him Clothes ; and *Eve*, if this were true, must have been a Priest also, for she had a Coat made of Skins no less than *Adam*, who, they fancy, left this Coat to his Posterity ; so that *Noah*, *Abraham*, and all the rest of the Patriarchs (as *Abel* they say did) sacrificed in the very same Coat, till *Aaron* was made High-Priest, and had special Garments appointed him by God. But these are Conceits too insignificant to carry any Weight.

Chap. 23.



Heb. 11. 37.

A learned Writer of the *Scotch* Nation, speaking of the Apparel of the *Hebrews*, has this Remark ; That when they were in *Egypt*, their Clothes were long, reaching to their Feet, therefore when they went out of that Country, they were commanded to gird up their Loyns. When they travelled in the Wilderness, their Clothes reached to their Mid-leg ; therefore Priests, when they went up upon the Altar, are ordered to put linnen Breeches upon them, lest their Nakedness should be seen ; because their Clothes then were short and fit for travelling : When they came to *Canaan* their Clothes reached to their Feet again. It is certain that long Habits were commonly worn by the People of those Eastern Countries ; and the Law of *Moses* gives Reason to assert, that the *Hebrews* had usually four Skirts, for the Precept is, that they should make the Fringes upon the four Quarters of their Vesture. It is probable they sometimes had more or fewer than four ; and in this Case if they had but three, their Doctors have resolved, that they were not bound to

*Weems's Christ.*  
Synagogue,  
Parag. 13.

Deut. 22. 12.



Book VI. make any Fringes for them ; but if they had five or six, they were bound to annex them to the four most remote Quarters, in which the intermediate were included ; but this is an unreasonable Subtilty, the intention of the Law being to put them in Mind of the divine Commands by these Fringes, which therefore were to be worn in the Skirts of their Garments, tho' they had been divided into no Wings or Quarters at all. These Fringes were sewed to the uppermost Garment which covers the rest, whereby they were distinguished from the People of other Nations ; for that was one End of them, to be a distinctive Mark, that they were of the Jewish Religion ; and therefore there seems to be no Reason in the Determination of their Doctors, who say, Women Servants and little Children were not obliged to wear Fringes ; for though small Children could not think of the divine Precepts, yet it was fit they should wear the Note of their Religion. There is no Foundation neither for Resolving that if Women and Servants (who were not bound so much as others to obey the Laws) would wear Fringes, though they were not obliged by their Constitutions, yet they might not put them on with the common Form of Benediction which they used, *Blessed be thou, O God, who hast sanctified us by thy Precepts, and hast commanded that we should wear Fringes.* But I think they observe justly enough that these Fringes were so peculiar to the Jews, that the Samaritans, tho' acquainted with the Law, did not wear them. Nor do the Jews themselves at this Day use them upon their upper Garment, for that being no longer four corner'd (because they were laugh'd at by other Nations) they wear only under their other Garments a kind of square Frocks with the foresaid Tassels or Pendants hanging to it, only in their Synagogues or Schools, at Morning Prayer, every Man puts over his Head a square Woollen Garment with the Tassels fastned at each Corner, which they call the *Talith*. These

*Leusden Philo-  
log. Hebræ, Dif-  
fert. 17.*



These Fringes so often mentioned, were appointed as a perpetual Mark of their Religion, and seems to be no more than Threads left at the End of the Web unwoven, at the Top of which they put a Lace of blue, or rather purple Colour, which bound the Fringe fast at the Top, and is so difficult to be dyed at present, that the *Jews* at this Day are contented to wear white. This Riband being of a distinct Colour from the Fringe which was of the same with the Garment, not only distinguished them sufficiently from all other People, but when they looked down upon the Fringe and Lace, they were put in mind of the Duty they owed to God, and that they were a holy Nation, obliged to the Observance of particular Laws. Such among them as pretended to greater Sanctity than others, enlarged their Fringes, and extended them to a greater Length, so that they swept the Ground, which made them the more observable; and their Superstition at last was so advanced, that with great subtilty they contrived so to work these Fringes, as to denote the six hundred and thirty Precepts, contained in the Law of *Moses*, that so they might be put in mind of all the Commandments of the Lord. The present *Jews* wear a long *Tassel* at each Corner, consisting of eight white woollen Threads, knotted with five Knots like small Buttons, and open and untwisted at the Ends.

Chap. 23.

Numb. xv. 36.

Matth. xxiii. 5.

There is a Command among the Injunctions of *Moses*, that the *Hebrews* should bind the Words of the Law for a Sign upon their Hands, and they should be as Frontlets between their Eyes, which, without doubt, signifies no more than that they should be always meditating upon their holy Rites, and the Principles of their Religion; yet the Superstition of the *Jews* have grounded upon these Words the wearing of Phylacteries, and the tying of Parchments upon their Wrists, in which they placed the principal Part of their Devotion. Some-

Deut. vi. 8.

Book II. Chap. 20.



Book VI. thing has been said upon this Subject in a former  
 Part of this Work ; in this Place it may observed,  
 Book II. Chap that they are called *Tephilim*, or *Instruments of*  
 20. *Prayer*, because they use them in their Devotions :  
 They are described thus ; they write upon two  
 Pieces of Parchment, with Ink made on Purpose,  
 and in square Letters, with a great deal of Exact-  
 ness, four Passages of the Law upon each Piece.  
 These two Parchments are wound up together in  
 the Fashion of a pointed Roll, and included in a  
 black Calve's Skin ; then they put it upon a  
 square and hard piece of the same Skin, from  
 which hangs a Strop of the same Leather, an Inch  
 broad, and a Cubit and an half long, or therea-  
 bouts. They place these *Tephilims* at the Bending  
 of the left Arm ; and the Strop being first form-  
 ed into a little Knot, like a Jod, is turned about  
 the Arm in a spiral Line, and terminates at the  
 End of the little Finger. This they call the  
*Teffila of the Hand*. As for the other they write  
 the same four Passages upon four several Pieces  
 of Vellum, which by fastning together they make  
 a Square of, upon which they write the Letter  
*Schin* ; then they put upon it a little square Piece  
 of Calves Leather, as hard as the other, from  
 whence come two Strops, in Figure and Length  
 like the first. This Square is placed in the Mid-  
 dle of the Forehead, and the Strops going round  
 the Head, make a kind of Knot behind in the  
 Form of the Letter *Daleth*, from whence they  
 meet upon the Stomach ; and this they call  
 the *Teffila of the Head*. This is the Figure of the  
*Tephilim*, which they commonly join with the  
*Talith* in the Morning Devotions : Some also use  
 them in the Afternoon ; but this is only done  
 by eminent Votaries, and Persons of peculiar  
 Sanctity.

Bartol. Bibl.  
 Rab. t. I. p.  
 558.

The old Superstition for these Phylacteries have  
 considerably increased ; the *Jews* swear by touch-  
 ing them ; and the better to authorise such  
 Oaths, they introduce God swearing by them  
 likewise.



likewise. Many are the Niceties in the Method of making them ; the Parchment must be taken from the Skin of a clean Beast ; and it becomes impure and profane if a Christian dresses it ; but it receives a Degree of Excellence when it has been destined to this Use ; and it was said in preparing it, *I design this for the making of Tephilims.* The Skin must be prepared with great Art, for the least Hole or Defect makes it useless. These *Tephilims* they write slowly, and with great Circumspection, that there may not be the least thing wanting to each Letter, and particularly to those that compose the Name of God. They first fasten the *Tephilim* at the Hand, and afterwards that of the Head, for fear they should mistake ; the Strops serving to this Use, must be good ; they must not mend nor repair them when they are worn and broken. They cannot fasten them till they have pronounced the Blessing, *Blessed be thou our Lord and our God, King of the Earth* ; after which it was not lawful to speak to any Body ; when they take them off, they put them into a Bag, which thereby becomes sacred, and cannot be employed to profane Uses. They ought not to be put on in the Night, but on the Day, excepting the Sabbath, because the Sabbath is called *a Sign*, and serves for a Phylactery. Women and Slaves are not obliged to wear them. It is not lawful to take them till a Man has covered his Nakedness, nor to wear them in Church Yards, nor to carry a Burden on their Heads ; and especially, it is a great Crime to commit then the least Indecency. So many are the Scruples of the *Jews*, upon this Occasion, that to mention all of them would be of small use, and not worth the trouble of collecting together,

There are two Restraints in the *Levitical Law* concerning Apparel, the one, that they were forbidden to wear a Garment of Woollen and Lin-  
Deut. xxii. 11.  
 Lev. xix. 19.  
 De Vestit. Sacerdot Heb. c. 4  
 n 2, 3, 6.



Book VI. to sew a woollen Garment with linen Thread, nor on the contrary. This Law, as *Braynius* observes, does not import the weaving of many different Things together, but only of linnen and woollen ; and that by Woollen is to be understood only what is made of the Wool of Sheep, not of Camels or Goats, which they called by the same Name. If a Man saw an *Israelite* wear such a Garment it was lawful for him to fall upon him openly and tear him in Pieces although he were his Master that taught him Wisdom. And the Reasons for this Abhorrence are commonly such as are given for many other Precepts, to preserve them from the horrid Confusion which was among the Gentiles, by incestuous and unnatural Mixtures. But *Maimonides* takes it to have been principally intended as a Preservative against Idolatry ; the Priests of the Gentiles in those Times wearing such mixed Garments of the Product of Plants and Animals, with a Ring on their Finger, made of some Metal, as he says, he found in their Books. By which Mixture it is supposed they hoped to have the beneficial Influence of some lucky Conjunction of the Planets or Stars, to derive a Blessing upon their Sheep and their Flax.

*More Nevoch.*  
p. 3. c. 39.

*Deut. xxii. 5.*

The *Hebrews* were prohibited to confound the Sexes of Man and Woman by one's wearing the Garments of the other. This Practice is said to be an Abomination to the Lord, which plainly indicates that an idolatrous Custom was here forbidden ; for *Moses* and the Prophets are used to speak in these Terms of utmost Abhorrence concerning such Matters. And indeed nothing was more common among the Heathen than for Men in the Worship of several of their Gods, to put on the Garments worn by Women, and Women those used by Men : Particularly in the Worship of *Venus*, Wome n appeared before her in Armour, and Men in Women's Apparel ; and thus the Words literally run in the *Hebrew*, Women shall

*Selden c. 4.*  
*de Dis Syris.*  
*Syntag. 2. c. 4.*

not



not put on the *Armour* of a Man, nor a Man the Stole of a Woman; and thus *Maimonides* says, he found this Precept in an old magical Book, that Men ought to stand before the Star of *Venus* in the flowered Garment of Women, and Women put on the Armour of Men before the Star of *Mars*. But whatever Force may be in these Observations, it is certain, that if there were no Distinction of Sexes, made by their Habits, it would inevitably open the Way to all Manner of Licentiousness and Impurity.

Chap. 23.  
More Nevoch.  
P. 3. c. 37.

The Matter of which the Vestments of the *Hebrews* were made was of many Kinds. The Art of Spinning and Weaving was found in the most early Ages. The Wool of Sheep was used principally, and for coarser Purposes, especially for Sackcloth in Time of Distress and Mourning, they wrought the Hair of Goats, Camels and Horses. The white Goats Hair was the most valuable; and therefore the Sackcloth was made of Black, which is the Reason why the Scripture says of the Sky, when very cloudy, that it is covered with Sackcloth and Blackness. Persons of Distinction wore fine Linnen of *Egypt*, and Silk, rich Cloth shaded with the choicest Colours ( or as the Vulgate calls it ) with feathered Work, embroidered with Gold.

Isa. v. 3.  
Exod. xxvi. 1.

The Colour of their Apparel, especially for those of the lowest Rank, was usually white, being the native Colour of Wool, and most suited to the Nature of their Laws, which enjoined so many Washings and Purifications; not but that white was in Esteem among Persons of superior Degree, and is highly valued in Scripture, as the Emblem of Victory, Purity, Chearfulness, Knowledge, Grace and Glory. Black was the general Wearing of Mourners. The Vestments of *Baal's* Priests were of this Colour; and was a Habit peculiar to themselves, which in Opposition to them, I suppose, few others would wear. Blue was a celestial or Skie Colour, highly praised by the

Eccles. ix. 8.  
Rev. iii. 5.  
Psal. xxxv. 14.  
2. Kings xxiii. 5.



Book VI.

the *Jews* who antiently had, as their Rabbins say, the exact Skill of Dying it to the Height, which since they have lost. Yet I find no *Jewish* Apparel wholly made of this Colour, which perhaps they abstained from, as a Colour sacred and mysterious, than which none was more used about the Tabernacle and the Temple in the Curtains, Veils, and Vestments belonging to them. The *Babylonians* much delighted in this magisterial Colour, and so did the *Persians*, as may appear by *Mordecai*, who when advanced, was clothed in Blue among many other royal Accoutrements. The principal *Jews* in their Robes of State, and upon great Solemnities used Scarlet, not dyed as at present, with Madder or with Cochenil, or with the Powder in Grain called Alchermis, all Inventions of a late Date, but with a Shrub whose red Berries or Grains gave an orient Tincture to the Cloth. Crimson, (this Colour was made of the Blood of a Worm which is found in the Fruit of a Tree, and from thence it has the Name of Vermillion) was made use of in the Temple of *Solomon*, and by Men of the first Quality, and sometimes they wore Purple, the most sublime of all earthly Colours, having the Gaudiness of Red, (of which it retains a Cast) abated with the Gravity of Blue; this was chiefly dyed at *Tyre*, and took the Tincture from the Liquor of a Shell-Fish, formerly found in the adjacent Sea, but utterly lost and unknown at this Day.

The *Jews* did not affect Novelty and Variety of Fashions in the Make of their Garments, which retained the same Form for many Ages; and indeed their Clothes being for the most part loose Vestments not exactly fitted to their Bodies, but only cast over, wrapped about or girt close, the less Curiosity was required in the making: And therefore it is, that we find the Clothes of the *Philistines* fitting *Sampson's* Friends, and *Jonathan's* Robe given to *David* serving him without any considerable Difference; and because the Trade of a

Taylor

2 Sam. 1. 24.

Judg. 14 19.

2 Sam. 18. 4.



Taylor is no where recorded in Scripture, though frequent mention be made of Weavers and Fullers) it seems antiently to have been no distinct Occupation, but probably the Men or their Wives made their own Clothes ; for the State and Gallantry of the *Jews* consisted not in the Variety of Fashions, but in the many *Changes*, the orient Colours, the costly Matter, and the curious Embroidery of their Garments. Chap. 23.

The antient *Jews* usually went bare-headed, except when they were in mourning or in the Temple, or in the Synagogues ; they thought this Manner of Praying cover'd shew'd more Respect for the Majesty of God, as testifying that they thought themselves unworthy to look up in his Presence. To guard themselves from the Wind and the Weather, they wrapped their Heads in their Mantles or upper Garments. We find the *three Children* cast into the fiery Furnace with their Hats on ; but these it is supposed, they did not wear as they were *Jews*, but in Compliance with the Custom of the *Babylonians* : For many Ages afterwards, we find *Antiochus Epiphanes* introducing the Habits and Fashions of the *Grecians* among the *Jews*, and as the *Maccabean* History relates, he brought the chief young Men under his Subjection, and made them wear a Hat. In both the Talmuds, there are reckoned up eighteen several Garments with which the *Jew* is clothed from Head to Foot, but those which are more properly called Garments and are put upon the Body were these : A wollen Shirt was worn next the Skin, though some had Shirts of Linen in which they lay, as most clean and wholesome for the Purpose. Next to this was their Coat or *Talith*, which reached to their Feet, and was accounted modest and honourable among them, which made the Indignity the greater that was offered by the King of *Ammon* to *David's* Embassadors, cutting off their Garments in the middle even to their Buttocks, which made their Nakedness to be seen, for they wore no Breeches

Schabb fol.

118. 2.

2 Sam. 10. 4.



Book VI. Breeches in those Times. To prevent the dangling down and dagling of so long Garments, the *Jews* used when they were sent on Business, when they took a Journey, when they did any Office in the House, or when they eat the Passover, to gird up their Clothes about them; and hence in the Scripture Phrase, a *Girdle* signifies Strength, Readiness and Activity, and in it they carried their Money. These Coats were collared at the Neck and fringed at the bottom. Over this they had a Mantle or Cloak cast over them when they went abroad, and this the poorer Sort used for a Blanket or Coverlid when they laid down to Sleep. And therefore God by special Command provided, that though Men might pawn their upper Clothes (as not absolutely necessary for wearing all the Day time) yet at Night such a Pledge was no longer to be detained, because it was the *Raiment for their Skin wherein they slept*.


Job 30. 13.

Exod. 22. 26.  
27.

Their Legs were generally bare, though some of them, it is said, wore a Sort of Buskins that were laced about the Small and reached up to the Calf of the Leg. Upon their Feet they wore Sandals, which were like those of the *Capuchins* abroad; they had Soles but no upper Leathers, except the Strings by which they were fastened over the Instep and Cross of the Foot, and from hence came the frequent Washings and Anointing of their Feet in the *Eastern* Parts, not only to cool them but to sweeten, and chiefly to clear them from the Gravel which the Openings of the Sandals had let in; when they would take them off, the Straps must be untied, which it was the proper Business of their Servants to do; they were made at first out of raw Hides, but afterwards of dressed Leather; and it is a Conceit of a very learned Man who has written upon this Subject, that the Tanners, among the *Jews*, were obliged to live without the Walls of the City, because by handling part of the Bodies of dead Cattle, they were subject to very frequent Pollutions. Badgers

Bynæus de Cal.  
ceis Hebr. 1.  
c. 2.



gers Skins were esteemed the finest Leather, as Chap. 23.  
 appears by *Ezekiel*, who numbring the many Blessings bestowed upon the *Jews* by divine Providence, gives this Account ; that God clothed them with broidered Work, and shod them with Badgers Skins. 

Shoes were in Use among the *Jews* as well as Sandals, but that they were hollow and cover'd the Foot all over is difficult to prove. The Difference between them is thus stated by the *Talmudists*. Shoes were of more delicate Use, Sandals were more ordinary and fitter for Service ; a Shoe was of softer Leather, a Sandal of harder : There were Sandals also whose Sole or lower Part was of Wood, the upper of Leather ; and these were fastened together by Nails. There were some Sandals also made of Rushes, or of the Bark of Palm-Trees, and they were all open both ways, so that one might put in his Foot either before or behind. Those of a Violet or purple Colour were the most valued, and worn by young Ladies and Persons of the first Quality and Distinction. Joma. fol. 72.

Though the Shape be uncertain, yet the Use of Shoes is to be found in the most early Ages ; for we read of *Abraham* protesting to the King of *Sodom* after his Victory over the Kings, that he would take nothing from a Thread even to a Shoe-latchet ; and in those Times so sacred were Places that were made holy by the divine Presence, that it was irreverend to enter upon them with their Shoes on, because they might be defiled with Dirt that stuck upon them. It is certain, that in the Temple, many Ages afterwards, the Priests officiated Bare-foot, and all the Eastern People came into their holy Places after the same manner, which *Justin Martyr* thinks they learned from the Example of *Moses* before the burning Bush ; but Mr. *Mede's* Opinion seems the truer, that *Moses* did not give the first beginning to this Rite, but it was derived from the Patriarchs before him, and transmitted to future Times, from that antient general Gen. 14. 23.  
Book II.



Book VI.

Hierozyic p. 1.  
l. 11. c. 50.

Annot. in Deut.  
3. 4.

neral Tradition ; for we find no Command in the Law of *Moses* for the Priests performing the Service of the Tabernacle without Shoes, but it is certain they did so from immemorial Custom, and so do the *Mahometans*, and other Nations at this Day. It is the Opinion of the learned *Bochart*, that the *Israelites* used no Shoes in *Egypt*, but being to take a long Journey through a rough Way in the Wilderness, God commanded them to eat the Passover with Shoes on their Feet ; and these very Shoes, which they put on at that Festival when they were ready to march, he suffered not to decay in all their Travels for forty Years following : And to increase the Miracle, the great *Grotius* falls in with the idle Conceits of some *Jewish* Writers, by asserting, that their Clothes enlarged as they grew bigger from Children to Men, and so did their Shoes also ; but there was no need of this, for the Clothes and Shoes of those that died might serve their Children when they grew up ; and it was sufficiently amazing without such Additions, that their Clothes should not so much as decay, nor their Shoes wear, nor their Feet swell by travelling over hot and stony Places for forty Years. Such in general was the Habit of the *Jews* ; yet it might be supposed, that besides the Priests and Levites, all Vocations of People, as Husband-men, Trades-men, Citizens, Merchants, Doctors, Judges, were distinguish'd by their several Apparel, which at this distance of Time it is impossible to describe.

2 Sam. 13. 18.

The Habit of Women was likewise suited to their Quality, and the same Fashion of Apparel seems to belong to Maidens, Wives and Widows, only that a Wife wore a Veil upon her Head in Token of Subjection, and a Widow had a Garment as a Sign of her Widow-hood. Persons of Distinction, as Princesses of the Blood Royal, and others of the first Quality that were Virgins, had a particular Vestment of many Colours, which is supposed to reach down to the Heels, or Ankles,

with



with long Sleeves down to the Wrists, which had a Border at the Bottom and a Facing (as we speak) at the Hands of another Colour different from the Garment; it was likewise embroider'd with Flowers, which was accounted noble as well as beautiful in antient Times. Before the Babylonish Captivity, the *Jewish* Women arrived at the utmost excess of Pride and Extravagancy in their Apparel. The Prophet *Isaiah* gives a long List of Trinkets which they used in dressing them in his Days. He speaks of their tinkling Ornaments, of small Bells at their Heels, Caules, round Tires like the Moon, Chains, Bracelets, Mufflers, Bonnets, Ornaments about the Leg, Head-bands; Tablets, Ear-Rings, Rings, Nose-Jewels, that hung down between the Eye-Brows and the Nose, changeable Suits, Mantles, Wimples, Crisping-Pins, Glasses, fine Linen, Hoods and Veils. These were some of the fashionable Vanities of those loose Ages, which particularly to describe, would be as difficult as to explain the Kind of Garments used in *England* five hundred Year ago, mentioned in *Camden's* Remains, such as Herlots, Palt-cocks, Gits, Haketeres, Tabards, Court-pies, Chevesailes and Gipsers. Common Prostitutes were known among the *Jews* by the peculiar Habit they wore; particularly, they had nothing upon their Heads, and painted their Eye-brows with *Stibium*, which dilated the Hair, and made the Eyes look black and beautiful.

Chap. 23.



*Isaiah* 3. 18 &c.

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*Prov.* 7. 12.

*2 Kings*

19. 30.







## C H A P. XXIV.

*Rites of Marriage among the Hebrew Patriarchs.*

**T**H E Origin and Institution of Marriage is deduced from the History of the Creation, and is founded upon that general Command to Man and Woman, *increase and multiply*. This Precept, as the *Jews* conceive, is obligatory upon all Males above twenty Years of Age, except such as were unfit for Procreation, or such as mortify themselves by a continual and excessive Application to the study of the Law. They say farther, that Women are not under such strict Obligations of fulfilling this Command, which Opinion is founded upon the Rules of Modesty, received among most Nations, which confine Women from making their Addresses to Men ; and therefore their Obedience to this Injunction is not absolutely in their own Choice. All Males, say the *Rabbins*, are bound to promote the Propagation of their own Kind as long as they are capable of making Use of a Woman. Though a Man, says *Maimonides*, has paid Obedience to the Command which enjoins the Multiplication of the human Kind, by begetting Children pursuant to the Doctrine of our Sages ; yet he ought not to desist from using the Means of Procreation so long as he is able to perform it ; for he who adds a Soul to *Israel* edifies the World. It is also ordained in the Law by the same wise Men, that no Man should keep a Family without a Woman, lest he should be troubled with Incontinency, and that a Woman should not live without a Husband, lest her Virtue should be suspected, and she exposed to the Impor-




Importunities and Solicitations of Men. It is beyond all Dispute that the *Jews* made great Account of Marriage, and their Books are filled with the Praises of it. For Instance, they say that a Woman is imperfect without a Husband, and that even a Man without a Wife is no Man; that God calls them *Adam*, that is, *Man*; and that he who neglects the Multiplication of the human Race is no better than a Manslayer. In those early Times both Sexes thought themselves obliged to endeavour the Propagation of the Species; voluntary Sterility was absolutely condemned, and even involuntary Barrenness was opprobrious.

*Celibacy* was of so ill repute among the *Hebrews*, that it was thought no Immodesty in the Virgins of that Nation to dance in the Vineyards upon the Day of Expiation, and declare publicly, *O young Men, lift up your Eyes and see which of us you like best. Look not upon Beauty, for that is deceitful, nor upon Riches, for they make themselves Wings and fly away; but approve of such among us as fear God.* The first Marriage was always esteemed the most happy, it being a common Maxim, that *a Man finds no Refreshment for his Soul, but from his first Wife.*

The Rights and Duties of Marriage are supposed to be expressed by *Adam*, after he awakned, full of the Spirit of Prophecy, in these Words, *Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife, and they shall be one Flesh.* In this Command is forbidden all Manner of Fornication; for he that enjoins that every one shall have his own Wife; and that he shall adhere to her, does at the same Time forbid his Commerce with the Wife of another Man. It is also evident, that Poligamy is contrary to this Declaration of *Adam*; for (as *Jonathan* observes in his Paraphrase) he does not say, *You shall cleave to two Wives, but only to one*; and what is farther said, that *Man and Wife shall be one Flesh*, plainly evinces, that the Plurality of Wives, is not ac-



Chap. 24.  cording to divine Institution ; for it appears monstrous to be one Flesh with two different Persons. Furthermore, these Words of *Adam* are directly levelled against Divorce ; for when he says they shall be one Flesh, he fully expresses that the divorcing of Man and Wife is contrary to the very End of Marriage ; and a Violence offered to Nature by separating what is one Flesh.

*Halakai. chot. cap. 1.* The Marriage Contracts among the *Patriarchs* were performed, if we believe *Maimonides*, with little Ceremony. Before the Promulgation of the Law, says he, if a Man happened to meet a Woman, either in the Street, or upon the Road, and he liked her, he had no more to do than to carry her with mutual Approbation to his House, and to go to bed to her, and so she became his Wife. This is the general Sentiment of the *Jews* ; so that in those early Days two Things were required only to make a Marriage, the Consent of both Parties, and a Consummation. By the mutual Consent is not to be understood the simple Consent of going to Bed together, but of being and living together as Man and Wife, and of fulfilling all the Duties belonging to this Cohabitation. The Opinion of the *Rabbi* above-mentioned, is not to be understood according to the Letter as if a Man meeting a Woman might carry her to his House without any further Ceremony, but a certain Decorum was observed ; the Parents were consulted, if the Woman was under Tuition, and their Consents obtained ; and then the Damsel was asked, if she agreed to the Proposals. The contract was made in the House of the Father, before the Elders and Governours of the Place, and the Consummation fulfilled in that of the Husband. The Bride was veiled and conducted without Light into a Chamber designed for that Purpose, and the Bridegroom admitted ; but before the Consummation, it was the Custom after the Espousals for the Maid to stay some



some Time with her Parents, for the Sake of Chap. 24.  
 Decency, at least ten Months, say the *Jews*,  
 that she might sufficiently prepare and provide herself with nuptial Ornaments. The Wedding was celebrated with a Feast of seven Days; for the septenarian Number was supposed to give the ultimate Perfection to every Thing, which those who lived before the Law observed in their Festivals, especially at their Marriage Feasts, to render them the more fortunate. Before the Spouse was carried to her Husband, there was a solemn Benediction given by some principal Relation, founded upon the Example of *Rebekah's* Brothers who blessed her at her Departure, *Be thou the Mother of Thousands of Millions, and let thy Seed possess the Gate of those that hate thee.* Gen. xxiv. 55. Gen. xxiv. 60.

C H A P. XXV.


Of Fornication, Adultery, Polygamy, Concubinage, Divorce: Of Levirate, or, marrying the Brother's Wife.

**S**UCH was the Simplicity of the Connubial Rites among the *Patriarchs* before the Delivery of the Law; but there are some Singularities relating to these antient Marriages that seem directly opposite to the Laws of God, and therefore require to be considered in this Place, such as Fornication, Adultery, Conversation within the forbidden Degrees, Polygamy, Divorce, and the Privilege of espousing the Widow of the eldest Brother, if he died without Issue; called *The Law of Levirate*.

The Subject of *Simple Fornication* is attended with no small Difficulty; for from the History of *Thamar* and *Judah* it has been collected, that Gen. xxxviii. 2, 3. &c.



Book VI. this Act was not criminal in the most antient


Times. For say the Advocates of this Opinion,  *Judab* was a great Patriarch and a Person well advanced in Years, and therefore would not have condescended to so low an Act, if besides the Meanness of it, it had also been a Crime. It is certain that the *Jews* have founded, upon this History, their Notion (so generally received among them) that before the *Mosaic* Law, simple Fornication was not forbidden. If you happened to meet, says a learned Rabbi, a Woman upon the Road, or in any other publick Place, you might lie with her if you could obtain her Consent; and after you had paid her the Money agreed for you were free from her; such a Woman was called *Kedecha*. But after the Promulgation of the Law, these Kind of Women were not allowed of, as it is said in the Law, *There shall not be a Harlot in Israel*. From the History (says he again) of *Thamar* and *Judab* it is evident, that before the Law it was no Crime to be with a Prostitute as with one's own Wife, there being no Obligation laid upon any body to avoid it. The Money or Reward bestowed upon the Harlot, was in the Nature of the Dowry given to a Woman upon a Divorce; it was a Kind of a Tax payable to a Woman by the Person who had enjoyed her; but this Liberty and Indulgence is supposed to favour of Impurity and Falshood, the Act of Fornication being directly opposite to the Laws of Marriage in its first Institution. It is evident likewise by the Story of *Dinah*, that Prostitutes were infamous in those Days, and therefore to converse with them must be criminal; besides, if simple Fornication had not been forbidden, and if the Reward promised to the Prostitute was not illegal, it is hard to conceive why *Judab* should have made such a Secret of the Matter; and if the Act had not been opprobrious and a Crime, the Patriarch had

Gen. 38. 2. 3.  
&c.

More Nevoch.  
p. 3.

Gen. 34. 31.



no Reason to be so careful to conceal it. In- Chap. 25.  
 deed simple Fornication was not then subject to   
 any Penalties either civil or ecclesiastical; be-  
 cause (says *Maimonides*) of the Contract which  
 passed between the Persons concerned; but such  
 wicked Practices are not to be justified by such  
 Examples; for it is certain, that every thing not  
 punish'd by Men was not allowed by God.

*Adultery* was always look'd upon as criminal,  
 even in the first Ages of the World; the History  
 of *Thamar* plainly evinces it to have been Ca-  
 pital; *Judah* understanding that *Thamar* was big  
 with Child, and supposing her guilty of Adul-  
 tery said, *Bring her forth into the Place of*  
*Judgment*, and upon Conviction, *let her be burnt*  
*after her Delivery.* Indeed some of the *Jewish*  
*Doctors* are of Opinion, that the Words signifie  
 no more, than that she should be branded with  
 a hot Iron in the Forehead, a Mark commonly  
 given to distinguish Harlots from other Wo-  
 men: But it seems most probable, that she was  
 to have been condemned to die. Stoning, in  
 the Time of the Gospel, seems to have been  
 the Punishment for Adulterers; but it has been  
 supposed that *Thamar* was a Priest's Daughter;  
 and such a one guilty of Fornication or Adul-  
 tery, was sentenc'd by the *Mosaic Law* to be  
 burnt alive. It is certain, that *Thamar* could  
 not be consider'd as a Whore only, tho' she was  
 a Widow and had no Husband, because she was  
 contracted to *Shelah* the third Son of *Judah*:  
 Besides, if a Woman became a Widow by the  
 Death of her Husband, who had a Brother that  
 was capable to raise Seed to his deceased Bro-  
 ther, she was looked upon as contracted to him;  
 for the Brother being obliged to take her, it was  
 understood to be one continued Marriage. Other-  
 wise had *Thamar* been consider'd barely as a  
 Widow, she could have been accused of no  
 more than simple Fornication, and therefore  
 could not be liable to the Punishment of Adul-  
 tery.



## Book VI.

It will be more difficult to discover the Sentiments the *Hebrews* had concerning a Man, who defiled his own Bed by lying with an *unmarried Woman*: Concerning Women that were married it is certain, that the Persons who debauch'd them were looked upon as Ravishers, and punished as Criminals; but the Enquiry is about a Man's lying with a Woman that was under no Engagement. Some are of Opinion, that for a Man to have full Commerce with an unmarried Woman was allowable before the Law. This is the Judgment of St. *Ambrose*, founded upon the History of *Abraham*, *Sarah* and *Hagar*.

L. 1. de Abrah.  
c. 4. ' Some, says he, will perhaps object, how is *Abraham* set up for an Example, who begat a Child upon his Maid? or could it happen that so great a Man should fall into so great an Error? It is to be observed that *Abraham* lived before the Law and the Gospel, at a Time when Adultery was not forbidden as yet; it could not be consider'd as a Crime till it was forbidden by the Law, no Action being punishable till it is declared such by the Law: *Abraham* therefore did not transgress the Law, because he lived before the Law; for tho' God highly recommended Marriage in Paradise, he did not condemn Adultery". But this Notion contains several Errors both in Point of Reason and Matter of Fact; *Hagar* ought not to be consider'd as a Harlot but as a secondary Wife (a Liberty that was legal in those Days) who was not to be Mistress of the House, but only to bear Children for the Increase of the Family; and such Children were in some Sort esteem'd legitimate bearing the Name of the Father's Family, and having some share in the Inheritance; so that *Abraham* did not commit Adultery, but only made Use of the Privilege of the Age when Polygamy was allowable; and the same may be justly said of a married Man's having close Commerce with an un-

married



married Woman, as was asserted before of simple Fornication; it was opprobrious and reputed criminal, but not subject to any civil Punishments. Chap. 100

In the first Ages of the World, it is certain that Brothers married their Sisters, Uncles their Neices, and Fathers in Law their Daughters in Law; nay Fathers might even marry their own Daughters; and if we believe the *Jews*, every thing of that Kind was allowed at that time, except lying with ones own Mother, with one's Father's Wife, with another Man's Wife, or Mankind with Beasts: They say further, though they were not allowed to lie with their Sister of the same Womb, that is, the Sister by the Mother's side, they might espouse a Sister the Daughter of their Father; so that according to their Sentiments, God added fifteen forbidden Degrees of Marriage unto those which were reputed as such in the preceding Ages: These are, the Commerce of a Man with his Wife's Daughter, with his Mother in Law, with the Mother of his Mother in Law, with the Mother of his Father in Law, with his own Daughter, with his grand Daughter by his Daughter's side, with his grand Daughter by his Son's side, with the grand Daughter of his Wife by the Daughter's side, with his Wife's Daughter by the Son's side, with his Sister by the Father's side, with his Father's Sister, with his Mother's Sister, with his Wife's Sister, with his Father's Wife, with his Unkle's Wife: All these Degrees allowed of in the Patriarchal Times were forbidden by the *Mosaic* Law; and these Marriages of the first Ages of the World have been the true Cause, why the People of the *East* have proved less scrupulous in regard to these incestuous Copulations than those of the *Western* Parts, nothing being more frequent in the *East* than Marriages between Brothers and Sisters,



Book VI. whereas it is very uncommon to discover any such Practice among the *Western Nations*.

Gen. 4. 19.

Levit. 18. 18.

The Plurality of Wives, called otherwise *Polygamy*, furnishes us with another Piece of Singularity in the Marriages of the Patriarchs. *Lamech* of the Race of *Cain* was in all probability the first, who transgressed the original Institution by having more Wives than one, and after him this Custom became very common before the Deluge, but the Practice it is supposed was more frequent afterwards. Most of the Patriarchs lived in a State of Polygamy, *Abraham* had *Hagar* besides *Sarah*, and *Jacob* had no less than four Wives, the Daughters of *Laban* and their two Maids. The *Jews* very strenuously contend for the Legality of this Practice, as agreeable to the Law of Nature; and look upon the *Sadduces* as heretical, because they assert Polygamy to have been forbidden by *Moses* in these Words; *Neither shalt thou take a Wife to her Sister to vex her.* 'Tis one of the Maxims of their Law, every one is allowed to marry as many Women as he is able to maintain (tho' four is the usual Number.) A Man is at Liberty, say they, to have a hundred Wives, either one after another or at once, the first Wife having no right to oppose it, provided the Husband be in a Capacity to furnish them all with cloathing and other conjugal Duties, every one in their turn. They add, that before and after the Deluge it was a Custom to have two Wives, one for to beget Children upon, and another for Pleasure only, for which Reason, they used to give this last a Draught, which promoted Sterility or hinder'd Conception to preserve her Beauty; she used also to be richly attired, especially on their Feast Days, whilst the other was kept close within Doors like a Widow in deep Mourning. The *Jewish* Writers are too partial upon this Occasion, Polygamy being contrary to the original Law of Marriage



Marriage which propounds, that a Man shall cleave to *his Wife*. It is certain there is no express Law against it, but there are not many Instances of it among holy Men before the Deluge, though afterwards it got footing in the Families of the Patriarchs, yet at the same time some among them were more scrupulous upon that account than others. *Job* had but one Wife, and *Isaac* none but *Rebekah*; neither do we read that any one of *Jacob's* Children had more than one Wife a piece. After the Promulgation of the Law, Polygamy lost ground more and more; for setting aside *David* and *Solomon*, and some few of their Race, there are not many Instances of it, especially among private Persons. And this Practice God seems to have connived at in the Kings of *Israel*, because they should not be inferior in Splendor to the other *Eastern* Kings their Neighbours, whose greatest Magnificence consisted in some measure, in the vast Number of their Wives, which Custom continues among them to this Day.

The Use of *Concubines* was a Kind of super-additional Polygamy among the Antients, they being regarded as half Wives; the Difference between them and lawful Wives, the *Jews* say, consists in this, that the Marriages of the latter were preceded by certain matrimonial Contracts and particular Solemnities of Nuptials, but nothing like this was observed in the taking of a Concubine. Wives, say the *Talmudists*, are taken under a previous Contract of a Dowry, and attended with the usual nuptial Ceremonies, but Concubines without either of them.

*Gemora Talmud. Hierosol. Kidoufch. c. 5.*

Thus we may observe in the Marriages of *Jacob* with the two Daughters of *Laban*, something of a Ceremony, Feasts, Nuptials, and Sacrifices, the Festival continuing seven Days; they used nothing like this in the taking of their Concubines, they had no more to do than to take them, carry them to their Places of Abode,



Book VI. Abode, and to cohabit with them without any further Ceremony: Besides, it is supposed that a Concubine, notwithstanding her free Commerce

T. Melakim. c. with her Master, remained in a State of Servitude as she was before. *Hagar*, *Sarah's* Maid, continued to be a Slave tho' she was *Abraham's* Concubine, as evidently appears from the Treatment she receiv'd afterwards; and if we may credit the *Jews*, a Free-woman became a Slave by Concubinage. The Children of the principal Wife succeeded the Father in his Inheritance, but the Children of the Concubine were dismissed with Legacies and Gifts. *Maimonides* says, that private Persons among the *Jews* were not allowed to have any Concubines, unless it were an *Israelite* Servant purchased from her Father. If she was sold by her Father she thereby became a Slave at least, so far as was consistent with the *Jewish* Law in Reference to the native *Israelites*, who could not be disposed of to perpetual Slavery; their Servitude being only the Loss of Liberty for a certain Time. For the rest, the Laws of Concubinage, were altogether the same with those of Marriage, the Man was obliged to entertain his Concubine in his House, and she was bound to Fidelity and Obedience to him, as much as if she had been his lawful Wife.

There is no Instance, I think, of a *Divorce* in the Patriarchal Times, unless that Action of *Abraham* may be said to be such, when he dismissed *Hagar* his Concubine and sent her away.

The *Jews* contend that Divorces were allowed by the Law of Nature as well as Polygamy, though they do not make it reciprocal, as if a Woman could leave her Husband as he might his Wife. When will the time come, says *Maimonides*, that a Wife among the *Noachides* will be in the same Condition with ours unto whom we give a Letter of Divorce; this will be when the Husband turns her away and breaks the



the Knot, or when she goes away and leaves her Husband upon her own accord ; for among them there is no giving a Letter of Divorce, nor does this matter fall with them under the Cognifance of the Judges, as it does with us ; but they part according as Husband and Wife think it most convenient. It is a Maxim among the *Jews*, the *Noachides* have neither any regular Contracts nor Divorces, but their Marriages are either made or dissolved as both Parties shall agree. Their Meaning is, that as Men in the Ages of the ancient Patriarchs did marry without any Formalities, so they parted in the same Manner. Chap. 24.

The Law of *Levirate* was, if a Man died without Issue, leaving a Widow behind him, the Brother of the deceased was obliged to marry the Widow of his Brother, that so the eldest Son born from this Marriage might retain his Father's Name, pass for his Son, and inherit all his Estate. This was an ancient Custom in force before the Law of *Moses*, and seems to be indispensable in those times, tho' the Rigor of it was abated afterwards, the Matter being in a Manner left to the Choice of the Persons concerned. This Ceremony will be particularly explained hereafter, when it comes to be considered as an established Law : It is sufficient to observe in this Place, that the Marriage with the next Brother was not attended with any new Contract, but was understood to follow on Course without any further Agreement by virtue of the original Law ; and if the next Brother was too young to consummate the Marriage with the Widow, it was defer'd till he arrived at a proper Maturity, and she remained during the Interval clothed with her Widow's Garments in her Father's House. Gen. 38. 8.  
Deut. 25. 5.





## C H A P. XXVI.

*The forbidden Degrees of Marriage by the Levitical Law.*

Levit. xviii.  
v. 4. &c.

**I**N order to prevent Incest, and abominable Mixtures that were practised by the *Eastern Nations*, it pleased the Divine Law-giver to set a Fence about his own People, to guard them against such unnatural Prostitutions, and to enforce his Laws by Capital Penalties. The Degrees of Marriage that were expressly forbidden, are these that follow.

*Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Father or thy Mother.* Nakedness in the Holy Language signifies the Secret Parts, which natural Modesty teaches all civilized People to cover, and not to reveal them to any, but to those whom they marry; therefore, not to uncover the Nakedness of the Persons hereafter named, is properly not to take them in Marriage, and much less to have Knowledge of them without. Both the Father and Mother are mentioned in this Law, to shew that neither the Daughter might marry her Father, nor the Son his Mother; and consequently in all the following Particulars, Women are concerned in the same manner with Men, though the Men be only mentioned; and under the Name of Father and Mother, are comprehended Grand Father or Grand Mother, or Progenitors before them. *Maimonides* gives this as the general Reason for prohibiting this and all the following Marriages, because the Persons concerned, are in a manner such as used to live together in the same House, (for so Fathers, Mothers, Children, Brothers, and Sisters do,) who might easily be tempt-  
ed



ed to Lewdness, if even Marrying together were not expressly forbidden. Chap. 26.



*The Nakedness of thy Father's Wife*, that is, of a Step-Mother; for as Dr. Taylor judiciously observes, She that is of one Flesh with my Father, is as near to me as my Father, and that's as near as my own Mother; as near I mean, in the Estimation of the Law, tho' not in the Account of Nature: And therefore, though it be a Crime of less turpitude, yet it is equally forbidden, and is against the Law of Nature, not directly, but by Interpretation. The Jews say upon this Occasion, that it was unlawful for the Son to marry her, though she had been only espoused by his Father; or if he had divorced her, it was not lawful for the Son to have her, even after he was dead.

Duct. Dubitant.  
B. 2. c. 2. Ru 3.

*The Nakedness of thy Sister*: As the nearness of Flesh above a Man is his Mother, and below him is his Daughter, so on the Side of him is his Sister. This Law includes a Sister begotten by his Father of another Wife, and one born of his Mother by another Husband, whether she be legitimately born in Wedlock, or illegitimately out of it, as the Talmudist expounded it; for though the Marriage of Brother and Sister was necessary in the Beginning, when there was but one Man and one Woman, by whose Children the World was Peopled; yet when it was so, there was great reason that it should be made utterly unlawful, Now, says Bishop Taylor, it is next to an unnatural Mixture, it hath something of confusion in it, and blending the very first Partings of Nature, which makes it intolerably scandalous, and universally forbidden; for if it were not, the mischief would be horrible and infinite.

*Of thy Son's Daughter, or of thy Daughter's Daughter*. This Law relates to a Man's Grand Daughter, by his Son or his Daughter, whether legitimately or spuriously begotten: There is no mention made of a Man's own Daughter, because say the Jews, there was no occasion, for a Man's Grand



Book VI. Grand Children either by Sons or Daughters, (which are more remote) being forbidden, there was no reason to observe, that it was unlawful for him to marry his own Daughter.

*Of thy Father's Wife's Daughter, begotten of thy Father.* That is, of a Sister by the same Father, though not by the same Mother. This Prohibition was necessary, because, before the Promulgation of the Law, the Sons of *Noah* thought it lawful to marry a half Sister (as we speak) by the Father's Side, though not by the Mother's.

*Of thy Father's Sister,* whether legitimately or spuriously descended from his Grand-Father; (say the *Hebrew Doctors*.) These Marriages are supposed to be allowed before the Law, for it is thought, that *Amram* the Father of *Moses*, was married to *Jochobed* his Aunt.

Exod. vi. 20.

*Of thy Mother's Sister.* There is the same Reason for this, as for the former Prohibition; the Aunt by the Mother's Side being as near to a Man, as his Aunt by his Father's.

*Of thy Father's Brother.* She was his Aunt by Affinity, and therefore as much forbidden as an Aunt by Consanguinity. This Law includes the Mother's Brother's Wife, though She be not mentioned.

*Of thy Daughter in Law, thy Son's Wife,* though She were only espoused to him; and therefore, much more when solemnly married.

*Of thy Brother's Wife.* Unless he died Childless, for in this Case the Brother was bound to marry her; much less might a Man marry his Brother's Daughter, who was nearer to him, and of his own Flesh.

*Of a Woman and her Daughter.* If a Man married a Widow that had a Daughter, it was reckoned impious to marry that Daughter, either while her Mother lived, or after she was dead; the Grand Daughter of such a Widow, either by her Son or Daughter, was forbidden, which the *Vulgar Latin* makes to be an incestuous Conjunction.

*Neither*



*Neither shalt thou take a Wife to her Sister.* Chap. 26.

There are many eminent Writers, who following our Marginal Translation, [one Wife to another] conceive, that Plurality of Wives is expressly forbidden by this Law; and so the *Karaites* interpret this Place, that a Man having a Wife, should not take another while she lived; which if it were true, would assist us to solve many Difficulties; but there are such strong Reasons against it, that I cannot think this to be the meaning: For as more Wives than one were indulged before the Law, so they were after. And *Moses* himself supposes as much, when he provides that a Man should not prefer a Child he had by a beloved Wife, before one by her whom he hated, if he was the eldest Son. We find expressly, that the *Hebrew* Deut. xvii. 17. Kings might have many Wives, though not a Multitude; and the best of their Princes, who read the Divine Law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many Wives without any reproof; so far from that, that God gave him more Wives than he had before, by delivering his Master's Wives to him. The meaning therefore, 2 Sam. xii. 8. is, that though two Wives at a time, or more were permitted in those Days, yet, no Man should take two Sisters (as *Jacob* had formerly done) begotten of the same Father, or born of the same Mother, whether legitimately, or illegitimately; which though it may seem to have been prohibited before by Consequence and Analogy, (because the Marriage of a Brother's Wife is forbidden) yet in this Place it is more expressly prohibited, as other Marriages are.

*To vex her in her Life-time.* There used to be great Jealousies and Emulations between Wives, (some being more beloved than others, and also superior to them,) which between two Sisters, would have been more intolerable than between two other Women; who, (as *Cunæus* remarks) De Rep. Heb. not being of the same Consanguinity as Sisters L. 2. c. 23. are, might live with more equal and quiet Minds under



Book VI. under the same Husband. The *vulgar Latin* understands this, as if *Moses* forbad them to make one Sister their Wife, and the other their Concubine; which could not but occasion the greatest Disturbances. Besides, no one would afterwards marry either of the Sisters being Widows, because they were defiled by such an incestuous Conjunction, for which the Husband by the Law might be cut off.

These were the Boundaries expressly fixed by God, as a Guard against those abhorred Mixtures and Impurities, for which the Seven Nations of *Canaan* were destroyed. They obliged all *Proselytes* who embraced their Religion, as well as the *Hebrews*, and were established under the Sanction of severe Penalties. If a Man lay with his Father's Wife, or with his Daughter in Law, or with his Wife and her Mother, or with his Sister, his Father's Daughter, or his Mother's Daughter, or with his Mother's Sister, or Father's Sister, they were both to be put to Death: The kind of Death is expressed but in one Place, and that is

Levit. xx. 13, when a Man lay with his Wife and his Mother,  
14. &c. they were all three to be burnt with Fire; which it is probable was the Punishment, in the other Cases of Incest. If a Man lay with his Uncle's Wife, or his Brother's Wife, besides the Punishment of Death, the Law adds *they shall die Childless*; which is supposed to mean, that whatever Issue proceeds from such Incestuous Converse, was to be esteemed Spurious and illegitimate; and to be deprived of succeeding to their Father's Inheritance.





## C H A P. XXVII.

Chap. 27.



*Of Marrying with Idolaters; Laws concerning Profelytes.*

**B**ESIDES these strict Injunctions relating to Affinity and Consanguinity, there were other Restraints laid upon the *Hebrews* in their Marriages by the Law of *Moses*; they were forbidden to enter into matrimonial Contracts with the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, lest the Love of their Wives should seduce them into Idolatry. Some of the *Jews* would confine this Prohibition to the seven Nations only, but the best Expositors extend it to all People that were Idolaters to whatever Country they belong'd; yet they allow that they might marry with them if they became *Profelytes* of Justice, which is supposed to be the Case of *Ruth* a *Moabite's* and *Delilah* a Daughter of the *Philistines*.

The Case of marrying with *Profelytes* of Justice is thus explained by Mr. *Selden*; with *Profelytes* of some Nations, whether Men or Women, the *Israelites* were never to make any Marriages; with those of some other Nations, they were prohibited only to marry with Men, with others they were restrained from marrying only for some Generations; and there were others with whom they might marry, as soon as they were made perfect *Profelytes*. Of the first Kind were the seven Nations of *Canaan*, with the Males or Females of which, they were never to contract any Affinity. To the second Kind belong the *Ammonites* and the *Moabites*, to whose Males an *Israelitish* Woman was forbid to marry; but a Man of *Israel* might marry any of their Women after they professed the *Jewish* Religion; otherwise *David* who

S

descended



Book VI.



descended from *Ruth* a *Moabite* had been illegitimate. The *Ammonites* had denied the *Hebrews* the Refreshment of Bread and Water when they were distressed in the Wilderness, and the *Moabites* had invited *Balaam* by the Promises of a great Reward to come from the *Eastern* Countries to curse them; for which Reason the Males of these Nations were excluded the Privilege of contracting with the Women of *Israel*: But as the learned *Wagenfeil* has observed from a valuable Manuscript; the Females of those Countries might, if they embraced the *Jewish* Religion, marry with the Men of *Israel*; for the Women must be thought in all Reason not to have been guilty, as the Men were, of that which was the Occasion of this Law, it not being the Custom for Women to bring out Bread and Water to Travellers, nor did they send Ambassadors to hire *Balaam* to come and curse the *Israelites*. Of the third Kind were the *Edomites* and *Egyptians*, with whom it was lawful to marry after they had been *Profelytes* for three Generations. This Restriction, says Mr. *Selden*, was observed only to the Captivity of *Babylon*, when these Nations being confused, they might marry with any of them if they became *Jews*; for Wars and Colonies, and Deportations had made such a Mixture of People, that it was scarce possible to discover to what Country they belong'd. Of the fourth Kind were all other Nations and People, except those above mentioned, with whom the *Hebrews* might lawfully marry, as soon as they became perfect *Profelytes*.

But this Law, as the *Talmudists* observe, did not extend to *Profelytes*, who were allowed to marry with the idolatrous Nations; however, it was esteemed as impious and unlawful for a *Hebrew* to have any Converse with a *Gentile* Woman as with a Woman in her Uncleanness, from whence this Character is given the *Jews* by *Tacitus*, that tho' they were a most libidinous

nous



ious People, yet they abstained from marrying Chap. 28.  
with Foreigners. It was not so criminal for a  
Man circumcised to marry the Daughter of one  
uncircumcised, as it was to give his Daughter in  
Marriage to an uncircumcised Husband; for a  
Man uncircumcised was accounted unclean tho'  
he had renounced Idolatry, but a Woman born  
of uncircumcised Parents was not so accounted,  
if she embraced the Worship of the true God;  
for which Reason it is supposed, that *Salmon*  
a great Man in the Tribe of *Judah*, married *Ra-  
hab* who was a *Canaanite*.

C H A P. XXVIII.

*The Ceremonies of Marriage between a  
Soldier and a fair Captive taken in  
War.*

THERE is one Instance in which this Law Deut. 21. 10.  
of marrying with Foreigners admitted of  
an Indulgence, and that was in the Case of a  
*Soldier*, who falls in love with a fair Captive,  
whether a Virgin, or a Widow, or a Wife, and  
passionately desires to marry her, though a Stran-  
ger of another Religion; she must be one of a  
neighbouring Nation, but not one of the Peo-  
ple of *Canaan*, for not one of those were to be  
spared, but if they resisted were all to be destroyed.  
It is a common Opinion among the *Jewish* Doc-  
tors, that it was lawful for a Soldier to lie  
with such a Captive once to satisfy his Lust,  
but not repeat it unless he would take her for  
his Wife; and this they suppose was allowed to  
military Men when they were absent from their  
Wives, in order to prevent greater Outrages that  
were used to be committed by the Heathen.  
But the more sober Writers deliver a contrary  
S 2 Doctrine,



Book VI. Doctrine, and will not allow an *Israelite* to converse with a *Gentile* at all, till the Conditions that follow were accomplished when he was to make her his Wife.

The first thing required was after the War was over, to take the Captive home to his House. The *Rabbins*, who are so indulgent to the Soldiers Lust, will have this to signifie, that they were obliged to observe the Rules of Modesty in the Camp, and not lie with her openly like Beasts but privately in their Tents; but this Construction has few Followers. When he had brought her home, he was to dispose of her thus; she was to have her Head shaved, which some suppose was done with a Design to abate his Affection that he might not marry her at all, and others to prepare her and make her fit for his Bed. By having her Head shaved (which every one knows was used in Mourning) she was deprived of one of her greatest Ornaments and made less amiable, which might be a Means to extinguish the Affection her Beauty had kindled; but others more justly conceive this to have been a Kind of Purification and cleansing of her from her *Gentilism*, and a Sign of her becoming a new Woman, that she might be better qualified to become his Wife; the Captive was then to pare her Nails, which likewise was a Sign of Neatness: But they of the other Opinion translate the Words, *let her Nails grow*, as our marginal Translation has it, and the *Arabick*, and *Chaldee* and the *Hebrew* Doctors commonly understand it; this was intended to make her more deformed, and to lessen the Affection of her Lover; at least this Ceremony was suitable to the Condition of a Mourner, for such she evidently was, being obliged to strip her self of her fine Clothes, which it is supposed she had when she was made a Captive, and to put on a mean and sordid Habit, and all this to cool the Love of the Soldier; these Ceremonies being designed



signed (as the *Jews* observe) to make the Woman as little inviting as possible, that such Marriages might not be common among them. She was likewise obliged to keep her self retired within Doors as a most unfortunate Person, and there to lament the loss of her Father and Mother, who perhaps were killed in the War, or rather whom she was never likely to see any more; and this also the *Jews* suppose served to abate his Affection; for Grief is one of the greatest Enemies to Beauty: She had a whole Month allowed her to indulge her Sorrow, for so long the *Jews* bewail'd their dead Relations, at least those of a superior Quality among them.

This Constitution is highly magnified by *Philo*, Lib. de Philanthrop. whose Opinion it was, that this Captive might not be touched before all the Ceremonies were accomplish'd: ' *Moses*, says he, ordered every ' Thing most excellently in this Law, *First*, In ' not letting the Reins loose to Mens desires, ' but restraining them for thirty Days; in which ' Time, *Secondly*, a Tryal was made of his ' Love, whether it was a furious ungovernable ' Passion, or had something of Reason in it; ' and *Thirdly*, This was a merciful Law to the ' Captive, that if she were a Virgin, she might ' bewail her Unhappiness in not being disposed ' of in Marriage by her Parents; if a Widow, ' that she had lost her first Love, and was now ' to be married to a Man who was to be her ' Lord as well as her Husband.

A Month being spent in the forementioned Ceremonies, the Man, if he continued to love her, might take her for a Wife, provided she was willing to embrace the *Jewish* Religion; in which, while she remained retired in his house, she was to be instructed: For the *Jewish* Doctors agree, that she was to be baptized, and not meerly made a Profelyte of the Gate, that is, renounce Idolatry; otherwise he might not marry her. If she refused absolutely to embrace their Religion, *Maimonides*



Book VI. says, they gave her a Year's time to consider of it; at the end of which, if she remained still obstinate, they required her at least, to observe the seven Precepts of the Son's of *Noah*, and so become a Profelyte of the Gate, otherwise she was to be slain: But though she was so far converted, no Jew might take her to Wife, for such a Marriage was counted impious. Those Hebrew Doctors who conceive that the Soldier might lawfully enjoy the Woman once, as soon as she was made a Captive, have added another Conceit to this; that there was not only this Month's-time allowed her to bewail her Parents, but that he was to stay two Months more, before he might go in to her and be her Husband, that he might see whether she was with Child or no by his first Enjoyment of her; for if she were, a great Difference was to be made between that Child, and those she might have by him after Marriage. And to prove this, they bring the Example of *Tamar*, the Daughter of *David*, whose Mother being a Captive, they suppose he lay with her as soon as she was taken, and had this Issue by her; but afterwards she becoming a Profelyte he made her his Wife, and she bare him *Absalom*: Whereby it came to pass, that there were not such a Relation between her and the other Sons of *David*, by other Women, but that it had been lawful for *Amnon* to have married her. But the famous *Abarbinel* judges all this to be very absurd, who neither believes that *David* would have committed this Fact, as to lie with a Woman in her Gentilism, nor if he had, that this Child would have been look'd upon as a Gentile, since he afterwards married her Mother; and therefore he takes those Words of *Tamar*, *Speak to the King and he will not withhold me from thee*, to be a meer Ev'sion to put him off, and get rid of his Company, which *Amnon* understood very well; who knowing he could not have her for a Wife, proceeded to force her.

2 Sam. 12. 13.

2 Sam. 12. 13.

If



If the Soldier at the Month's end, or any time before had changed his Mind, and resolved not to take her for a Wife, he was obliged to meddle no more with her, (as the *Hebrew* Doctors understand it,) nor keep her any longer as a Slave, nor sell her, or make Merchandise of her, but to give her Liberty to go where she pleased. This he lost (say the *Jews* of that Opinion) by his short Pleasure he took at first, for other Captives, whom a Man had made himself Master of by the Law of War, he might employ in his Work as Slaves, or make Money of them; but one whom he had lain with, he was either to marry, or to set at Liberty. The Reason given in the Law why she had her Freedom, is, *because he had humbled her*; which Expression in other places of Scripture signifies close Converse with a Woman: And here is supposed to intend as much, yet some conceive it implies no more than that he had greatly *afflicted* her; for the Word in the *Hebrew* signifies any sort of Affliction. And sufficient Affliction and Humiliation it was to a poor Captive, to be brought into a Soldier's House, to be kept there a Month with her Head shav'd, and in a State of Mourning, and all this in prospect of Marriage, and at last when it should have been consummated, to be rejected; especially when she had submitted to be baptized as a Preparation for it.

Exod. I. II.

Psal. 90. 15.

94. 5.





## C H A P. XXIX.


## Of Eunuchs : Of Bastards, and Harlots.

Deut. 23. 1.

Selden de Jure  
Nat. & Gent.  
L. 5. c. 16.

T H E R E is a Law which expressly forbids *Eunuchs to enter into the Congregation of the Lord* : Whether they were made so by having their Stones bruised or compressed, or by having their Privy Members wholly cut off, which was done when the other Method did not answer the Purpose in this unnatural Practice. The Meaning of this Law has given great trouble to Expositors, and some have even conceived, that such a Person was not to be entertained as a Profelyte, nor admitted to worship at the Temple, which is an unreasonable Conjecture ; for if they renounced their Idolatry, the Temple was common to all Nations. The Design therefore must be either to forbid the *Israelites* to marry with such Persons, or not to admit them to bear any Office in the *Jewish* Commonwealth. The *Hebrew* Doctors generally take it in the first Sense, and so do many among Christian Writers ; but some conceive it to be superfluous to forbid this, because none would marry with such Persons as were incapable to perform the Conjugal Duty ; and therefore they follow the second Sense, it being certain, that by *Congregation* is signified in many Places not the whole Body of the *Hebrew* Nation, but the great Assembly of Elders, into which no such Person was to be admitted, because they were unfit for Government ; Eunuchs being observed generally to want Courage. But it is certain, likewise, that by *the Congregation of the Lord* is meant in other Places, the whole People of *Israel* ; and particularly where the Law speaks of forbidden Marriages : And though Marriages with Eunuchs were useless and unprofitable, as *Maimonides* observes,



serves, yet they allowed a Distinction between Chap. 29.  
 those that were made Eunuchs by God, that is,   
 born so, and those made by Men; and this Law,  
 they say, is not to be understood of the former,  
 but only of the latter, some of which it is certain,  
 were left in such a Condition, that they were de-  
 sirous of Marriage, as appears by the Constitution  
 of the Emperor *Leo*, who did not think it super-  
 fluous to forbid Marriage with them; so that it  
 is evident, that some Women made choice of such  
 Husbands. And on the other Side, though Eunuchs Eccles. 30. 20.  
 were unfit for Marriage, yet it appears by many  
 Instances in History, that they were well qualified Xenoph. Cu-  
 for Government; nor did they want Courage to ropæd. Lib. 8.  
 execute the greatest Undertakings.

Another Law follows, *A Bastard shall not en-* Deut. 23. 2.  
*ter into the Congregation of the Lord, to the tenth*  
*Generation*: The Word in the Hebrew is *Mamzer*,  
 and is conceived not only to signify one begotten  
 in simple Fornication, out of the State of Mar-  
 riage, but a Person whether Male or Female, born  
 of any Woman whom the Law prohibited them  
 to have Knowledge of, whether it was by Violence  
 or Consent, by Error or advisedly, it made no Dif-  
 ference. A Person thus unlawfully begotten, was  
 not to marry with an *Israelite*, as all the Doctors,  
 none excepted, expound it; as Mr. *Selden* ob- De Success in  
 serves. If any Man of *Israel* married such a Wo- Pontific. L. 2.  
 man, or a Woman of *Israel* married such a Man, c. 2.  
 and they were found in Bed together after Espou-  
 sals, they were both whipt for violating this Pre-  
 cept; but if they lay together without Espousals,  
 this Punishment was not inflicted. The Reason of  
 this Law, seems to be, that People might be de-  
 terred from such Marriages or Conjunctions,  
 which would leave an indelible Blot upon their  
 Posterity.

There were some also of these *Mamzers*, who  
 were not evidently born of Incestuous or other  
 forbidden Mixtures, but were called *dubious*, be-  
 cause their Fathers were not known; or being  
 exposed,



Book VI. exposed, and found in the Fields or Streets, neither Father or Mother could be discovered; It being uncertain therefore, whence they were descended, the *Israelites* might not marry with them, lest they should be polluted by those, who, perhaps, were born of Incestuous Parents. But Proselytes of Justice, they say, might marry with *Mamzers*; and that they might not for ever be excluded from the Congregation of the Lord, they contrived this Remedy for the Restitution of their Blood. They might marry a Slave (who was baptized and become a *Jew*) whose Children were not reputed *Mamzers*, but only Slaves; who being made *Jews*, and having their Freedom given them, might lawfully marry with a *Jewish* Woman, and then they were intirely incorporated into the Congregation: For the Issue always follows the Mother, no Regard being had to the Father at all.

Antiq. Lib. 4.  
c. 8.

*Josephus* in his Account of the *Hebrew* Marriages, asserts, that a *Hebrew* was not to marry a Harlot, because God abhorred the Nuptials of such a Woman, upon the Account of the Filthiness of her Body; but there is no such Law to be met with, in the Code of the *Mosaic* Institutions.





C H A P. XXX.

Of Women marrying in their own Tribes.  
Of marrying the Brother's Wife, according to the Levitical Law. The Ceremony of pulling off the Shoe, and spitting in the Face.

**T**O preserve Inheritances in the Tribe to Numb. 36. 6.  
which they first belonged, the Law of *Moses* enjoined, that all Women who were Heiresses, should marry in their own Tribe, and in their own Family, but other Women might marry into what Tribe they pleased; for *Aaron* Exod. 6. 22.  
married the Sister of the Prince of *Judah*. If it be objected that this was done before the Delivery of the Law, it is evident, that *Jehoiadab* Priest, and consequently of the Tribe of *Levi*, 2 Chron. 22. 11  
married a Sister of King *Jehoram*, who was of the Tribe of *Judah*: And long before this, all the Tribes of *Israel* being in great Solitude, how to find Wives for their Brethren of *Benjamin*, Judg. 21. 18.  
did not scruple their having them out of any Tribe, if it had not been for their Oath. And to add no more, *David* himself, of the Tribe of *Judah*, married *Michal* the Daughter of *Saul*, who was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. The *Talmudists* observe, that even Heiresses might marry into what Tribe they pleased, after the Division of the Land by *Joshua*, to which they imagine this Law was restrained; it being a common Saying among them, that it did not belong to any Age, but to that in which it was made. In the following Ages, they pretend a Man might purchase Land in any Tribe, and possess it alway, or have the Inheritance of it by Marriage, though himself

Selden de Success. ad Leg. Heb. c. 18.



Book. VI. himself were of another Tribe. But the learned *Grotius*, in his Annotations upon St. *Matthew*, confutes this Opinion.

Deut. 25. 5. &c. The Law next to be explained, was of the same Use with the former ; which was to secure Estates in the Family that first possessed them, and is commonly called the Law of *Levirate* : The Obligation of it was, that if a Man died without Issue, leaving a Widow behind him, the Brother of the Deceased was bound to marry the Widow of his Brother ; that so the eldest Son born from this Marriage, might retain his Father's Name, pass for his Son, and inherit all his Estate ; which is the Meaning of the Expression, *to raise up Seed to a Brother*. This was a Law before the time of *Moses*, among the Patriarchs, and the Force of it was so well understood, that the *Hebrew* Doctors say, it was not necessary there should be any solemn Marriage celebrated with such a Widow ; because, unless her Husband's Brother renounced her, she was esteemed his Wife by Divine Authority, and that whether she had been only espoused by the Deceased Brother, or his compleat Wife : Yet by the Constitution of their Elders, he was to contract with her before two Witnesses, and give her a Piece of Money ; and before this, it was unlawful for him to lie with her. There was also to be a Sacred Benediction of the Marriage, and her Dowry assigned her by an Instrument ; but if he lay with her before those Solemnities, there was no formal Contract exacted of him afterward : He was only to be scourged for contemning the Constitutions of the Elders, and compelled to settle a Dowry upon her.

Selden. Uk.  
Heb. Lib. I.  
c. 14.

If a Man left several Widows, and if his Brother either married or renounced one of them, all the rest were free from this Law ; and if several Brethren died, and left every one of them a Wife without Issue, the surviving Brother might either take or reject them all, or choose one or two, and let the Rest alone as he pleased. If the eldest Brother



ther that married his Brother's Relict died also Chap. 30. without Issue, the next surviving Brother was to marry her; if he died Issueless, the third Brother succeeded in the same manner; the fourth to the third, and so to all the rest: Yet that Brother only was admitted to this Marriage, who was born before his Brother's Death, which is collected from the express Words of the Law, *if Brethren dwell together*, which cannot be intended of one born after his Brother was dead. It does not appear, that the Brother was to act in this Case, if he himself was married before; for it should seem that he lay under no Necessity of raising up Seed to another, when at the same time he was married in order to raise his own Family. It is further observed, that *the Law of Levirate* took place only with the Brothers by the same Father. It is, they say, Maimon. Tr. Libbum c. 6. commanded by the Law, that a Man shall marry his deceased Brother's Widow, to raise up Seed for him; but this must be understood only of Brothers by the same Father, whether the Deceased was actually married, or only contracted, so he died without Issue, it was the same Case; those that were Brothers only by the Mother's Side, being not consider'd as Brothers, as well in respect to Succession, as in reference of marrying the Brother's Widow; because there can be no Right of Fraternity, but what comes from the Father's Side.

The old Practice, before the Time of *Moses*, admitted of a great Mitigation by this Law; for now, a Man might, if he did not like her, refuse to marry his Brother's Wife; which was not permitted before, as appears by the Story of *Onan*, Gen. 38. who married *Tamar* against his Will, as his Behaviour towards her demonstrates: For this he had no Occasion to have done, if this Permission which here follows, had been then in Use.

The Woman upon the Brother's Refusal, applied to the Court of Judgment, which usually sat in one of the Gates, and a Court of these Elders was sufficient



Book VI. sufficient to determine in this Matter ; and it seems, it was indifferent whether these three were created Elders according to the solemn Form among them, by laying on of Hands ; but it was sufficient, if they were such as they called *Elders of the Street*, or common Men : The Woman was to prefer a Bill of Complaint in these Words, *My Husband's Brother refuseth to raise up unto his Brother a Name in Israel, he will not perform the Duty of my Husband's Brother.* Then was the Man summoned to appear, together with the Woman, (who, they say, was to be fasting,) and two Witnesses at the least ; and she opened the whole Matter. She was asked whether it was three Months since the Death of her Husband, (which were allowed to see whether she proved with Child,) and whether this Man was next of kin : A satisfactory Answer being returned, the Judges explained the Law before them, and admonished them seriously to consider on each Side, their Age, or any Disparity or Inconvenience that might be in their Marriage ; and accordingly to resolve. Then was the Man asked in express Words, whether he would marry her, and raise up Seed to his Brother ? If he stood to his first Resolution, and said, *I like not to take her*, she pronounced aloud, *My Husband's Brother, &c.* and then coming up to him, *pulled of his right Shoe*, (as the *Hebrew Doctors* say,) and when she had lift it up, threw it with Indignation against the Ground : This was understood as a Mark of Infamy, and a Punishment for his Want of natural Affection, which made him unworthy to be reckoned among Freemen ; but deserve rather to be thrust down into the Condition of Slaves, that were used to go bare-foot. As another Instance of Contempt, she was *to spit full in his Face*. The *Hebrew Doctors*, indeed, expound this of spitting upon the Ground directly before his Face, so that the Spittle might be seen by the Judges ; and they give this as a Reason, why the King was not subject to this Law of marrying his Brother's

Wife ;



Wife ; and they might add the high Priest, because it would have been below his Dignity to have his Shoe pulled off, (if he did not approve of the Woman) or to have had her spit before him. There was a Form of Words accompanying this Ceremony ; for upon his preremptory Refusal, the Woman immediately read these Words of the Law, *So shall it be done unto that Man, that will not build up his Brother's House :* Then the Judges gave her a Writing, signifying his renouncing of her in the Manner now related, that so it might be free for her to marry whom she pleased. As soon as the Shoe was loosed, the Judges, and all the Spectators round about, cried aloud three Times, *The Shoe is pulled off, The Shoe is pulled off, The Shoe is pulled off,* and from thence forward, the Family of the Man had the Name of *the House of him that had his Shoe loosed* ; which implies a Disgrace fixed upon him, for not doing the Duty of a Brother : Some indeed, would have this pulling off the Shoe to signify no more than a Token, that he parted with his Right to her ; but the Distinction set upon his Family plainly proves, that it was in the Nature of a Brand, and a standing Reproach upon himself and his Posterity.

There are many Niceties, concerning this Law, to be found in the Writings of the *Jews* ; some of which serving to explain it, may be properly mentioned in this Place. If the deceased Person left behind him a Daughter, or any Grand Children, the Widow was under no Obligation of marrying her Husband's Brother, but might dispose of herself as she thought best ; nay, if her Husband left only a Bastard, provided he were born by a *Jewish* Woman, there was no Occasion for the raising up of his Seed ; because Bastards in the point of Inheritance, were consider'd as legitimate Children. The *Jews* speak thus upon this Head : When it is said in the Law that he dies without Sons, it is to be understood, that he dies without having any Son or Daughter, or any Children of his Son

Maimon. Tr.  
Libbum c. 1.  
Sect. 3. 4.



Book VI.



or Daughter. If he has any Children either by this, or a preceding Wife, the Widow is free, and discharged from the Obligation to marry his Brother in Law, or to take off his Shoe, tho' even the Son or Daughter were no legitimate Children ; But in case the Child he leaves behind him be born of a Slave, or a Stranger, the Widow is not discharged from that Law, because the Child born from a Slave, is a Slave likewise ; and those begotten of a Pagan Woman, are consider'd as Pagans also. This is the *Jewish* Tradition, for the absolute Verity of which, I will not be answerable. If the Deceased left behind him either a Son or Daughter, and the Child died immediately after the Father, the Brother was not obliged to marry his Sister in Law. If a Man left his Wife behind him big with Child, and she miscarried of a dead Child after her Husband's Death, the Brother in Law of the Widow, was obliged to raise up Seed to his Brother ; but if the Child be born alive, tho' it dies the next Moment after, the Mother is discharged from this Obligation of marrying her Brother in Law, or of untying his Shoe. If the eldest Brother was travelling abroad in Foreign Countries, the second Brother could not oblige the Widow to stay for his eldest Brother's Return ; but must either marry his Sister in Law, or suffer the loosing of his Shoe. He who married his Sister in Law, was put into Possession of the whole Estate, belonging to his deceased Brother ; but in Quality only of Guardianto the next Child : If many Children were procreated by this Marriage, the eldest Son only of this Woman, was consider'd as the Son and absolute Heir of the Deceased ; if the Eldest died, the Second succeeded in all his Rights, being reputed the true Child of the first Husband : If they had no more than one Child between them, he was considered as the Son, both of the deceased and the living Father ; and the same Custom was obtained among the Daughters. It is observed further, that there were certain



certain Circumstances, under which a Brother in Law might decline the marrying his Brother's Widow, without having his Shoe pull'd off: For instance, if the Woman was old and past Child-bearing, or known naturally to be Barren, if she was unchast, or convicted before of any enormous Crime, in such like Cases, the Brother in Law having represented the Matter to the Judges, they discharged him from the Obligation of marrying his Brother's Widow, without having his Shoe untied, or taken off. Chap. 31.

C H A P. XXXI.

*Of Redeeming the Land, and Marrying the Widow of a deceased Kinsman. The Rites of delivering the Shoe.*

THE Ceremony of pulling off the Shoe, was made use of upon another Occasion, which, I confess, should have been mentioned in the former Part of these Antiquities; but this Rite being asserted by *Grotius* to relate to the Law of a Man's raising up Seed to his Brother, I purposely deferr'd the Explanation of it to this Place; though (by the leave of so great a Man) I am now verily perswaded, that the Practice of it belonged to a quite different Design. It was allowed by the Law, that if a Man had sold his Land, and was not able to redeem it before the *Jubilee*, his next Relation might do it, and the Buyer could not refuse: And the same Liberty was indulged if the Man who sold it was dead; but then he could not enjoy this Land, unless he would marry the Widow with it, to whom it belonged as long as she liv'd; and was to go to her Issue when she died. Now if the nearest Kinsman refused this Redemption, he who

Vol. III. T stood



Book VI. stood next in Relation, and was willing to redeem the Land, and marry the Widow, had a Power to summon him before the Court of Judgment, and in the Presence of ten of the Elders of the Place, to demand of him, whether he was willing to redeem the Land of his Kinsman deceased? If he refused, he pluckt off his Shoe himself, and delivered it to his next Kinsman as a sufficient Evidence that he transferr'd his Right to him.

It is not easy to give an Account of the Original of this Custom, that is founded upon no positive Law; but the Reason of it is plain, it signifying naturally that he resigned his Interest in the Land, by giving him his Shoe wherewith he used, to walk in it, to the end that he might enter into it, and take Possession of it himself. The *Targum* instead of the *Shoe*, has *the right hand Glove*, it being the Custom, perhaps, at that time, to deliver that in the Place of the Shoe; as now the *Jews* give a Handkerchief or a Veil, to the same Purpose. The *Hebrew* Doctors indeed, differ much about this Matter, for some say, he that parted with his Right to redeem the Land, pulled off his Shoe, and gave it to him that bought it; but others, that he who bought it, gave his Shoe to him that sold it: It is certain, that the Text in the Book of *Ruth* (the only Place where this Rite is mentioned) may be either way understood, but it is most reasonable to think that he who parted with his Right, parted with his Shoe also. The learned *Selden* observes from hence, how different this political Ceremony was from the Rites, used when a Man renounced his Brother's Wife; for it does not appear that *Ruth* loosed her Kinsman's Shoe, as the Brother's Wife is ordered to do, much less did she spit in his Face, of which there is not one Word in this Ceremony, which relates wholly to the Sale of Lands, or to their Redemption, and bringing them back again into the Family to which they belonged.

C H A P.

Ruth 4.  
4, 5. &c.

Ch. 4. v. 17.

De Jure Nat. &  
Gent. juxta Dis-  
cipl. Ebr. cap. 6.






C H A P. XXXII.

*Penalties for Deflouring a Virgin unbetrothed. Of Whoredom, Sodomy, Bestiality.*

**S**IMPLE Fornication, was no Capital Offence in the *Hebrew Republick*: If a Man seduced an unbetrothed Maid, by Flattery and fair Promises, perhaps of Marriage, and lay with her in the City, unless Witnesses came and proved that he forced her, he was obliged to make Satisfaction for taking away her Virginity; which was, by paying so much, in the Nature of her Dowry, as would render her fit to be his Wife, if both of them could agree; the Sum was fifty Shekels, says *Josephus*: Yet so, that if either He, or She, or her Father refused, (for it was in the Power of any of these, say the *Jews*, to hinder the Marriage) he paid this Mulct as the Dowry of a Virgin to her Father. Exod. xxii. 16  
Antiq. l. 4. c. 6.

But if a Man found an unbetrothed Virgin in the Field, and there were Witnesses to prove that he lay with her by Force, or they confessed the Fact themselves, the Man was bound to pay to the Father of the Damsel, fifty Shekels of Silver; which made a Difference between this Case, and that abovementioned; where the Man was obliged to settle a Dowry upon her, but here to pay a Fine to her Father. The Reason is plain, because there was no need of settling a Dowry in this Case, as in the former; which justly required a Dowry, lest her Husband should wantonly put her away by Divorce, and she have nothing to maintain her: But of this there was no Danger here, because the Law expressly enjoins that he should marry her, and not put her away all his Deut. xxii. 28.



Book VI. Days. Concerning the Payment of this Muleſt  
 to the Father of the Damſel, many Exceptions are made by the *Jews* ; but this is conſiderable, that this Fine was the ſame, whether the Woman was of noble, or of mean Parentage, neither more or leſs was paid by the Law : Yet in after-times, the *Sanhedrim* they tell us, added ſome other Muleſts beſides this here mentioned, becauſe it ſeem'd ſo ſmall, that the Honour of a Virgin was not thought ſufficiently repaired by it ; therefore he that inticed a Virgin, paid other two, one for the Shame and Diſhonour he had done her, and the other, for the Loſs of her Virginity, and vitiating her Body ; and he that forced a Virgin (which was always ſuppoſed to be the preſent Caſe) paid a third beſides theſe two, upon account of the Pain he was ſuppoſed to have put her in. And in theſe three, they proportioned the Penalties, to the Quality of the Perſon, and other Conſiderations which made them vary.

Selden Uxor  
 Heb. l. i. c. 16.

Beſides this pecuniary Fine, the Man was obliged to marry the Virgin he had defloured, if She and her Father pleaſed ; for both their Conſents were required, though the Man had not the Liberty to reſuſe ; not if ſhe were Lame, or Blind, or Leprous, or had any other blemiſh upon her ; and as a complete Punishment for the Force he had committed, he was conſtrained not only to take her for a Wife, but to keep her as long as ſhe lived ; he was not allowed to give her a Bill of Divorce, as other Men, who deſired to part with their Wives, might lawfully do. If it be enquired how it could be known whether a Virgin was inticed or forced ? they anſwer, that it was reaſonably preſumed that ſhe was forced ; if the Act was done in the Field, or in a Place far from Inhabitants ; but if in the City or Town, that ſhe conſented, unleſs the contrary was evidently proved.

The Law of *Moses* expreſſly enjoined, that no  
 Deut. xxiii. 17. Daughter of *Iſrael* ſhould be a *Whore*, nor no  
 Son



Son of an *Israelite* be a *Sodomite*, or a *Whore-monger*, as the Words may justly be translated, as Mr. *Selden* observes ; and so they are render'd by the *Vulgar Latin*, and the *Seventy* : And great Reasons (says *Maimonides*) there were for this Prohibition, for by Whoredom Families are confounded and destroyed, and their Issue are look'd upon by all Men as Aliens ; therefore publick Stews were disallowed among the *Israelites*, who had this Benefit by it among others, that Quarrels, and Fightings, and Bloodshed were prevented, which frequently happened when many Men met at the same time, and contended for the same Woman ; for so the Scripture says, *They assembled by Troops in the Harlots Houses* : For preventing these, and such like Mischiefs, and that the Distinction of Families might be preserved, both Whores and Woremongers are here condemned, and no other Conjunction permitted, but with a Man's own Wife publickly married ; for if a private Marriage had been sufficient, many would have kept Women in their Houses, as their Whores, and pretend they were their Wives : Therefore if a Man had privately espoused a Woman, he was obliged publickly to keep his Wedding.

Chap. 32.

Uxor Heb.

L. 3. c. 23.

More Nevoch.

p. 3. c. 49.

Jerem. 5. 7.

*Sodomy* by the Law of *Moses* was Capital, and though the kind of Death is not mentioned, yet it is probable it was by Burning, because the impure *Sodomites* were consumed by Fire.

Levit. xviii. 22.

All *Bestiality* and horrid Mixtures were forbidden, under Capital Penalties ; the Person and the Beast, as Commentators suppose, were to be stoned to Death. The Beast (says the learned *Bochart*) was killed as an Instrument in the Crime, just as a Forger of Deeds is hanged with his Pen and Counterfeit Seals, and a Conjuror with his Magical Books and Characters ; and this is also useful as an Example, though not to other Beasts, yet to him whose Concern it is to consider, that if Beasts were not spared, who were incapable of Sinning, what will become of them who committed

Levit. xx. 15

Hieroicoicon

P. 1. L. 2. c.



Book VI. ted such Crimes, against the known Laws of  
 God, and the Impressions of Nature it self? The  
*Mischna Tit. Sanhed. c. 7. n. 4.* *Talmudists* observe, that the Beast suffered, that  
 there might be no Memory left of so foul a  
 Crime; by Mens pointing and saying, *There*  
*goes the Beast that such a Man lay with, or for*  
*which such a Man or Woman was put to Death.*  
 The Seven Nations that inhabited the Land of  
*Canaan*, were over-run and destroyed, upon the  
 Account of their filthy Vices; which was suffi-  
 cient Caution to the *Hebrews*, who came into  
 their Room, to avoid and abhor such monstrous  
 Impurities.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Of deflowering a Virgin betrothed. The Punishment of Adultery.*

*Deuteron. 22. 23.*

**T**O deflower a Woman that was *betrothed* to  
 a Husband, tho' not yet known by him,  
 was punished with Death, for there was gene-  
 rally some Space of Time between the Espou-  
 sals and bringing her Home to her Husband's  
 House. If the Act was done in the City, they  
 were both summoned before the Court of Judg-  
 ment, and upon Conviction were stoned; the  
 Woman because she did not cry out, which was  
 an Evidence she had no Force offered her but  
 lay with him by consent, and the Man for a-  
 busing his Neighbour's Wife, for so she was by  
 the Contract of Espousals; and this it is sup-  
 posed was the Case of the Woman in Adul-  
 tery mentioned in the Gospel.

*John 8. 5.*  
*Deut. 22. 25.*

But if he met with a betrothed Damsel in the  
 Field and deflowered her, the Woman by the  
 Circumstances of the Place was supposed not to  
 consent but to cry out and to be under a Force,  
 which



which without doubt she pleaded and he could not prove the contrary; she was therefore excused, it being her Misfortune rather than her Fault that she was ravished, but the Man, as only guilty of the Crime, was to suffer Death. Chap. 33.

Thus was the Law executed, if the Parties concerned were *Israelites*, but if a Man lay with a Bond-Maid that was betrothed, they were both punished by Scourging, and the Man was likewise to offer a Trespass-Offering as an Attonement; but this Case has been sufficiently explained in another Part of these Antiquities. Book 4. Chap 10.

If the Daughter of a Priest, that was betrothed, play'd the Whore (as the *Hebrew* Doctors unanimously understand this Law) she was doubly guilty, *First*, In profaning or dishonouring herself, who being related to so eminent a Person committed so foul a Crime, and *Secondly*, By dishonouring her Father, whose Reputation suffered by this Offence; the Punishment was Burning, the forest Penalty among the *Jews*, and was not inflicted upon other Persons in this Case who were barely stoned, but only upon the Daughter of a Priest from whom greater Virtue was expected; the Man, it is supposed, was strangled. But if the Witnesses of this Fact were convicted of Perjury, by other credible Witnesses produced by the Woman or her Father, then both her Husband who accused her and those false Witnesses suffered the same Punishment that she should have done. Levit. 21. 9.

*Adultery* was punished with Death among the *Hebrews*, and if we believe their Doctors it was by strangling; if the Parties concerned were apprehended in the Act and convicted, they were to die for it, and it was not left to the Husband's Liberty, whether he would spare their Lives or not; but if he pleased, he was not obliged by Law to bring his Wife to Shame by the Tryal of the bitter Waters before the



Book VI. Priest, or to Punishment by the Sentence of the Judges. The Adulteress indeed was to be put to Death, if she were accused, prosecuted, and convicted, but the Law did not oblige to accuse or prosecute unless she was found in the Fact, and then no Connivance was allowed: It may be enquired in this Place, whether a Man might marry a Woman after the Death of her Husband, with whom he had committed Adultery? This was the Case of *David* and *Bathsheba*, the Legality of whose Marriage is much disputed. But the Contract seems to have been valid, because she is frequently in Scripture called the Wife of *David*; and *Adonijah*, who claimed the Succession before *Solomon*, because he was the elder Brother, never objected to him that he was spurious and illegitimate.

#### C H A P. XXXIV.

##### *The Tryal of the Suspected Wife, by administering the Bitter Waters.*

Numb. 5. 12.

**A** Woman *suspected* of Adultery, was put upon her Purgation by a peculiar Ceremony: As soon as the Husband entertained a Jealousie of her Virtue, and had Reason to believe she conversed with another Man, he was obliged to forbid his Wife, before two Witnesses, from having any Commerce with the Man he suspected; and the Defect of this Formality, the *Jews* say, was a sufficient Reason to secure the accused from capital Punishment. If she persisted in her Intreague, and was observed by two Witnesses to have been so long in private with another Man as she might have been defiled, the Man was to begin his Process before the Magistrates of the Place where he lived, having




Chap. 34.

Uxor Heb. 1. 3.  
c. 13.  
Ainsworth upon  
Numb. 5. v. 13.

having with him his Witnesses both of the Premonition he had given her and of the Privacy she had with another after his Premonition. Otherwise, as Mr. *Selden* observes, this Action did not lie against her. If the Husband happened to see her alone by himself, or in company of one Witness only, he might give her a Letter of Divorce, but could not engage her to drink the *bitter Waters*. If a Woman behaved her self ill, yet unperceived by her Husband and without creating any Jealousy in him, the Husband being afterward advertised of her Conduct, might, say the *Jews*, give her a Letter of Divorce, but could not force her to this Purgation.

The Husband having brought the Wife before the Judges of the Place where he dwelt, having his Witnesses ready, he opened his Accusation in this Manner: *Having a Jealousy of this my Wife, I admonished her not to keep Company with such a one with whom she afterward was in secret, and these are the Witnesses of it, she says she is innocent, but I desire that the Water might be given her that the Truth may be tried.* Then she was referr'd to the great *Sanhedrim* at *Jerusalem*, who alone had Authority to judge the Cause, and she was conducted thither by two Scholars of the Wife, in order to prevent the Husband's cohabiting with her, which was not to be allowed after the Process was begun. The Council having the accused before them by her self, the Husband being put out of Court, endeavoured by striking a Terror into her, and then by good Words to induce her to confess, *Dear Daughter, perhaps thou wast overtaken by drinking too much Wine, or wast in a gay Humour, or carried away by the Heat of Youth, or by the Example of evil Neighbours, come, confess the Truth, for the Sake of his great Name which is described in the most sacred Ceremony, and do not let it be blotted out by the Water.* If after this she owned the Fact, saying *I am defiled*, then she was to tear the



Book VI.  the Instruments of her Dowry in Pieces and go where she pleased; for such an Adulteress was not put to Death, but only lost her Dowry without any other Punishment; but if she denied the Fact, protesting she was ready to drink the Waters, they brought her through the *East* Gates, says the *Talmud*, which are before the Door of the Gate of *Nicanor*, and here they tugged and haled her up and down those Stairs, to bring her by Weariness to Confession. If she still persisted in her Innocence, she was set in the Gate of *Nicanor*, which was the *East* Gate of the Court, and put upon her Tryal.

But before the Process began, the Husband was obliged to bring an Oblation for her, in order to supplicate the Divine Majesty, that he would be pleased to clear the Woman's Innocence, if she were causlessly suspected, or otherwise discover and punish her Guilt. This consisted of the tenth Part of an Ephah of Barley Meal, which was a vile Sort of Offering most suitable to her sad Condition; for which Reason also, there was no Oil nor Frankincense allowed to be offered with it, for these were always understood to be Signs of Joy and Gladness, and therefore not used upon so melancholy an Occasion as this was. It is called in the Law *an Offering of Memorial bringing Iniquity to Remembrance*; for now the Woman appeared before God as a Sinner, and if she proved innocent, yet she was loaded with an Accusation and a just Suspicion of Guilt, for which, if she had given any Reason, this Sacrifice reminded her of it, and awakened her Conscience to reflect upon it.

The Priest whose Lot it was to attend at that Time in his Course, was to put her upon her Tryal; he laid hold of her Bosom, and rent her Clothes open, till he had laid her Breasts bare as low as her Heart; her Clothes he tied to her Throat, with a Cord that came from *Egypt*, to put her in

mind





mind of the Miracles that God had wrought in that Country ; her Hair was dis-thevelled, which was a great Indignity to the *Jewish* Women : She was dressed in Black, without her Ring and other Ornaments that were taken from her ; here in the Presence of a great Number of Women and of Men, if they could be there, she stood upon her Deliverance ; but her Maids and Domestick Servants were not suffered to be there, lest say some, she should place any Confidence in them ; or as others, lest her Mind should be overcome with too much Grief at the Sight of them.

The Water she was obliged to drink was called *the Holy Water*, because it was taken out of the Laver of the Court ; the Priest used an Earthen Vessel for this Purpose, to signify, say the *Jews*, that she should be broken in Pieces like that Earthen Vessel, if she was guilty of what she denied : The Quantity of Water was half a Log, which is about three Egg-shells full, upon which he was to sprinkle some of the Dust, taken from the Floor of the Tabernacle, (as a Token of her Vileness, this being the Serpent's Food ; ) but if there was no Dust in the Tabernacle, he was allowed to fetch it from some other Place, and lay it upon the Floor of the Tabernacle, and then take it up and put it into the Water. After the Building of the Temple, where the Floor was either of Cedar Wood, gilt, or of Marble, they had left a loose Marble Stone, which might be lifted up by the help of a Ring, between the Doors of the Entrance of the Temple ; from underneath this Stone they took the Dust, which being put into the Water, swam upon the Surface of it. It has been observed by learned Men, that such Methods of Purgation were in use among the *Gentiles*, which if they could be proved to have been as antient as the Days of *Moses*, it would make it probable that this was ordered by God, to divert the *Jews* from following the Superstitions of other Nations ; to make this Discovery, and bring them to



Book. VI.

to appear before him, at his Tabernacle, and there use such Rites as were immediately of his own Appointment.

The Woman being placed at the Door of the Tabernacle, with her Head uncovered, (as the Manner was in all Judicial Proceedings) the Priest put *the Offering of Jealousy* in her Hands, under which he held one of his own, and at the same time had the bitter Water in the other, which he shewed her : The Water was called *Bitter*, because of the direful Effects it had upon the Body of the Woman, if she was found Guilty. The *Jews*, indeed fancy, that the Priest put Worm-wood, or Gall, or some other bitter Drug in it ; but of this there is no mention made in the Law, which speaks nothing of Bitterness in the Composition. Then did the Priest most solemnly adjure her to tell the Truth, in this Form ; *If no Man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with another Man, instead of thy Husband, be thou free from this Bitter Water that causeth the Curse* : Then follows a dreadful Malediction, conceived in these Terms of the Law, *But if thou hast gone aside to another, instead of thy Husband, and if thou be defiled, and some Man have lain with thee, besides thine Husband, The Lord make thee a Curse, and an Oath, among the People ; when the Lord maketh thy Thigh to rot, and thy Belly to swell ; and this Water that causeth the Curse, shall go into thy Bowels, to make thy Belly to swell, and thy Thigh to rot ;* the Woman was to answer twice *Amen, Amen* ; for there being a double Curse, one that her Belly should swell, and another, that her Thigh should rot, she said a double *Amen* ; praying that both might fall upon her, if she were Guilty. This Form was to be pronounced to the Woman, in a Language she understood, but she was not obliged by it, to confess whether she had committed any Crime of that Nature, before she was contracted to her Husband ; or (if that was her Case,) since her having been divorced from him,






him, and re-taken by him. If after a Man had brought his Wife to this Tryal, he chanced to die before this Adjuration, she was free from taking the Potion, but lost her Dowry.

The Curses, the Priest was to write upon a Scroll of Parchment, and then he was to scrape out the Words he had written into the Bitter Water, or as some expound it, he was to wash what he had written with the Water, till the Words were quite blotted out. The Offering of Jealousy was then waved, and offered at the South Corner of the Altar; a handful of it was burnt, the rest the Priests were to eat, unless her Husband himself was a Priest, in which Case it was all thrown among the Ashes. Mr. *Selden* observes, that if the Woman confessed the Fact, or her Husband would not suffer her to drink, or either of them died before she drunk, or a Witness of the Adultery appeared, which made the whole useless; the whole Sacrifice was burnt, and not only a Part of it.

Now was the Water offered to the accused Person to drink, if she refused, they forced her with this preceding Admonition; *My Daughter, if thou art confident of thy Innocence, fear not to drink this Water, which will do thee no more hurt than dry Poison, laid upon the Flesh of a living Creature*: If upon this she confessed she had been defiled, the Water was immediately poured out; if she drunk, the most dreadful Effects followed if she was Guilty, her Veins swelled, her Face grew livid, and her Eyes started out of her Head, her Belly was ready to burst, her Thigh began to rot, and so she expired; but before she was dead she was carried out, lest the Court of the Temple should be defiled by her dying there. Mr. *Lightfoot* remarks from the *Rabbins*, that the Operation of these Waters, sometimes, did not appear for two or three Years, for she bare no Children, she was sickly, languished, and at last died of that Death; but this Opinion is generally exploded. The Adulterer



Book. VI.  adulterer also, (if we believe the *Jews*,) died the same Day, and at the same Hour ; his Belly swelled as her's did, and his Secret Parts rotted, and he expired in the same miserable Manner. But if the Wife proved innocent, her Face immediately became lively, and her Eyes sparkled with an unusual Lustre ; if she was afflicted with any Distemper, she was freed from it ; if before she used to have hard Labours, for the future she had an easy Delivery ; if she had only Daughters, she brought forth Males ; with many other Privileges observed by the Writers of that Nation. They say also, that if she kept Company with the same Man whom her Husband suspected, and by his renewed Admonition had required her not to be in Private with him, this Potion was not repeated, but she was dismissed from being his Wife without any Dowry : But if she conversed privately with any other Person after Admonition, to the contrary, this Potion might be repeated, as often as she offended with new Lovers. If the Husband put her away after her Acquittal, and she married another Man, who had the same Ground of Jealousy as her former Husband had, because of her Familiarity with the same Person, whom he had forbidden her to keep Company with, her new Husband might bring her to a new Tryal by this Water ; and so might as many Husbands as she should marry, one after another, if she gave the same Occasion

The Wife or her Parents, if she appeared to be innocent, could have no Action against the Husband, upon the Account of this Accusation, and if she was Guilty, she was justly punished for her Crime ; but the Husband was not obliged to bring his Wife to this Purgation, if he could otherwise get rid of his Jealousy ; yet the Priest was bound to proceed against her according to the foregoing Rules if she was set to be tryed : The Process might be executed upon any Day that was not a Festival, and in any Hour of the Day, but not in  
the



the Night ; nor might he give the Drink to two Chap. 34.  
*suspected* Women at the same time : Where the  
 too indulgent Husband suffered his Wife to be  
 Guilty, or to spread Reports against his Honour,  
 the Magistrates took the Husband's Place, and  
 made the Prosecution. However, say the *Jews*,  
 there are many Cases in which the Wives are ex-  
 empted from the Magistrate's and the Husband's  
 Jurisdiction ; for the Wife and the Husband ought  
 to be sound in Body and Mind ; a deaf, a dumb,  
 or a lame Man has no Right ; a young Woman  
 that is a Minor, is not subject to the Inquest ; be-  
 cause the Law appoints it only against a *Woman*,  
 with many more Exceptions equally trifling.  
 There seems to be more Reason in what the  
*Talmudists* conclude, that this Action did not lie  
 against a Woman that was only espoused, or that Mischna c. 4.  
Sect. 1.  
 waited for her former Husband's Brother to take  
 her to Wife, if she gave Suspicion of being defi-  
 led. If a Man was guilty of the same Crime  
 his Wife was accused of, having defiled himself  
 by Fornication, or Adultery, the Waters of Jeal-  
 ously produced no Effect upon the Woman ; nor  
 could he oblige her to drink them.

The Design of this Law was to preserve Con-  
 jugal Faith and Chastity, and to protect suspected  
 Innocence : It secured Men by a solemn Appeal  
 to God, from cruel and furious Proceedings a-  
 gainst their Wives, and contained the Women  
 within their Duty, out of Dread of this Punish-  
 ment ; which was so terrible, as *Mamonides* ob- More Nevoch,  
p. 3. c. 49.  
 serves, even to innocent Women, that they would  
 have given all they had to avoid it ; they wished  
 rather to die than to undergo such a publick Infa-  
 my, of having their Heads uncovered, their Hair  
 cut off, their Garments torn to their Breasts, and  
 so to stand in the Sanctuary before a Multitude  
 of Men and Women, and the whole *Sanhedrim*.  
 It is supposed, that this Way of Trial ceased to-  
 wards the latter End of the second Temple, and was  
 extinguished by the Authority of the *Sanhedrim* it  
 self ;



Book VI. self ; because the Number of Adulterers was then so great, that the Bitter Waters had no Effect : By this means, say the *Jews*, the Prophecy of *Hosea* was accomplished, *I will not punish your Daughters, when they commit Whoredom, nor your Spouses, when they commit Adultery ; for themselves are separated with Whores, and they sacrifice with Harlots.*

*Hosea c. 4. v. 14.*

## C H A P. XXXV.

### *The Law of Divorce. The Form of a Bill of Divorce.*

*Deut. xxiv. 1.*

**A**S the preceding Law was ordained in favour of the Husbands, so this of *Divorce* was made for the Advantage of the Wives. They had this Privilege by it, that they could not be discharged and turned out of Doors at Pleasure ; they were freed from the Pain and Vexation, occasioned by froward and unkind Husbands, and had the Liberty of marrying others, who possibly might be tender of them, and delight in them.

A Man, after he had espoused a Wife, as well as after he had consummated the Marriage, upon a Dislike, founded (says the Law,) upon some *Uncleanness* he perceived in her, might dissolve the Contract, by giving her a Bill of Divorcement : Some of the *Jews* indeed, extend this Liberty so far, as to fancy they might, without any Reason at all, for their meer Pleasure part with their Wives ; and their Doctors, after the Captivity, grew strangely loose upon this Subject : But others are more modest, and confess that the Reason being a Matter of *Uncleanness*, signifies a Cause of some Moment and Importance ; yet they distinguish

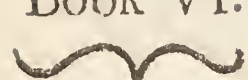


guish between the first Wife a Man took, who might not be put away but for some Uncleanneſs, and the Second, who might be divorced for a leſs Reason. There were great Differences between the School of *Hillel*, and the School of *Shammai*, (ſo much talked of by the *Talmudiſts*) upon this Matter of Uncleanneſs; yet both agree that it ſignified much leſs than Adultery, Inceſt, or ſuch like Turpitude; for if Adultery had been meant, ſhe might have been put to Death, or the mere Suspicion of it might be tried by *the Water of Jealouſy*; ſo that the moſt ſober Expositors have given two Reasons upon which a Bill of Divorce might juſtly be allowed, either when the Behaviour of the Wife made her ſuſpected of Impurity, (as if ſhe went with her Face uncovered, or her Breasts naked; if ſhe ſported with young Men, or waſhed in the ſame Place with them, or had her Arms bare;) or they were both of ſuch a different Temper and Diſpoſition, that they loathed each other's Company, and conſequently lived in continual Uneaſineſs and Diſſentions; beſides ſuch moral Cauſes, they allowed alſo ſuch natural, as made the Woman offensive, as if ſhe had the Leproſy, or ſome Diſeaſe in her Body, which he did not diſcover before Marriage; and ſometimes they extended this ſo far as to a ſtinking Breath.

But whatever was the Cauſe of the Husband's Diſlike, he had not the Liberty to turn her out of his Houſe, without giving her a *Bill of Divorce*, called a *Bill of Expulſion*, an Inſtrument of *Diſmiſſion*, and a *Bill of Cutting off*; becauſe by this Means, the Woman was cut off from her Husband's Family. A Copy of this Bill is found in *Alpheſius*, in the following Form.

*in Tract. Gittin.*





*O* N the Day of the Week N. of the Month of N, of the Year of the World's Creation N. according to the Computation by which we are used to reckon, in the Province of N. I N. the Son of N. and by what Name soever I am called, of the City N. with the full Consent of my Mind, and without any Compulsion urging me, have put away, dismissed, and expelled thee; thee I say N. the Daughter of N. by what Name soever thou art called, of the City N. who heretofore wert my Wife, but now I have dismissed thee; thee I say N. the Daughter of N. by what Name soever thou art called, of the City N. so that thou art free, and in thine own Power, to marry whosoever shall please thee; and let no Man hinder thee, from this Day forward even for Ever. Thou art free therefore for any Man, and let this be to thee a Bill of Rejection from me, Letters of Divorce, and a Schedule of Expulsion, according to the Law of Moses, and of Israel.

Reuben the Son of Jacob, }  
 Eliezer the Son of Gilead, } *Witness.*

This *Bill* being confirmed by the Husband's Seal, and the Subscription at least of two Witnesses, was delivered by the Husband into the Hand of the Wife, in some such Form, *Behold this is thy Bill of Divorce*, otherwise it was not valid; the Wife if she pleased might carry this Instrument to the *Sanhedrim*, where it was enrolled among the Records if she desired it, in Memory of her Dismissal. Then was she sent out of the Husband's House, which Dr. *Hammond* conceives to lay an Obligation upon him, to furnish her for her Journey, to endow her, and make Provision for her: But the *Jews* are of Opinion, that the Divorce was perfect and complete, before he sent her out of his Doors; for it was sufficient, to give her an Instrument in such a Form, as

plainly



plainly shew'd the Matrimony was dissolved, and that she was no Part of his Family, though he had not actually sent her away. Yet if he kept her still in his House, after this Bill was delivered into her Hand, it was presumed that they cohabited together, and therefore he was obliged to give her a new Bill of Divorce.

The Contract of Marriage being wholly dissolved by this Instrument, the Woman was free to marry another Man, who, if he pleased, might dismiss her with the same Ceremonies: But she was obliged to tarry ninety Days, besides the Day of Divorce, or of her Husband's Death, and her last Espousals, that it might be known whether she was with Child or no; and that there might be Evidence, whether it were the Seed of the first Husband or the second: But the Husband upon no Account was allowed to marry her again, because the Law says, that by her second Marriage she was defiled; which (say the *Jews*) she was though she had been only espoused to a new Husband, who had never lain with her; for they make no Difference between her second Marriage, and her second Espousals, but conceived that a Woman contracted as much Pollution by her second Espousals, as if she had play'd the Whore after her Divorce; for in that Case, they say, he might, notwithstanding, have married her again, but not after she had been married to another. Thus Mr. *Selden* gives the Opinion of Uxor Heb. the *Rabbins*, and observes upon the Occasion, L. I. c. II. that the *Mahometans*, who usually are fond of Copying after the *Jews*, differ from them in this Particular, for they allow a Man to take his Wife again, though he had divorced her three Times.

Now the Ground, upon which a divorced Woman was accounted defiled or unclean, after another Man had married her, I suppose was, that this was looked upon as a solemn Renunciation of her former Husband on her Part, who



Book VI. had been renounced by him, by the Bill of Divorce; but he was not absolutely renounced by her, till she married another, whereby she was totally alienated from him. This made her unclean, not in her self, nor with Respect to her second Husband whom she married, nor with Respect to any other Man, (who might marry her without any Pollution) but only with Respect to her first Husband, unto whom, by this Law, she was made unclean; for so all Things forbidden to the *Jews* were accounted, as appears from a Passage in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, where all Meats forbidden by the Law, are called *unclean*; and God is said to have cleansed them, by taking off that Prohibition.


Ch. x. 14, 15.

For a Woman to return to her first Husband, and to be his Wife again, is called an *Abomination* before the Lord; for this, says *Abarbinel*, was to imitate the *Egyptians*, who changed their Wives, and took them again into their Houses, which was the Occasion of great Filthiness and Pollution: But this seems to intimate, that if she had not been married to any other Man, and kept herself free, she might have been his Wife again, if he was willing to have been reconciled to her.

Deut. xxiv. 4.

Book. 5. Ch. 21. Mr. *Basnage*, in his History of the *Jews*, observes, that in the latter Time of their Government, the Women took the same Liberty as the Men, and in their Turn, divorced their jealous and disagreeable Husbands. *Herod's* Sister sent a Letter of Divorce to her Husband *Costobarus*, and married again. *Josephus* remarks, that this was done against the Laws of the Country, and he maintained the Husband's Authority, against the Usurpation of the Wives. *Scaliger* is mistaken here, for he imagined that *Salome* only sinned, because she married again, before she had obtained *Costobarus's* Permission; and this Permission was necessary to capacitate her to contract a new Marriage; but this is not *Josephus's* Notion:




Notion: 'Tis true, the Clause of having Power Chap. 35.  
to marry another, is commonly inserted in the   
Letter of Divorce, the Husband gives the Wife,  
but it is not absolutely necessary; for when all  
the Bonds of Marriage are broken, the Person  
returns to primitive Liberty. *Salome's* Crime there-  
fore, according to *Josephus*, did not consist in *Antiq. l. 15.*  
marrying again, but in her breaking with him, <sup>c. 9.</sup>  
before he separated from her. It was then thought,  
that the Husband had only the Power of Di-  
vorcing, and he had not sent her away. *Salome's*  
Example was followed by *Herodias*, who desert-  
ed her Husband to marry *Herod*. *Berenice*, *A-*  
*grippa's* Sister, did the same thing, for after having  
obliged *Polemon* King of *Lycia* to turn Jew  
to marry her, she divorced him: Prophanic Hi-  
storians only say, that *she left him in the Lurch*,  
and forsook him, to ramble elsewhere; but it is  
most probable, that she made Use of the Liberty  
that was then enjoined, and of which she had so  
many Instances in her Family, to give a Letter  
of Divorce to a Man she had no Affection for.  
So far *Mr. Basnage* upon this Subject.

## CHAP. XXXV.

### *The Ceremony of Espousals.*

**T**HE *Jews* are very warm Assertors of the  
Honour and Sanctity of Marriage, they  
extol it infinitely above a single Life, and  
hold it a Condition more suitable to Nature, more  
advantageous to Mankind, and more acceptable to  
God, so that they admit of no unmarried Sect  
among them; but, on the contrary, look very  
jealously upon such of their Nation, as either  
marry not at all, or long defer it. Wedlock they  
esteem among the affirmative Precepts, which




Book VI. they make obligatory upon their whole Nation.  Every Male coming to Years of Maturity, is bound to take a Wife, to increase his Family ; and some among them, allow of no other End of Matrimony, but Propagation, and account those wicked Persons, who propose any other Satisfaction from it.

Upon this Account their *Esponsals* are very early, their Daughters being usually betrothed at ten Years of Age, and if they are rich, are married very young ; their Manner of *Esponsals* is sufficiently orderly and decent. When a Male is disposed to marry, he enquires among his Kindred for a Virgin, to whom he may be joined in this sacred Bond, for the Maintenance of his Name and Family in *Israel* ; and being informed that there is such a one, he acquaints himself with her Age, Complexion, state of Body, and other Circumstances, and after this begins to drive the Bargain with the Virgin's Relations ; who, if they approved of the Proposals, admitted him to visit her : But they were cautious that the Visit should be short, for should the Match not succeed, the Familiarity of this Interview might tend much to the Damsel's Disparagement. The Consent of the Parents was thought necessary, if the Maiden was not of Age to contract for her self, but the Time of completing the Marriage was generally left to the Choice of the Bride.

The Manner of Contracting or Espousing, was done three different Ways ; either by a Piece of Money, or by an Instrument in Writing, or by carnal Knowledge. This last is understood of a Man who had lain with a Maid, and therefore was bound by the Law to marry her if her Father consented ; otherwise there was no carnal Conversation allowed before the Marriage was solemnized, it being no less forbidden, than to lie with a Woman in her Disease : To espouse with Money, the Man gave the Piece in the Woman's Hand before Witnesses, though it were  
but



but a Farthing, and said, *Be thou espoused to me* Chap. 35.  
*according to the Law of Moses and Israel.* To   
betroth by Writing, was no more than to write  
the same Form of Words with the Woman's  
Name, and deliver it to her before Witnesses.  
A Woman contracted either of these Ways, tho'  
she were not yet married, nor conducted into  
the Man's House, yet was esteemed his Wife;  
and if any Man lay with her, they were both  
punished with Death by the *Sanhedrim*. These  
Solemnities of Betrothing were performed by the  
Man and Woman under a Tent or Canopy made  
for that Purpose, called *Chuppa* in their Lan-  
guage; and in this Bride-chamber, says Dr. *Ham-* upon Psalm  
*mond*, the Bridegroom was used to go with his 19. v. 4.  
Bride, to talk with her more familiarly; and this  
as a Ceremony of Confirmation to the Wedlock.  
Whilst he was there, no Person came in, but his  
Friends and Attendants waited for him at the  
Door, with Torches or Lamps in their Hands;  
and when he came out, he was received with  
great Joy and Acclamation, by all that were  
there. Upon the Day of Betrothing, the Hus-  
band takes a common Vessel filled with Wine,  
a few Drops of it he drinks, and throws the  
Vessel against the Ground, which breaks, and  
the Wine is spilled; by which they pretend to  
signify a Community of Goods, and the Fragility  
and Uncertainty of them. There was a publick  
Feast, held for the Relations of both Parties, at  
the Time of the *Espousals*.







## C H A P. XXXVI.

*The Rites of Marriage among the Hebrews. The Form of a Dowry-Bill.*

THE Law of *Moses* appointing few particular Ceremonies to be used in the Marriages of the *Hebrews*; the *Jews* have been obliged in their connubial Rites to establish a Form of human Institution: Some of their Customs are trifling and superstitious enough, but in others they have followed, as near as possible, the Practice of the old Patriarchs and some of the best Men in their own Nation, whose Example they imitate in their matrimonial Concerns though bound upon them by no Law: Accordingly, they usually suffer'd a great deal of Time to pass between the Ceremony of Espousing and the Marriage; during this Interval the Woman continued with her Parents, which was about a Year or ten Months, that she might provide her self suitably with nuptial Ornaments; though some say the espoused Bride was taken Home to the Husband's House, that he might be a Witness and a Keeper of her Virginity till the Marriage was solemnized; but this Opinion has few Followers.

Gen. 24. 55.

All Parties being agreed, there is a Writing drawn in the House of the Damsel's Father, where is contained the Articles of Marriage, and the Covenant of Dowry: According to the common Rule the Maid brings a Portion to the Husband, but the Contrary is practised among the *Jews*, and the Husband promises a Portion to his Wife, which he engages all his Goods for, even to his Cloke, but it cannot be demanded till after his Death. It is equal for all Maids rich and poor, and



and the Doctors have fixed it to the Value of Chap. 36.  
 fifty Crowns or two hundred *Zuses*, but a Wi-  
 dow is endowed but with half so much. They  
 think that by this Equality they facilitate the  
 Marriage of poor Girls, and prevent the Disorder  
 which the Difference of Conditions causes  
 in Alliances; but they are mistaken, since the  
 Husband over and above the Portion he pro-  
 mises his Wife, commonly adds a Sum pro-  
 portioned to his Estate. The Custom followed  
 by the *Jews* is antient; for *Sichem* submitted Gen. 34. 12.  
 to the Conditions imposed on him, provided they 1 Kings 18. 25.  
 would let him marry *Dinah*; and *Saul* demanded  
 three hundred Foreskins of the *Philistines* of *Da-*  
*vid* for *Michal's* Portion; however, the Wife  
 brings to her Husband her Clothes, the Particu-  
 lars of her Night Dress not being omitted, her  
 Moveables and all that belongs to her, which  
 is done before a great Company, and a Bill of  
 Particulars being deliver'd to the Bridegroom, by  
 Virtue thereof, at the Day of Marriage, he has  
 Power to recover whatsoever is therein specified.  
 What she brings with her is valued and some-  
 times sold in order to buy immoveables, and which  
 are to be restored in Case of Widowhood, re-  
 trenching a Part from the just Value to help the  
 Husband to defray the Expences of the Wed-  
 ding. This is the moveable Gift; and the Gift  
 that is made to the Bride not being paid till after  
 Death, may be looked upon as a Jointure in which  
 the Widow has the Propriety. When the Parties  
 have given their Consent to contract Marriage  
 with the Right to her Parents Succession; a  
 short Blessing is pronounced to the Glory of  
 God, who has commanded Marriage and for-  
 bidden Incest, and then the young People who  
 assist at the Ceremony, break their Earthen Ves-  
 sels which they had in their Hands against the  
 Ground, imagining it to be a Prefage of Prospe-  
 rity and Abundance.

The



## Book VI.



The Dowry being settled, they pass to the Affiancing wherein the Woman is given to the Man by some of her near Kindred with this Form of Words: *Behold, take her after the Law of Moses, and the Man replies, Be thou unto me a Wife according to the Law of Moses and Israel.*

A Copy of a Dowry-Bill is to be found in the *Babylonian Talmud*, and runs in this Form.

*Upon the sixth Day of the Week, in the fourth of the Month Sivan, in the Year five thousand two hundred fifty four of the Creation of the World, according to the Computation which we use here at Massilia, a City situated near the Sea Shore, the Bridegroom Rabbi Moses, the Son of Rabbi Jehuda, said unto the Bridewife Clarona the Daughter of Rabbi David, the Son of Rabbi Moses, a Citizen of Lisbon; Be unto me a Wife according to the Law of Moses and of Israel; and I according to the Word of God, will worship, honour, maintain and govern thee according to the Manner of the Husband among the Jews, which do worship, honour, maintain and govern their Wives faithfully. I also do bestow upon thee, the Dowry of thy Virginity, two hundred Deniers of Silver, which belong unto thee by Law; and moreover, thy Food, thy Apparel, and sufficient Necessaries; as likewise the Knowledge of thee, according to the Custom of all the Earth. Thus Clarona the Virgin rested and became a Wife to Rabbi Moses, the Son of Jehuda, the Bridegroom.*

This Dowry-Bill, upon the Wedding-Day, is delivered into the Custody of the Bride, and by it she has Authority to challenge from her Husband, Food, Apparel, and the Right of the Bed.

It was a Custom among the ancient Jews, to crown the married Couple. The Husband wore a Crown composed of Salt and Sulphur; the Salt was as transparent as Crystal, and with the Sulphur several Figures were drawn upon it.

In the mean Time, as this Custom was extraordinary



ordinary, it is hard to discover the Reason of it. Chap. 36.  
 It is said, that this reminded the Husband of the Sin of *Sodom*, whose Impurities have been severely punished, since that Land was changed into Salt and Sulphur, and it was an excellent Lesson which taught him to cleave to his Wife, and not to run after foolish Amours. The bridal Crowns were commonly of Gold made in the Form of a Tower, almost as *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods is represented, and a great many Empresses in Medals. The sacred Writers mention this Ceremony, *Go forth, O ye Daughters of Zion! And behold King Solomon with the Crown wherewith his Mother crowned him in the Day of his Esponsals*; and 'tis probable that when *Isaiah* rejoices, that God had covered him with a Robe of Righteousness, as a Bridegroom decketh himself with Ornaments and as a Bride adorneth her self with Jewels, we ought to understand a Crown instead of Ornaments; for so the *Seventy*, who must have known the Use of the Expression, have translated it: *He has put a Mitre on my Head as on a Bridegroom.* We read in the *Misnah*, that this Custom of Crowning was abolished for the *Bridegrooms*, when the War began under *Vespasian*, and that of Crowns for the Brides, when *Titus* besieged the City: Yet I am informed, that they make Use of Crowns of Roses, Myrtle, and Ivy to this Day.

*Isaiah 61. 10.*  
*Tit. Sotah. c. 9.*

The Day of Marriage being appointed, the Bride prepares herself for the Celebration; upon the Marriage Eve, at the going down of the Sun, she is put into a Cistern full of pure Water, by two discreet Matrons who are very diligent, that not an Hair of her Head appear above Water; for if any Part about her remain uncovered, she must be dipped a second Time; this Bathing, they say, ought to be very exact, because it is to supply whatever was defective in the other Circumstances of the Bride's Preparation.

Upon



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Upon the Wedding Day, the Bride adorns her self as sumptuously as her Fortunes will allow; she is attended by Women who convey her into a Chamber, and placing her in a Seat, they plait her Hair in the most beautiful Curles, and (in Imitation of *Rebekah's* Modesty and Subjection) they put a Veil over her Face: This dressing of the Bride's Hair, though it may be lookt upon only as an Act of Handsomeness and Adorning; yet their Masters teach it for an Instance of Religion; for those Words, *And brought her unto the Man*, they expound thus, *And God brought Eve to Adam after the same Manner that a Bride is brought to her Husband*; that is, elegantly dressed, with her Hair curiously curled and plaited, and with Joy and Dancing.

Gen. 2. 22.

The Bride was led in great Pomp to the House of her Husband, where the Marriage was usually consummated; but the Matrimonial Form was commonly dispatched in a Garden or in the open Air, where the Bride was placed under a Canopy supported by four Youths, and adorned with Jewels, according to the Quality of the married Persons, all the Company crying out with joyful Acclamations, *Blessed be he that cometh*. The Bride then makes three Turns about her Husband, because *Jeremy* has said, *The Woman shall compass the Man*, and the Bridegroom makes two about her. The Company in the next Place scatter some Grains of Wheat upon the married Couple, crying *Increase and multiply*: The Relations throw some Pieces of Money for the Poor to scramble for. In some Places they put, some Time before hand, Barley in a Pot full of Earth, which is brought to the new married People, when it shoots, to shew them by this Symbol, that they ought to multiply speedily like Barley: It was certainly a Marriage Ceremony, for the Bridegroom to take a Cake of Barley, and to break it between him and the Bride, to intimate that they were to break

Jerem. 31. 22.




break Bread and to live together in mutual So- Chap 36.  
ciety; which Custom, they say, is alluded to by   
*Hosea*, when he says, that *He bought a Woman* *Hosea* 3. 2.  
*for an Homer, and half an Homer of Barley.*

The Bride takes the right Hand, because the  
*Pfalmist* says, *upon thy right Hand did stand the* *Pfalm* 45. 9.  
*Queen*; she usually turned towards the *North* or *Talmud* in *Be-*  
*South*, as an Omen of happy Procreation both *racoth* fol. 5. 6.  
for the Number and Sex of their Children; and *c. 1. Ruth* 3. 9.  
therefore the *Jews*, as their Doctors say, set their  
Beds *North* and *South*, in order to beget Male  
Children; the Curtains of their Beds, in order  
to guard them from Flies, were of a very fine  
Net-Work, which coming round the whole Bed,  
shut them in such a Manner, that they had the  
Benefit of the Air without being offended by the  
Flies which could not get through them: Per-  
haps the Beds of the *Jewish* Women, at such  
Times as it was a legal Uncleanneſs to touch  
them, were enclosed within a Sort of Partition  
(as is to this Day practised by the *Samaritans*)  
to prevent any one's touching them.

Then the *Rabbi*, that officiates, takes the Vest-  
ment called the *Thaled*, which hangs about the  
Neck and Shoulders of the Bridegroom, and  
puts it upon the Bride's Head in Imitation of  
the Manner of *Ruth's* Marriage, who said to *Ruth* 39.  
*Boaz, spread thy Skirt over thine Handmaid.* The  
*Rabbi*, or the Chanter of the Synagogue, or e-  
ven a Relation takes a Glass of Wine, presents  
it to the Bridegroom, blessing God for having  
created Man and Woman, forbidden Incest and  
ordained Marriage. It is pretended, that this  
Form of Benediction was given by *Ezra*, parti-  
cularly for Betrothing; however, as it was often  
repeated without Scruple in this first Ceremony,  
the modern Rabbins never fail to repeat it in  
that of Marriage. After he has drunk, he puts  
a Ring without a Stone upon the Bride's Fin-  
ger saying, *Behold thou art my Spouse, according*  
*to the Rite of Moses and of Israel.* There must  
be



Book VI. be two or three Witnesſes when theſe Words  
 are pronounced, and they commonly chuſe *Rab-*  
*bins*, tho' this is not abſolutely neceſſary. Wine  
 is brought a ſecond time in a new Veſſel, the  
 Mouth whereof is narrow, if it be a Maid, and  
 larger if it be a Widow. They chant ſix Bene-  
 dictions, ſays Mr. *Baſnage*, the Huſband drinks  
 and throws about the reſt of the Wine as a  
 Mark of Joy and Plenty. At the Concluſion,  
 it was antiently the Cuſtom, for the Father and  
 Mother and the Kindred of the Woman, to pray  
 to God that ſhe might be fruitful, and that her  
 Poſterity might prove victorious over their E-  
 nemies. There was likewise a ſolemn Benedic-  
 tion made, ſay the *Jews*, in the Preſence of ten  
 grave Perſons at the leaſt; and the Bleſſing was  
 pronounced by the Eldeſt, which was underſtood  
 as a Ratification of what was agreed upon.  
 Marriages were uſually celebrated in the Night,  
 and were fixed to a certain Day of the Week;  
 the fourth Day of the Week was appointed for  
 a Virgin, and for a Widow the fifth. At the  
 Ceremony, an Epithalamium was ſung to muſi-  
 cal Inſtruments in Praise of the Bridegroom and  
 Bride. The Woman in Token of her Subjec-  
 tion changed her Name, and was called after her  
 Huſband; for, to impoſe a Name, was a Sign of  
 Power and Authority.

History of the  
*Jews* B. 5. c.  
 20.  
 Gen. 24. 60.

Ruth 4. 11.

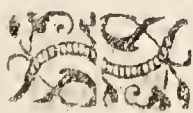
Revelat. 18. 22,  
 23.  
 Iſaiah 4. 1.

Plentiful Entertainments or Collations fol-  
 lowed the Ceremony, and it has been ſaid (but  
 I think without Grounds) that they choſe a Go-  
 vernor of the Feaſt of the Sacerdotal Race, who  
 had the Super-intendency over the Diſhes and the  
 Wine, and obliged the Gueſts to obſerve all the  
 Decorums which Religion requires; yet there  
 were Perſons appointed to break Glaſs Veſſels in  
 their Wedding Feaſts, leſt they ſhould run into  
 Exceſs, for this gave them Notice that they had  
 drunk enough. The firſt Meſs that is ſerved up  
 to the Bride is a Hen with an Egg; the Hen  
 is torn to Pieces the very Moment ſhe has taſted  
 of



of it, and the Egg is thrown at the Nose of a Chap. 36.  
*Christian*, if there be any one there to see the Ce-  
 remony : Seven Days was the nuptial Solemnity Judges 14. 12.  
 to continue in antient Times ; they could not  
 shorten the Days, as the *Jewish* Doctors say, but  
 they might lengthen them as they did at the Tobit. 8. 19.  
 Marriage of *Tobias* , when the Wedding Feast  
 continued fourteen Days, though according to  
 Custom, they were bound to keep but three, the  
 Woman being a Widow. This Feast was called  
 the nuptial Joy, with which no other was to be  
 intermixed ; all Labour ceased as long as it con-  
 tinued ; and there was no Sign of Mourning or Judges 14. 12,  
 Sorrow to be seen. It was of old the Custom to  
 propose Questions and Riddles to be resolved, that  
 the Time might not be spent merely in dull  
 Eating and Drinking , but that there might be  
 something to exercise and whet the Wits of the  
 Company ; and because it was not the Practice to  
 Feast without Sacrificing , therefore it is probable  
 that for the seven Days, they offered Sacrifices for  
 the Prosperity of the married Couple.

Besides the Company (who were called *the Children of the Wedding*) there were two *Paranympbs*,  
 one of the Kindred of the Bridegroom, and the  
 other related to the Bride ; the first was called his  
*Companion*, and the other her *Conductor*. Their  
 Business was to attend upon them to the nuptial  
 Chamber, where (say the *Jews*) they staid all  
 Night, and on the Morrow they received the  
*Tokens of the Bride's Virginity*, and kept them in  
 their own Custody.





## C H A P. XXXVII.

*The Tokens of Virginity, explained.*

Deuter. 22. 13.


Uxor Hebr. 1. 3.

c. 1.

**A**FTER a tiresom Search into blind and superstitious Traditions, a Law established by *Moses* comes to be explained. If the Husband, upon carnal Experience with his Wife, found her to have been debauched, he had the Liberty to enter an Action against her before the Court of Twenty Three, who had the Cognizance of this Matter ; it was laid, as Mr. *Selden* observes, in this Form, *Having lain with this young Woman not of full Age, as her Husband, I found not in her the Tokens of Virginity, and making Inquisition into the Matter, it appears to me, that she hath been guilty of Adultery after I had espoused her, and these are the Witnesses of her Guilt.* Upon this Accusation, the Father of the Damself was to appear in her Defence ; for the *Jews* say, the Mother had no Power to espouse her Daughter, but the Father only, before she was of Age ; though the Mother and Brethren, they allow, had some Power in this Matter, but such, that the Daughter within the Time limited might make the Contract void. If she had no Parents alive, the Judges appointed her a Guardian, and *Josephus* says, that the next of Kin were to patronise her as if they had been her Parents. In her Defence the Witnesses who had the Keeping of the *Sheet*, in which her Husband first lay with her, were to spread it before the Court ; if there were no Signs of her Virginity to be seen, she was sentenced to be stoned at the Door of her Father's House, as a Disgrace to her Parents, who had taken no better Care to preserve her Chastity while she lived with them : And this

was



was the Punishment of such Adulteresses, except Chap. 37.  
only of a Priest's Daughter, who, if she was guilty of this Crime, was burnt alive. It plainly   
appears, that the Woman intended by this Law, Levit. 21. 19.  
was one corrupted between the Time of her  
Espousals, and of her Husband's compleating the  
Marriage, otherwise he could not have had this  
capital Action against her, none being put to  
Death for simple Fornication. The Reason gi-  
ven by the Law, why she was punished with  
Death is, because she committed this Folly, or  
Wickedness, in her Father's House, where she  
remained after her Espousals, as in a safe Place  
till the Husband brought her to his own Home.

If the Judges were convinced, that the Man  
had accused his Wife falsely, he was to be deli-  
ver'd into the Hands of the Officers, who exe-  
cuted the Sentence of the Court. He was first  
to receive forty Stripes, save one, inflicted by a  
Scourge made of Thongs of an Ox's Hide, and  
the Woman was dismissed with a solemn Bene-  
diction. Then he was amerced in a hundred She-  
kels of Silver to be paid to the Father of the  
Damsel, as a Satisfaction for the Reproach thrown  
upon his Family. *Josephus* mentions no more  
than fifty Shekels to be paid to her Father, Antiq. K. 4. c.  
8.  
though the Scripture expressly says a Hundred;  
but it is supposed by some, that he means fifty  
besides her Dowry, which he was to have gi-  
ven her if he had put her away; which that  
he might save, he designed to take away her  
Life, and therefore he was punished double to  
what it would have cost him, if he had not been  
so wicked. This Fine was required, because  
he laid the most infamous Crime to the Charge  
of an innocent Virgin, and that out of Hatred  
to her and Love to his Money; for if he would  
have put her away according to the Law of Di-  
vorce, no Man could have hinder'd him; but  
then, he must have paid her fifty Shekels, which  
they take to be the Dowry of Virgins. Exod. 22. 16.  
To keep  
X which



Book. VI. which to himself and be rid of her, he brought this scandalous Action against her, for which he was thus justly punished. But besides this Infliction upon his Body and his Purse, he was deprived of the common Benefit which all Men had who did not like their Wives, which was to sue out a Divorce. Upon this Occasion *Maimonides* calls upon his Readers to admire the wise Ordination of God, which appears in his Judgments as well as in his Works. For because this Man took away his Wife's Reputation, therefore God ordered him to be rendered vile by being whipt; and because he basely designed to save her Dowry of fifty Shekels, he ordered him to be amerced as much more; and because he indulged his Lust and sought nothing but his Pleasure, therefore he was bound to keep her as long as he lived.

*More Nevochim*  
p. 3. c. 19.

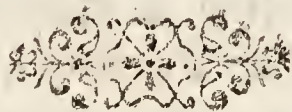
*Selden* *Uxor*

Hebr. l. 3. c. 1.  
2.

But this Law meets with a quite different Construction from some *Hebrew* Writers, who will have it to signifie no more, than that the Accusation against the Woman was to be supported by Witnesses of her Adultery, and her Defence to be made by contrary Witnesses, who endeavoured to disprove the Testimony that was brought against her; for say they, though such *Tokens of Virginity*, as are commonly understood by the Words of the Law, might always be found in those Countries, especially in such Virgins as the *Jews* say were here meant, who were under thirteen Years of Age, yet there are weighty Reasons to incline us to think, that no Man of Sense would bring such an Action against his Wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his Cause was right or wrong, if these were the Evidences whereby it was to be tryed. For if he accused her falsely, he knew her Friends were able to produce the *Sheet* wherein they lay when they were married, with such Tokens upon it, as would disgrace him and render him guilty of Defamation; and if he had a just Ground



to accuse her, because he knew they could produce no such Tokens, yet this was no Proof she had been vitiated since she was espoused to him, for she might have been corrupted before; and then he could not attain his End, which was to be rid of her, not by way of Divorce (for then he must have given her a Dowry which he was desirous to save) but by having her put to Death as an Adulteress, which certainly was the present Case. Such Reasons as these have constrained the Jews to understand these Words, not according to the very Letter of them, but figuratively of such Witnesses produced by her Parents, as convinced the other of Falsity so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a *Piece of Cloth that is unfolded*, and laid before Mens Eyes to view it. And they think the Hebrew Word *Simlah*, which we translate the *Sheet*, favours this Exposition; for it never signifies a *Sheet* or Linen Cloth (which is usually called *Sadin*) but such as Men's Garments are made of, which is commonly Woollen and not Linen. So that if this Interpretation be allowed, the Sense must be; *They shall produce evident Proofs, and lay them before the Court like a Piece of Cloth which is spread, for all that please to look upon it.* But this Opinion has few Followers, and the learned may judge as they think fit.





## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*The Consummation and Duties of Marriage. A new married Man exempt from going to the Wars.*

WHEN the Marriage is consummated, the Bridegroom is obliged to leave the Bed, and come not near his Wife for a certain time. There are five Days in every Month in which the Wife must advertise her Husband, that it is not lawful to touch her, and then he does not sit near her, nor eat upon the same Plate, nor drink in the same Glass ; afterwards she must bathe in running Water, and the Bath would be invalid, if she wore so much as a Ring, that hindered the Water from touching any part of her Body, for she ought to be washed from Head to Foot : There are some who superintend these Baths, to see if the Woman be over Head and Ears in Water. This Custom of refraining from their Wives, is founded upon a Law of *Moses*, which obliges a Woman under her monthly Flux, to be separated from her Husband and the Sanctuary for seven Days ; but enough has been said of this, in another Part of these Antiquities.

Book 4. Ch. 9.

Infinite are the Niceties, found out by the *Rab- bins*, in regulating the Duties of married Persons. The Woman owed to her Husband Love, Honour, and Obedience, and if she proved rebellious and refractory, he had a Power to lessen every Day a Penny of her Portion ; the Husband paid no more than half the Fine if he abused his Wife : She was obliged to labour in the woollen Manufacture to avoid Idleness, and to attend to the Concerns of her Family ; he was bound to find Remedies for her in her Sickness, to redeem her

her



her being Captive, to bury her when dead, to Chap. 38.  
nourish her out of his own Goods, to keep her

Daughters till they were married, to suffer her  
Sons to inherit, and to provide a House for her  
in her Widowhood. They have even attempted  
to regulate the Conjugal Duties, by Rules immodest and ridiculous, *Otio vacantes quotidie, mechanicus operarius bis in hebdomade; Asinarius qui sarcinulas neſtat, ſemel; qui portat per Camelos ſemel in Menſe; Nauta ſemel in dimidio Anni, &c.* Maimonides upon this Subject remarks thus, “ Know Chetub. cap. 5.

“ thou, that it is in the Power of the Wife to  
“ retain her Husband from going to Sea, or into  
“ the Army, unleſs it be near at hand, leſt ſhe  
“ ſhould be defrauded of the Rights of her Bed.  
“ She may alſo reſtrain him from paſſing from  
“ one Work to another, leſt her due Benevolence  
“ ſhould be thereby diminiſhed; the Study of the  
“ Law only excepted.

And this is perfectly conſiſtent with the Indulgence allowed by the Law of *Mofes*, which per- Deut. xx. 7.  
mits a Man, when he has taken a *new Wife*, to xxiv. 5.  
ſtudy at home for a whole Year, where he is exempt from going to the War, and from executing any publick Employment, that might occaſion his Abſence; only the *Jews* make a Difference between a War by divine Commandment, and one undertaken voluntarily; unto the former of which, they conceive, this Immunity doth not extend, but only to the latter. They interpret this Law either of a Man who had eſpouſed a Wife, and had not yet brought her Home, or of one that had but lately completed his Marriage; and whether he had married a Widow or a Virgin, an old Woman, or a Young, it was the ſame thing; and they extend it even to him who had married his Brother's Wife, but not to him who had married a Perſon prohibited to him by the Law; or him that took his Wife again, whom he had formerly put away, becauſe ſhe was not a *new Wife*, as the Phraſe is. This Privilege was a great Security



Book VI. curity to Conjugal Love, which had time to settle into a stable Affection, by an uninterrupted Conversation together at the beginning ; and the *Jews* were so favorable in this Matter, that they say, if five Brethren were in the War together, and one of them was slain, leaving a Widow, without Issue, all the remaining four returned Home ; because every one of them in order, in case those before him refused, was to raise up Seed to his Brother deceased.

### C H A P. XXXIX.

*Of Child-birth. The Nursing, the Habit, and Education of Children.*

AFTER Marriage, the barren Womb was esteemed not only a Reproach, but a Curse ; and to want Children was to be civilly dead, according to the old Proverb among the *Jews*, *A Man childless, is lifeless* ; and for the better Security of Propagation, the Husbands not only avoid conversing with their Wives, when they have the Custom of Women upon them, but all the time they are breeding, and as long as they continue to suckle their Children.

*Moses* in his Laws has prescribed nothing concerning the Rites of Child-birth, which among the Modern *Jews* are perfectly Enthusiastick and Diabolical ; they consist of Charms and Conjurations, which are equally horrid, and ridiculous to mention. The Women among the *Hebrews*, no doubt, were decent and laudable in their Travels, at their Delivery they were placed upon Stools or Seats, purposely contrived for them to sit on, that the Midwives might better do their Office. Their Infants they nursed at their own Breasts,



Breasts, unless some avoidable necessity required otherwise ; and they made a publick Feast at the weaning of their Children. They used them tenderly till they were about twelve Years old, and then they were placed to that Art or Profession, by which they were to live : And says the Tradition when they were so old, they inured them to fasting, that they might be able to fast upon the Day of Atonement. It is a received Doctrine in the *Jewish* Schools, that if Children were born lame, or blind, or defective, it was a Punishment inflicted for the Sin of their Parents, who had been remiss, in discharging some of the legal Ordinances ; especially in some particular Rites of Cleansing and Purification. Chap. 39.  
Gen. xxi. 8.  
Joma fol. 82. r.

The Women among the later *Jews*, are not allowed to go with open Breasts during the time of Nursing, nor to observe the publick Fasts, nor to expose their tender Sucklings to the Sun or Moon ; nor when the Child is able, do they permit it to go bare headed out of doors, because on a Time, one of their Masters seeing a Child in this Posture, pronounced it unlawfully begotten, and that his Mother was either menstruous or unchast in her Embraces. They usually girdle their Children as soon as their Bodies will endure it, and when they are grown up, none of them go ungirt to the Synagogues ; for if they should do so, they think that not only thereby the Benefit of the Prayers is forfeited, but also the Divine Displeasure is provoked ; hence is that Saying, *Ungirt, Unblessed* : There is another Proverb common among them, that *there is no Fruit at Autumn, where there is no Budding in the Spring*, which the *Jews* apply to the Education of their Children ; whose riper Years they hope to have pious and well-governed, when their tender Minds are duly instructed in Religion and Virtue. The Law of *Moses* has bound it upon Parents to use their utmost Diligence, to instill the Divine Laws into the Minds of their Youth ; particularly this Principle,

Deut. vi. 7



Book VI.



Deut. vi. 4.

ciple, that there is but one God, and to inspire them with a Fear and Love of his sublime Majesty: The Father was to instruct the Sons, and the Mother the Daughters; this great Duty they were to inculcate at Home and Abroad, Night and Day; from whence the *Jews* have made this one of their Affirmative Precepts, that twice a Day they should recite these Words, *Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*; which is a very dilute Sense of this Precept, wherein *Moses* requires not meerly their *Saying* these Words, (in which there might be a great deal of Superstition,) but taking all Opportunities to imprint them upon the Minds and Hearts of their Children.

The *Jewish* Writings give this Account of the Method of Institution, made use of in the Education of their Children. As soon as they were able to pronounce, they are taught such Sentences of Holy Writ, as seem to favour their Religion, and to infuse into them the Seeds of Piety; and to this purpose, they frequently use the Exhortation of *Solomon*, *Catechise a Child in the Way that he should walk, when he is young, and his old Age will not depart from it*. And because the Sabbath is appointed for the more solemn Celebration and Instruction in religious Rites, and ordained to be one Character, whereby the *Hebrews* are distinguished from all other People; therefore the *Jews* are signally diligent, to implant upon their Children a great Veneration for this Festival: They employ the Morning and Evening of this *Queen of Feasts*, (as the *Rabbins* call the Sabbath) in teaching their Children several pious Forms of saluting their Parents; in which Greetings, they allow not their Children to use the Name of God, till they are seven Years old; that they might retain a greater Regard for that Name which is Holy and Reverend; and therefore the first Salutations of the Children, are plainly, *I wish you a good Sabbath, may you have a good Day*.

Being



Being perfect in this decent way of Salutation, they are next instructed in the Elements of Learning; and their first Lessons are concerning the Name and Figure of the *Hebrew* Letters, in which they use this Method: First, upon a smooth Stone or Board, they cast two, or more Letters of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, and inform the Child of the Name and Figure of it, and when the Child is able to pronounce these Letters, they proceed to more, according to the Capacity and Towardness of the Scholar; and so forward till the whole Alphabet be run over. When this Task is finished, the Children are taught to join their Letters, into short and easy Syllables; and having attained to read a little, they are put into the first Book of *Moses*, and so pass through the whole *Pentateuch*. When they are taught to Write, there is a Draught of very large Letters, made upon a fair Paper, which they imitate upon a thin Paper laid upon it.

When the Parents have grounded their Children at Home, in the prelufory Rudiments, they send them to School, and every Morning before they go, it is the Mother's Office to provide them something to eat, which is usually sweetned with Honey or Sugar, and serves them both for Breakfast, and for Instruction; for at giving the Child this sweet Morfel, she uses these Words, *As this is sweet to thy Palate, so let Learning be sweet to thy Mind.* And she gives directions how he should behave himself at School, as that he is to use no filthy Words, but such as he reads in the *Law*; because God loves *clean Lips*, pure and wholesom Discourse, and that all Communication ought to be agreeable to the Divine Word; next, that the Child must not spend his Time in idle Talk, to his own hindrance, or to his fellows; with other such Directions, as a Mother's Care and Affection shall suggest. At five Years old, the Children commonly go to School, where they spend five Years in learning the *Pentateuch*; and at ten Years old

*Pirke Aboth &  
Not. Pag.*



Book VI.



old they are put (if they prove towardly) to read the *Mischna*, and some select Parts of the *Talmud*; which contain the Body of their Institutes. During the time that the Boy is learning the *five Books*, he is called *the Son of the Law*, and when he is thirteen Years old, he is stiled, *the Son of the Precept*; for now the Youth receives the Passover, and is purified: Until he comes to be a *Son of the Precept*, the Father stands chargeable for all his Miscarriages, but at thirteen Years old, the Lad being supposed to be able to discern Virtue from Vice, and Good from Evil, he is bound to answer for his own Faults. Therefore, the Father having before a Synagogue of ten antient *Jews*, declared that his Son, whom he there produces, has been well instructed in the Law, and understands the general Decisions of the *Mischna*, and the *Talmud*, and that he can repeat the daily Prayers; he lets them know, that he no longer charges himself with his Crimes, but he leaves him to answer for himself, and to be punished if he shall be delinquent against the Commandments. At fifteen, he is obliged to learn the *Gemara*, at eighteen he is to marry, and at twenty, he is to buy, and sell, and act for himself.

The Daughters are instructed by the Mother, with great Care, in the Business that belongs to their Sex, they were seldom allowed to go abroad; and upon this Account, a Daughter in the *Hebrew* Language, is called *Alma*, which signifies as much as a Person *concealed*, and close *confined*.






C H A P. XL

*The Duties of Children to their Parents,  
and of Parents to their Children. The  
Punishment of a Rebellious Son.*

**T**HE Duty of Children to Parents, is found-  
ed upon the Law of Nature, and as such  
injoyned in the Institutions of *Moses*; it is  
a Duty of so great Concernment, that it is taught  
and placed immediately after those Precepts, which  
peculiarly relate to divine Worship; intimating,  
that next to the Majesty of God, our Parents  
are to be honoured with that Reverence, Love,  
Obedience, and Support, that belongs to them.  
In one Place of the Law, Children are command-  
ed to *honour* their Father, and their Mother; in Exod. xx. 12.  
another, to *fear* their Mother and their Father; Levit. xix. 3.  
the Difference of which Expression, signifies (says  
*Maimonides*,) that no Distinction ought to be made  
between them, but they are both equally to be  
honoured and revered. The Breach of this Traet. Memo-  
Command is punished with Death by the Law rim. c. 6.  
of *Moses*, and long Life, which is the greatest  
Worldly Blessing, is promised to the Dutiful and  
Obedient, and that in their own Country; which  
God had peculiarly enriched with abundant Marks  
of his Care and Favour. The proper Expressions  
of *Fear* and *Reverence*, are, (according to the Selden de Syned.  
*Rabbins*,) not to sit in their Seats, nor to contra- L. 2. c. 13.  
dict them in any thing they say, much less to  
cavil against them; nor to call them by their  
proper Names, but to add the Title of *Sir*, &c.  
as we speak, or the like: The Signs of *Honour*  
are, not to sit down in their Presence, to provide  
them Necessaries, if they fall into Poverty; to  
clothe them, to cover them, to lead them in and  
out,



Book. VI. out, to wash their Hands and Feet, and say some,  to go a Begging for them.

Maimon. in  
Gezelah c. 12.

Annot: on  
Mat. xv. 5.

Now to defeat the Force of this Precept, the *Pharisees*, and the Masters of the Traditions had invented two Devices, as wicked as they were ridiculous; the one was, that a Father was to be made no Account of, in comparison of a *Rabbin*, who taught them the Law; the other, that if a Son bound himself by a Vow or Execration not to relieve his Parents, he was released from all obligation to do so; for whatever was included under his Vow, was utterly unlawful to be applied to the Support of his Parents, it was as unlawful as *Corban*; which being consecrated, must not be touched, or employed to any other uses. The plain Meaning, says Dr. *Hammond*, is this, A Parent being in Want, requires Relief of his Son, the Son answers, that he hath vowed he will not, and so that to him it remains not lawful to relieve him; and the *Pharisees* approve of this Practice, that he may thus evacuate his Duty to his Parents; and though quite contrary to this Precept of honouring and relieving them, yet it was by them thought obligatory to the frustrating of that Commandment: But that Opinion (as the Annotator goes on) is more ordinarily received by the Antients, which *Origen* had from a *Hebrew*, and is thus explained by *Theophylact*; The *Pharisees* persuading Children to give nothing to their Parents, but to consecrate all to the Treasury of the Temple, taught them to say, *O Father, that which thou desirest to be profited by me, that is relieved, is a Gift that is consecrated to the Temple*; and so they divided with the Children, all that they had, and the poor old Parents were left without any Relief in their old Age. This Interpretation is probable also, yet seems not to be agreeable to the *Jewish* Practice; for among them appears no Footsteps of devoting to God, or consecrating in this Matter.


But



But though the Doctors of the *Jews* have Chap. 40.  
 given a Toleration to unnatural Children, who  
 refuse Sustenance to their Parents, overwhelmed *Selden de Jure*  
 with Age and Poverty, yet they have judicial *Nat. L. 6. c. 6.*  
 Laws against the Fathers who refuse to perform  
 the Duties of Nature, in which they distinguish  
 the Age of the Children. When they are under  
 six Years of Age, the Judge compels the Father  
 to maintain them, whether he be rich, or poor,  
 willing, or unwilling; after this Age the Father  
 is cited, and it is represented to him, that he is  
 crueller than the savage Beasts that provide for  
 their Young. If he yield not to those Remon-  
 strances, an Estimate is taken of his Goods, and  
 he is obliged to give to his Children an Alms,  
 in Proportion to the Value of his Estate; which  
 Charity is employed to breed up the Children:  
 Nor is the Distinction of Age the only thing  
 remarkable in this Custom, but there are two  
 Things more observable; the first, that the Father  
 is by the Law dispensed with maintaining his Chil-  
 dren after six Years old, and he does it afterwards  
 only by way of Alms. Secondly, that the Law  
 of Charity is more extensive than the Law of  
 Nature, since this Father, who is dispensed with  
 maintaining his Son at six Years old, is forced by  
*Stripes* to give him an Alms, because it is one of  
 the *affirmative Precepts*, which admits of no Di-  
 stinction of Sex, or Age; and for the Performance  
 whereof, Recourse may be had to *Violence* and  
*Scourging*.

The Honour due to Parents, is guarded by se-  
 vere Penalties in the *Levitical Law*: If a Son *Exod. xxi. 15.*  
 presumed to strike his Father, or his Mother, so  
 as to wound them, and to make the Blood come,  
 or to leave a Mark of the Stroke, by making the  
 Flesh black and blue, he was put to Death, (stran-  
 gled say the *Hebrews*;) by the Sentence of the  
 Judge; there being a competent Witness of the  
 Fact, as in other Cases: The giving them sawcy  
 Words, or making Mouths at them, which signi-  
 fied



Book. VI.  fied Contempt, was punished also with Whipping; there was no occasion to say any thing of killing them, for all wilful Murder was capital, and punished with Death. This Crime was so horrid, that the Laws of most Nations made no Provision against it; *Solon*, it is observed, made no Law against it, because it was supposed, that no Man could be so wicked; nor was this Sin known among the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* says, in his Days, nor is there any mention of it in the Law of the twelve Tables, among the *Romans*: But in after Times there were most severe

L. 9. de Legib. Laws enacted against Parricide; and *Plato*, particularly, would have him that killed either Father or Mother, Brethren, or Children, not only to be put to Death, but to be disgraced after his Execution, by throwing his dead Body naked, into a common Place, without the City, where all the Magistrates in the Name of the People, should every one throw a Stone at his Head, and then carrying him out of the Coasts, leave him there without Burial. But nothing of this is to be found in the *Jewish* Pandects.

To curse a Father or Mother was likewise  
Exod. xxi. 17. capital, by Stoning; and this Law the *Hebrews*  
Levit. xx. 9. interpret to concern those who cursed their dead  
Parents, no less than those who cursed them  
when they were alive; but not without Præ-  
monition and Witnesses as in other capital Of-  
fences; and not unless they cursed their Parents  
L. 2. de Syned. by some proper Name of God, as Mr. *Selden*  
c. 13. observes out of the *Jewish* Doctors; otherwise  
he was only scourged. This, and the preceding  
Law, appointed Death as the Punishment of such  
Crimes, because they were a Sign (says *Mai-*  
More Nevoch. monides) of a desperate Malice, and audacious  
p. 3. c. 41. Wickedness; being a Subversion of that dome-  
stick Order, which is a principal Part of good  
Government.

A stubborn and rebellious Son was to be  
Deut. xxi. 18. stoned to Death; by a *stubborn* Son, the *Jews*  
understand



understand one that will not do what he is bid-  
den, and by a *rebellious* One, that does what he is  
forbidden; if such a One behaved not only un-  
dutifully but perversely to them, and with such  
Contempt of their Authority as argued, that he  
had not only lost all filial Affection and Reve-  
rence, but resolved, after frequent Admonitions  
and Corrections, if he could, to ruin and undo  
his Parents, they might appeal to the Court of  
Justice, and desire Officers might be sent to ap-  
prehend him; when they had brought him, the  
Judges examined the Parents, and their Testimony  
alone seems to be sufficient to convict him  
without any further Evidence. This Prosecu-  
tion, say the *Jews*, relates only to a Son, that  
was no less than thirteen Years Old and a Day,  
and so might be presumed to know his Duty,  
and be capable of good Counsel and Advice:  
They say further, that a Daughter was not in-  
cluded under this Law, because she was unable  
to do so much Mischief to a Family as a wick-  
ed Son was. The Matter of Complaint was,  
that the Son was a Glutton and Drunkard, had  
abandoned all Reverence and Regard for his  
Parents, and was so profligate and debauched,  
that he would not only spend their Estate, if he  
had it, but was inclined to kill them that he  
might get it the sooner into his own Hands. It  
is observed, that the Sins of Gluttony and Drunk-  
ennes are no where made capital by the Law  
of *Moses*, but when they were attended with re-  
bellious Disobedience to Parents; who say the  
*Hebrew* Doctors were to bring Witnesses, that  
this Son had stolen some of their Goods and  
sold them, that he might spend the Money in these  
Vices, under which others are comprehended that  
usually go along with them. And that he had  
done this after he had been admonished and chas-  
tized, so that he was not to be punished as this  
Law at last prescribes, till he was grown incor-  
rigible; for they say the Court was first to or-  
der





der him to be whipt, and not to proceed further, till upon a new Complaint it was proved, that he had run into the same riotous Courses since that Punishment; then upon this second Testimony, as they called it, the Court gave Sentence against him that he should be stoned to Death; unless the Parents, before the Sentence was pronounced, declared they gave him their Pardon. The Offender, says *Josephus*, was drag'd out of the City, in the Sight of all the People, and there executed; there he was to lye as a publick Spectacle till the Evening, and there he was buried; which was the Practice observed to Criminals, who were condemned and suffered by the Courts of Justice. The Punishment of such Children, as are here described, was very severe among other Nations, particularly among the *Romans*, after the Power was taken from Parents to sell them or put them to Death, and the Censure of them committed to the Magistrates. No Wonder therefore, that *Moses* ordained this Penalty, when a Son was come to such a Degree of profligate Wickedness, that he endeavoured to ruin and destroy his Parents; and this Severity, some States have thought fit to follow in these latter Ages; for *David Chytræus* says, that he himself saw an Example of it at *Zurich*, in the Year one thousand five hundred and fifty, where a disobedient Son was beheaded, who had cursed his Mother and beaten her almost to Death.





## C H A P. XLI.

*The Power of Parents over their Children; the Privileges of the First-born; the Rights of Inheritance and Succession among the Hebrews.*

THE paternal Power, among the antient *Romans*, was so great, that they might put their Children to Death as they did their Slaves, without any Process before a Magistrate; and this some have conceived to be a natural Right, and imagined that God would not have commanded *Abraham* to kill his Son, but that it was a Part of his inherent Power; however this be, the *Hebrews* we find were not long intrusted with it, but it was committed to the publick Judges as the most disinterested Persons; yet there is Reason to believe, that they had a Right to sell their Children in Cases of extreme Poverty and Distress. This seems to appear from the Story of the poor Widow that cried after the Prophet *Elisha*, that the Creditor was come to take away her two Sons for Bondsmen, because she was not able to pay her Husband's Debts. The learned *Huetius* thinks, that from the *Jews* this Custom was propagated to the *Athenians*, and from them to the *Romans*; and the *Hebrew Doctors* have a Fancy that this Prophet was *Obadiab*; and that the Creditor was *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab*, which are Notions utterly ungrounded.

<sup>2</sup> Kings 4. 1.

Among the Children, the eldest Son was invested with peculiar Privileges; particularly, he had a Right to a double Portion of his Father's Estate, that is, of all that he was in Possession



Book VI. of when he died, but not (as Mr. *Selden* shews  
 to be the Opinion of the *Jewish* Lawyers) of

*De Success.*

Cap. 6.

Deut. 21. 15.

that which was his in Reversion after his Death. And this Claim was so unalterable, that the Father had no Power to disinherit him; for the Law provides, that if a Man had two Wives, and the first was less beloved than the second; the Son of her who had his first Love was to enjoy the Effects of it, and entitled to a double Portion of all that he had; and the Reason given is, because he was begot in his full Vigour, and had a Right by antient Custom antecedent to the Law, which made the First-born the Head of the Family, and gave him as much more as any of his Brethren of the Estate belonging to it, that he might be able to maintain and support the Dignity of it. A Son born after the Death of his Father was excluded from this Privilege, but if there was no Son, and the Inheritance was to be equally divided among the Daughters, the eldest Daughter had no Right to a double Share of the Estate.

Lib. 1.

*De Synedr. c.* 16.

The *Jews* commonly take Notice of three Prerogatives belonging to the First-born; a double Part of the Inheritance, the Priesthood and the Kingdom (as they speak) that is, the principal Authority among his Brethren; the first of these, says the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, was given to *Joseph*, the second to *Levi*, and the third to *Judah*, because *Reuben* had forfeited all the Rights of his Primogeniture by his Incest with his Father's Wife; but Mr. *Selden* (who gives a full Account of the *Jews* Opinion in this Matter) acknowledges, that the Priesthood was not confined to the First-born before the Law, as appears by *Abel's* offering up Sacrifice as well as *Cain*, and *Moses* being a Priest as well as *Aaron*, unless by this Observation we understand the Office of the chief Priest; nor is it true that the First-born always succeeded in the Kingdom, as appears evidently from the regal Table of that Nation.

However,



However, the First-born among the *Old Hebrews* were eminently distinguished, as it were, by a natural Right from the rest of the Children, otherwise it could not have been so criminal in *Eſau*, to have ſold the Prerogative of his Birthright; by this, among other Privileges, he was entitled to a more than ordinary Bleſſing from his dying Father; he went in a richer Habit as the Heir of the Family, between whom and the other Sons, the Affection of the Parents uſually made a Difference in their Apparel. He ſate at the Table next to his Father, and enjoyed other Advantages, that gave him a Sort of Authority among his Brothers and Sisters, and the Servants of the Family. The other Sons, if there were any, had their equal Share in the paternal Eſtate, and the Daughters might have Legacies left them in Money and moveable Goods, which being of his own getting, the Father might diſpoſe of them by his Will to whom he pleaſed.

Chap. 41.

Gen. 27. 15, 16. &c.

Gen 43. 33.

If there were no Son, the Inheritance was to paſs unto the Daughter, or equally to all the Daughters, and this Practice was obſerved before it was enjoined by a Law, at the firſt Diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*: For *Zelophehad* dying in the Wilderneſs, being one of thoſe that were number'd to have a Portion in the Land, left behind him no more than three Daughters; who obſerving, that only Males from twenty Years Old were number'd, apprehended that they being Females, were excluded from having any Inheritance among the *Iſraelites*, and ſo their Family would be extinguished. Under this Difficulty they apply to *Moses*, who after he had enquired of God; declared, that they were Heireſſes to their dead Father and repreſented his Perſon, and therefore they juſtly put in their Claim, and had their Allotment in the Land according to this Deciſion. This ſpecial Caſe afterwards paſſed into a general Law, and gave Occaſion to the

Numb. 27. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c.



Book. VI. principal Rules, that relate to the Succession to the Inheritances in the *Hebrew Republick*.

More Nevoch.  
p. 3. c. 42.

Selden de  
Success. in Bona  
Defuncti, cap. 12

It was justly observed by *Maimonides*, that what a Man leaves should come to his Family, and to those that are next of Kin to him; because, says he, the nearer any Person is to us, we are inclined by natural Affection, to have the greater Regard to him: Upon a Default therefore of Daughters, the Estate passed to the Brethren of the deceased, unless the Father was alive, who undoubtedly, the *Jews* say, was the next Heir, but not mentioned because it was unnecessary, or, as some conceive, because it would have been a melancholly Thing to speak of a Father's burying all his Children without Issue. This Law is understood by the *Hebrew Doctors*, as if *Moses* had said, *If he have no Daughter, he shall give his Inheritance to the next of his Kindred, to his Father for Instance, and afterwards he shall give it to his Brethren, that is, the Children of his Father*; and the same is to be said of the Grand-Children, unto whom the Brethren of a Father dying without Issue are Heirs; for the Grand-Father stands in the same Relation to a Father, that a Father doth to his Son.

If his Father has no Brethren, says the Law, *Then ye shall give it to his Kinsman, that is next of Kin to him of his Family, and he shall possess it*; that is, to his Brother's Children, or to those who are descended from them, or from his Fathers Brethren; but no Consideration was to be had of his Mother's Kindred (as the *Jewish Lawyers* say) who could never be capable of the Inheritance; which they gather, not only from these Words of the Law, which determine the Inheritance to his Family (that is, the Family of the Father before mentioned, not to the Family of the Mother) but from the frequent Mention of the *Father of Families*, or rather *Kindreds of the Fathers*, to be found in the Books of *Moses*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and other Places of Scripture; from whence arose  
this



this solemn Maxim of the *Talmudists*; *The Family or Kindred of the Mother is never called by the Name of Kindred*; that is, it has not the Effect of a Kindred, in Succession to Inheritances; and this is what Mr. *Selden* observes out of the old Book *Siphri*, that Families follow the Fathers. Chap. 41.

*Ibid.* cap. 13.  
Exod. 6. 20.

This Author has given an Example drawn up by *Maimonides* of such a Succession out of the holy Scriptures; *Amram* had two Sons, *Aaron* and *Moses*; if they had both died without Issue *Miriam* their Sister had inherited; and if she had died in like manner, the Inheritance of the Family would have reverted to *Koath* the Father of *Amram*, or he being dead to his three Sons the Brethren of *Amram*, viz. *Izbur*, *Hebron* and *Uzziel*, as the Heirs of *Koath*; and there would have been no Consideration of Primogeniture, both because none of them was the First-born, and because the Inheritance was not in the Possession of his Father at the Time of his Death.

This was ordained as a *Statute of Judgment* among the *Israelites*, as a Law whereby to determine the Right of Succession in future Times, and to be observed inviolably; so that no Father should have Power to make any other Settlement; but if either by Word or Writing he declared his Will to be that his Son should not inherit, his Act was null and void, as the *Jewish* Lawyers resolve, from the Title of the Law which was called a *Statute of Judgment*, that is, a Rule whereby to judge of Succession into Inheritances; and consequently if a Man had no Son, and made a Will in Prejudice of his Daughter or his Brethren, it had no Force, because it was expressly contrary to this Law.







## C H A P. XLII.

*The Law of Servants. Of the Redemption, and Manumission of Servants. The Rite of Boring the Ear through with an Awl.*

THE Servants in the *Hebrew* Republick, were commonly either such as were *Jews* by Descent, or were originally Gentiles ; and afterwards became Profelytes wholly to the Religion of their Masters, or at least renounced Idolatry, and conformed to the Precepts of *Noah*. A *Hebrew* might come into a State of Servitude three Ways, He might either sell himself by reason of Poverty, or he might be sold by the Court of Judgment, as in a Case of Theft, for which he was unable to make Satisfaction ; or he might be sold by his Parents, to relieve them in their Distress. It was unlawful for a Man to sell himself, till his Poverty became extreme, and he had nothing left ; but was obliged to preserve his Life, by the Price that was given for him. No Man (says *Maimonides* ) might sell himself to lay up the Money, or to buy Goods, or to pay his Debts, but meerly that he might get Bread to eat ; neither was it lawful as long as he had so much as a Garment left. A *Hebrew* was not to sell himself to a Profelyte, or to a Gentile, but to one of his own Nation ; who was bound to treat him kindly, not as a Slave, or as a Captive taken in the Wars, over whom he had an absolute Dominion ; but he was to be used as a hired Servant, who had hired himself for Wages, for a time, and then was at his own Disposal again : If the Master used him rigorously, the Servant might complain, and pro-

cure

Levit. xxv. 39.

Selden de Jure  
Nat. L. 6. c. 7.



cure a Remedy by the Authority of the Magistrate.

Chap. 42.



Such a *Hebrew* was to be discharged from his Servitude upon the seventh Year from the time of his Sale, he was to serve six complete Years, unless the *Jubilee* happened to intervene, then every one was set free, though he had not served so long.

Deut. xv. 13.

If a *Hebrew* sold himself to a Profelyte, or a Gentile, (which he ought not to do) the Sale was good, but he had the same Benefit of being redeemed, as if he had been sold to one of his own Nation; any Man of his Family might redeem him; or if after his Sale an Estate had fallen to him, he might redeem himself, and his Master could not refuse his Dismission. The Method was, to compute how long he had served, and what time was still behind, and what Price was paid for him; and then according to the Number of Years gone, and to come, the Master was to make his Demands. The Service he had done was to be valued as the Labour of an Hireling, (who worked for so much by the Day or Year,) and deducting that from the Price which was given for him, the remainder was the Price of his Redemption. If he had served but a few Years, and there were many to come before the *Jubilee*, then less was to be deducted from what his Master gave for him, and the Price of his Redemption was higher; but if there remained but few Years, less was to be given for his Redemption, because he had been a long time in his Master's Service. It is evident, that a Servant sold to a Profelyte, had not the Benefit of being discharged the seventh Year as *Hebrew* Servants, who served *Hebrew* Masters had; for it had been unequal if *Hebrews* sold to Profelytes or Strangers, had been released from their Service so soon; when the Children of Profelytes, sold to *Hebrews*, were to be their Inheritance for ever; it was more reasonable (and therefore enacted) that the *Hebrews* sold to Profelytes,



Book VI. felytes, should not be free till the Year of Jubilee, unless they were redeemed by themselves, or by their Friends. A Profelyte was bound, when he bought a *Hebrew* Servant, to maintain his Family while he served him, as the *Hebrews* were bound to do, when they bought one of their own Nation

To prevent the Cruelty of Masters over their Servants, the Law provided, that if a Master struck out the Eye, or the Tooth of a Servant, he had a Right to his Freedom, and could demand his Liberty: It is but reasonable, that this Privilege should extend to all Servants, though of another Nation, not meerly to those who were *Jews*; and so *Maimonides* seems to allow, when he says, This is a Precept of Pity and Mercy to poor Wretches, who should not be any longer afflicted with Servitude, when they have lost a Member of their Body. And therefore the common Resolution of their Doctors is very cruel, that *Gentile* Servants (whom they call *Canaanites*) who were not circumcised, should not have the Benefit of this Law; for they thus distinguish Servants of another Nation: Some were circumcised, and baptized, others still remained *Gentiles*, or were only Profelytes of the Gate; the former kind might be set free three Ways, by being redeemed by a Price, paid by themselves or any other Friend, by Manumission, and by Virtue of this Law, upon the Loss of any Member; for though only an Eye or a Tooth be mentioned, yet all other principal Members of the Body are included; which being mutilated, cannot be repaired, which they reckon to be four and twenty in all. If they did not dismiss such a Servant thus maimed, the Court of Judgment, upon an Appeal to it, compelled them to give him his Liberty, with a Certificate of it; but the second Sort of *Gentile* Servants, could be made free, only by the two first Ways, having (according to this

Exod xxi. 26.

Nevoch.  
c. 41.




this Doctrine) no manner of Advantage from the Chap. 42.  
Indulgence of this Law.



The Court of Judgment had Power to sell a Exod. xxi. 2.  
Thief, that was unable to make Satisfaction to  
the Person that received the Damage, and he was  
to be a Servant for six Years ; but this Sale, they  
say, did not extend to both Sexes, for a Woman  
was not to be sold for Theft : Not but that his  
Servitude might end sooner, by Manumission, or  
Redemption, or by the Death of his Master, if he  
were a *Gentile* or a Profelyte ; or if he were an  
*Hebrew* his Death put an end to it, in case he  
had no Son. His Master also was bound to main-  
tain his Wife and Children (if he had any) all  
the Time, giving them Food and Raiment, and a  
Dwelling, though they were not to be his Ser-  
vants : If the Man was single, so he was to de-  
part ; but if he was married when he was sold, Levit. xxv. 41.  
as the Master was not to let his Wife and Chil-  
dren want the Necessaries of Life, while he con-  
tinued his Slave, so when he was free, he was  
not to meddle with them, or to detain them from  
their Father, or their Husband. Unto such a  
Servant as this, his Master might give a *Gentile*  
Maid to his Wife, (and no other *Hebrew* but such  
as he might marry a *Gentile*,) that he might beget  
Children of her, who were to be the Master's  
Servants or Slaves for ever. The *Hebrew* Doc-  
tors say, that the Masters could not do this, un-  
less such a Servant had a lawful Wife and Chil-  
dren before of his own, who might not be kept  
from him ; but he might get Children for himself  
as well as for his Master, who could not impose  
upon him more than one Maid Servant, to be his  
Wife. He that sold himself was not subject to  
this Law ; but as his Master could not force a  
Wife of this Sort upon him, so neither was he  
bound when the Servant went free, to bestow  
any Gift upon him ; which was due only to him  
that was sold by the Court for Theft. Deut. xv. 13.  
After the Expiration of six Years, the Master was allowed  
to



Book VI.  to furnish such a Servant with what was necessary for his comfortable Subsistence; and to set him up in the World, for all he got during his Service was his Master's; and says the Law, *he was worth a double hired Servant* who served at most for three Years only, and had Wages paid him all the Time, whereas he had served twice as long, and for nothing; so that considering what Wages he gave the other, and how small a Price, perhaps, the Master paid for this, he would find himself sufficiently a Gainer, and therefore should think it no hardship to give him a Gratuity, when he went away. But this is to be understood of such as went out free, after they had served six Years, not of those who were redeemed by their Friends, or redeemed themselves with their own Money; for such might be supposed to have no Occasion for their Master's Kindness, as they had, who had nothing to help them when they were out of their Slavery. The Law obliged the Master to furnish the Servant liberally out of his Flock, out of his Floor, and out of his Winepress; no certain Measure is prescribed to his Bounty, but every one is left to express his Affection freely; and the *Hebrew* Doctors have determined, that the Master is obliged to give the Servant at the least thirty Shekels of Silver.

Isa. xvi. 14.

It must be observed, that the Wife of such a Servant was a Slave as well as himself when he married her, and she was given to Wife meerly that he might beget Slaves of her; who therefore continued with the Master as well as their Mother, when the Man had his Liberty; for they were not so much his, as his Master's Goods, who had such a Power over them, that he might circumcise them as he did his own Children, without their Consent. But if the Love of the Man to such a Wife and Children, (who were not properly his own) was greater than his love of Liberty, which made him still desire their Company, and choose to stay with his Master after his





his six Years Service was expired, and if the Master had a mutual Affection to the Servant, he was obliged to bring his Slave before the Court of Justice, that it might appear, he was not fraudulently or forcibly detained against the Law, but at his own Desire; and when the Case had been heard, and the Judges had given Sentence, the Master was to bring him to the Door, or the Door-post of his House, and there to fix him, by boring his Ear through with an Awl: Thus was he fastened to his House, and might not step over the Threshold, without leave of his Master, but to be obedient to his Will, till his Death, (for his Son could not detain him, when his Father was dead) or till the Year of *Jubilee*; unless he chose to release him, or he was redeemed. This is to be understood, only of a Servant that was sold by the Court, not of him that sold himself; and though the *Hebrews* take this to have been a Mark of Infamy, set upon a Man who chose Servitude before Liberty; yet it being his Choice out of Love to his Master, it cannot be supposed that they intended by this Act to disgrace him; it rather seems to be a solemn Devoting him to his Master's Service, which was done, it is probable, in the Presence of the Judges. This Custom of boring the Ears of Slaves, was, as the learned *Bochart* observes, the common Practice in *Syria*, and *Arabia* for many Ages. This Ceremony, if we believe the *Hebrew* Doctors, was not used to Maid Servants, who were willing to stay with their Masters, they only addicted themselves in a solemn Form of Words, to their Service for ever.

*Hierozoic.*  
L. 3. c. 6.

In Servitude (says the *Talmud*,) there are three Differences; He that selleth himself, is sold for six Years, or more than six; he that is sold by the *Sanhedrim*, is sold for six Years only, he that selleth himself, is not bored through the Ear with an Awl; he that is sold by the *Sanhedrim*, is bored through; he that selleth himself, they provide

*Kiddus fol.*  
14. c. 2.



Book VI. provide no *Viaticum* for him ; one sold by the *Sanhedrim* they do provide for ; a Man that selleth himself, his Master cannot give him a *Canaanitish* Handmaid to Wife ; to him that is sold by the *Sanhedrim* he may.

## C H A P. XLIII.

*The Selling of Children for Servants ; the Case of a Maiden Sold. The buying of Slaves of other Nations.*

Exod. xxi. 7.

BESIDES the two former Sort of Persons sold to be Servants, there was a third, which were Children sold into Servitude by their Parents ; the Case of a Son was much the same with that of a poor *Hebrew* (who sold himself) but a Daughter was favour'd with better Conditions, which are thus explain'd by the *Jewish* Writers. She was to be a Virgin under Age, that is less than twelve Years Old and a Day ; if she was more than that, it was not lawful for the Father to sell her, and when she came to be of Age it put an end to her Servitude, as well as the Year of Jubilee did, or Redemption, or the Death of her Master ; besides, her Father might not sell her, unless he were reduced to extreme Poverty, if he did without such Necessity, he was forced by the Court of Judgment to redeem her, and she was not to be sold neither, unless there was some Probability that the Master or his Son would take her to Wife. Concerning this there was a previous Agreement, and there was no Occasion for other Espousals ; but if the Master changed his Mind and refused to marry her, she was obliged to serve him for six Years, and she was sold for so long, unless she was redeemed (which her Master could not refuse) or manumitted, or set free by the Year of Jubilee, or by



by the Death of her Master, or (which was peculiar in this Case) the Signs of her being ripe for Marriage appeared. He could not sell her to an *Hebrew* of another Family, but after the Years expired, she was set free for nothing, and her Master was obliged to bestow Gifts upon her for her Support, after she obtained her Liberty. If her Master's Son thought fit to marry her, she was to be used in all Respects like a Wife; and if he thought fit to take another Wife after her, he was still bound to execute all that belong to a Wife, to provide her Food and Raiment, and at certain Times to cohabit with her as a Husband. From this Law the *Hebrews* have made a general Rule, that these three Things are owing to all Wives from their Husbands, Alimony, Clothes, and the Conjugal Duties; which they have attempted to settle with infinite Niceties, too tedious and empty to be mentioned in this Place.

Chap. 43.

Levit. xxv. 44.

If the *Hebrews* wanted Slaves, they were to be such of other Nations, as were sold to them, or were taken Captive in their Wars. But it does not appear, that they had any great Number of them, for they were very laborious themselves, breeding their Children to look after their Land, and their Cattle (in which their Estates chiefly consisted) and being also very numerous in a small Country. But upon Occasion, they had Liberty to purchase the Children of Profelytes both of Circumcision, and of the Gate, and to make them Slaves. When they were bought they became their proper Goods, and continued with them as their Lands did, unless they found Means to obtain their Liberty, by the Methods above-mentioned, but they received no Advantage from the Year of Jubilee; the very Bodies of such Slaves and of their Children, they had power to bequeath after their Death, and had the same Power and Dominion over them, as they had over their Lands, their Goods, or their Cattle.

A Servant says the *Talmud*, is like a Farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with Money, Bab. Kiddushin, Fol. 22.

or



Book VI. or with a Writing, or by some Service done as a Pledge or Pawn. A Servant bought by Service, looseth the Buyer's Shoe, carrieth such Things after him as are necessary for the Bath, he uncloaths him, washes, anoints, rubs, dresses him, puts on his Shoes, and lifts him up from the Earth, The Price of a Slave, according to *Maimonides*, was thirty Pieces of Silver, whether Male or Female, great or little, without any Regard to Sex, or Shape, or Size, or intrinsic Value.

In Nizkei. Ma-  
mon. Per. 11.

Exod. xxi. 20.

But notwithstanding this absolute Right, if a Master struck a *Gentile* Servant with a Rod (as the Law speaks) and he died while he was beating him, he was punished (say the *Hebrew* Doctors) with Death. But others are of Opinion, that he was rather to be punished for his Cruelty, as the Judge who examined the Fact thought fit; for his striking him with a Rod, not with a Sword was an Evidence that he intended only to correct and not to kill him; and besides no Man could be thought willing to lose his own Goods as such Servants were. If the Servant continued alive a Day and a Night, the Master suffered no Penalty, because it might be presumed he did not die of those blows, and his Death being a loss to his Master, he might well be judged not to have any Intention to kill him, and was supposed to be sufficiently punished by losing the Benefit of his Service.

Deut. xxiii. 15.

A Servant of another Nation, if he became a *Jew* was not to be carried by his Master out of *Judea* against his Will, if he was, and afterwards fled from him, he might not be delivered up, but permitted to dwell in the Land of *Israel*; this the *Jews* also understand of a Servant that fled from his Master out of any of the Countries of the *Gentiles* into *Judea*, which was to be a safe Refuge to him; if he embraced the *Jewish* Religion, he was not to be abridg'd of his Liberty, but allowed to settle himself where he pleased, in any Part of the Country without any Disturbance. If he became a perfect Profelyte by Circumcision, he was to be treat-  
ed



ed as a Native Jew, and to have the same Privileges with themselves in Things Civil and Sacred; he was admitted to eat of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Peace-Offerings, and no Difference was made between him and an *Israelite*, only say the *Jews*, a Stranger was not allowed to be a Member of the Great *Sanhedrim*.

There is an exprefs Law which forbids any Hardships or Injuries to be offered to Strangers; if they were Profelytes of the Gate only, they were called *Sojournors*, and were to be used with Humanity; they might trade in the Country, though they could not purchase Land in it; they were not to be upbraided with their being Strangers, or for their worshipping of Idols heretofore, but to be used kindly, though not with such strict Friendship as other Profelytes, who observed the whole Law; if they were Poor, they were to be relieved, either by Alms or by Money, but without Usury; and the Charity of the *Jews* increased so far, that they entertained the Unfortunate of other Countrys, by building Hospitals for their Reception. Profelytes of Righteousness, whether Servants or not, were obliged to observe the Law of the Sabbath; but other Profelytes might work; yet if any such Person was a Servant to a Jew, his Master might not imploy him on the Sabbath-Day in any Business of his, but the Man might work for himself if he pleased, being not obliged by this Law.

Levit. xix. 33.

Levit. xxv. 36.

Exod. xx. 16.







## C H A P. XLIV.

*The Art of War among the Hebrews. The Military Laws, concerning the Seven Nations of Canaan. Of proclaiming War, and making Peace.*

De Rep. Hebr.  
Prefat.

OF the Military Discipline of the *Hebrews*, says *Cunæus*, a very imperfect Account is transmitted to Posterity, yet must every one confess, that for Bravery and true Courage they were inferior to no Nation in the World; for consider them under the Circumstances of banished Men when they came out of *Egypt*, and had wander'd up and down in the Desarts of *Arabia*, for the space of Forty Years, and how surprizing is it, that they should encounter mighty and valiant Nations, expel them and possess their Country, where they built new Towns, and dedicated a most magnificent Temple to the Almighty God. But by the leave of this great *Writer*, this Remark seems to contradict, what is observed by one who was well acquainted with their Disposition, and asserts that *they gat not the Land in Possession through their own Sword, neither was it their own Arm that helped them, but the Right Hand of God, and his Arm, and the Light of his Countenance, because he had a Favour unto them*: It is certain, that in the beginning of their Republick (notwithstanding the Figure they made in after Ages, when they served under *Xerxes* and *Alexander*, in whose Wars they fought valiantly) they were a timorous and dastardly People, their Spirits were broken with Bondage, and they were more inclined to run away back into Slavery, than to fight their Way into *Canaan*; this base Temper appeared plainly in many Instances, particularly when they heard the Report

Psalms xlv. 3, 4.

Numb. xiv. 1, 2.



port of the Spies concerning the Inhabitants of the Land, which put the whole Congregation into a Fit of Despair, and made them resolve to return into *Egypt*. Chap. 44.

And this Behaviour seems the more unaccountable, if we consider the great Encouragements and divine Helps that were promised them, in order to inspire them with Bravery, when they engaged their Enemy; the *Angel of God* (supposed by the *Jews* to be *Michael*) was to go before them, and to strike a Terror into the Inhabitants of the Land to make their Conquest the easier; unusual swarms of *Hornets* so infested the Natives before the *Hebrews* came among them, that many of them were forced to leave their Country, and to fly into other Places, and when they came to give them Battle, those Creatures attacked them so violently, that they soon determined the Victory. *The Book of Wisdom* calls them the *Forerunners of God's Host*, and *Kimchi* says, they flew into the Eyes of the *Canaanites*, and made them so blind that they could not see to fight; and when they fled, they seem to have pursued them into their lurking Holes, where they had hid themselves after the Battle. Indeed the People of the seven Nations were not to be destroyed at once, lest the Land that was uninhabited should be possessed by wild Beasts, which might have been dangerous to the *Israelites* in other Parts, where they were settled; for the *Hebrews* were not yet sufficiently numerous to People the whole Country, especially when two Tribes and a half were settled upon the other side *Jordan*. However, they were sure of an intire Conquest, had they acted consistently with God's Commands, who threatens them with utter Destruction, if they did not drive out the Natives; who notwithstanding were suffered to remain among them unsubdued, and therefore they were Pricks in their Eyes, and Thorns in their Sides; they were frequently overcome by their Enemies, who triumph'd over them, and reduced them into the Rank of Slaves.

Exod. xxiii. 20.

Josh. xxiv. 12.

Deut. vii. 20.

Numb. xxxiii. 55.



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*Schickard Jus  
Reg. Theor. 16.*

*Deut. xx. 10,  
Enc.*

*Gen. xv. 19.*

*Josh. ix. 1, 2.*

*Josh. xxiv. 11.*

*Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.*

The Wars ingaged in by the *Hebrews*, were either such as were enjoined expressly by a divine Command, or such as were enter'd upon by the Prince for the Enlargement of his Territories, and the Honour of his Sovereignty. In the first Case, the King had absolute Power to declare War and to impress Soldiers, and no one could plead a Privilege and Exemption from Service; but the Bridegroom, say the *Rabbins*, was obliged to have his Spouse upon the first Night. In the latter, a voluntary War could not be undertaken by the Prince by Virtue of his Prerogative, without the Consent of the great *Sanhedrim*, and whoever was by Law excused from Service, might plead his Privilege, and stay at Home. The Wars appointed by divine Precept were to be waged against the seven Nations of *Canaan*, which were to be utterly destroyed without Mercy: These were the *Hittites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizites*, the *Hivites* and the *Jebuzites*, and *Gergassites*. There were ten Nations inhabited this Country in the Days of *Abraham*, but three of them were either worn out since that Time, or being but a small People were incorporated with the rest; for the *Kenites* and the *Kenizzites* are not mentioned by *Moses*, and the *Rephaim* possessed but a small part of *Canaan*, the great Body of them being in *Bashan* on this side *Jordan*. The *Gergassites*, are likewise said by some to have fled upon the first Summons of *Joshua* unto *Africa*, and therefore are not named among those who gathered themselves to fight against the *Hebrews*: But the true Reason of this seems to be, that these were a People mixed among the rest, and did not live in a separate Part of the Country by themselves; but it is evident, that they opposed *Joshua*, as well as other Nations, and were deliver'd into his Hand. This Law of utter Excision is applied by some of the *Jewish* Writers, to the *Amorites*, and the *Moabites*; to the first, because they had not Compassion upon the *Israelites*, when they were distressed in the Wilderness, nor shew'd them that



that Civility which is commonly expressed to Strangers in their Travels; to the latter, for that with the Assistance of the *Midianites*, they invited *Balaam* by the Promises of a great Reward to come from the *Eastern* Countries to curse them. But the more sober Expositors conceive, that they were not to be treated with the same Severity as the seven Nations, for though the *Hebrews* were not to offer them Peace, as they were obliged to do to all People, but to the seven Nations devoted to Destruction, yet if they desired Peace they were bound to grant it. *Grotius* is of another Opinion in his Observations upon *St. Matthew*, that God did not give the *Jews* any Right to their Country (as appears from Scripture) and therefore the intent of the Law is, that they should make no League with them of mutual Assistance, they should admit them into no conjugal Society, but look upon them as dangerous Enemies, who being near Neighbours would take all Opportunities to disturb and suppress them.

Chap. 44.



Numb. xxii. 5, 6.

Chap. v. 42.

Deut. i. 19.

There is an Instance of great Severity used by *David* against the *Ammonites*, after he had taken *Rabbah* one of their Cities by Storm; the Occasion of the War was a vile Indignity offered to his Embassadors against the Law of Nations, and therefore he gave the City to be plunder'd by his Soldiers; and the Inhabitants he forced to inexpressible Tortures, some of them he caused to be sawn in sunder; over others Horses drew Harrows with great Iron Teeth, others were drawn over sharp Sickles or sharp Stones; or rather he dragged them through the Place where Bricks were made, and there grated their Flesh upon the ragged Pieces of broken Bricks. This dreadful Punishment was to terrifie other Countries from breaking through the Right of Nations by abusing publick Embassadors; though many have thought it too severe, and looked upon it as an Argument that *David* did this in the State of his Impenitence, when the mild and gentle Spirit of God was departed

2 Sam. x. 4.

2 Sam. xii. 31.



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2 Chron. xxv.  
12.

from him, and he was become Cruel and Furious, as well as Lustful and Incontinent. The Captives of the *Edomites* taken by *Amaziah*, were likewise used with uncommon Severity, for he took ten Thousand of them alive, and brought them to the Top of a Rock and cast them down, that they were broken all in Pieces. This was a very antient Punishment among the *Romans* and other Nations, and was in use upon other Occasions among the *Israelites*, who threw *Jezabel* down upon the Stones out of the Window at the Command of *Jehu*.

Lev. xviii. 3.

No Terms of Peace, say some of the *Jews*, were to be offered to the seven Nations, which were to be utterly extirpated as abominable Idolaters, Magicians, Witches, and Necromancers, for which and other Crimes, God thought them unfit to live longer upon the Earth; and therefore commanded them to be utterly destroyed in War, which was undertaken by his Order, and called therefore *the War of the Lord*. But *Maimonides* is of a contrary Opinion, and asserts it to be unlawful to make War upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them Terms of Peace; and that such of the seven Nations, as renounced Idolatry, were to be received into Amity and Friendship. As for that Objection which seems to be against this about the *Gibeonites*, who had no Occasion by Craft to have obtained a League with the *Israelites*, if this Doctrine were true, his Answer is, that *Joshua* had sent a Summons to them with offers of Peace which they rejected, but would afterwards have gladly received, when it was not to be admitted, and therefore they contrived that cunning way to be received into Friendship. It is certain, that the most antient Writers of the *Jews* say, that *Joshua* sent three Messages to the seven Nations before he invaded them, though he undertook the War with a Command from God to destroy them; the subject of the two first Messages was either to fly or to make Peace, the last was a Declaration of War.

Selden, l. 6. &c.  
Jure Nat. &  
Gent. c. 13.



War. After this no Mercy was to be shewn, but all were to be killed without Distinction of Age or Sex, unless they repented and offered to become *Profelytes of the Gate*, which seems to have been the antient Practice, because we find the remains of these People often mentioned in Scripture; and this Custom is agreeable to the general Law of Nations, that such as beg for Mercy should be saved. Chap. 44.

But whatever was the Law of War with regard to the seven Nations, the People of other Countries and Cities were offered Conditions of Peace before War was proclaimed. The Terms proposed were three, the first, that they should take upon them the Observation of the seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*, and consequently renounce Idolatry; the second, pay an yearly Tribute; the third, become their Subjects, live in due Subjection to them as their Governours, who though they could not make them Slaves, yet might employ them in their publick Works, in repairing the King's Palace, the Walls and Fortifications of Cities, and other Business of the same Nature. If the Conditions were refused, every Male near a State of Manhood was to be destroyed, but the Women, the Male and Female Children were to be spared, and the Cattle, the Money, the Household Stuff, and all Manner of Goods were to be made a Prey to the Victors. Deut. xx. 10.  
Leidekker de  
Rep. Heb. l. 7.  
c. 6.

The Laws of War are given by *Josephus*, who introduces *Moses* speaking to the *Hebrews* in this Manner. “ If it shall be the Fortune of your selves, or your Posterity to undertake a War, God grant that it may happen without the confines of your Country, but if the Matter must be decided by the Sword, you shall first send Heralds to your Enemies; for before you engage in Battle, it will be necessary to parley, and to inform them that you have a great Army, that you are furnished with numbers of Horses Antiq. l. 4. c. 8.



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“ that you have military Weapons and Stores, and  
 “ (above all this) that you fight under the Favour  
 “ and Assistance of God; if they condescend to  
 “ reasonable Conditions, accept them, but if they  
 “ offer to injure you, lead your Army against  
 “ them, having God for your General, and for  
 “ your Lieutenant, him whom your selves shall  
 “ choose, on the Account of his Conduct and  
 “ Courage. When the Battle is over and the  
 “ Day your own, kill those Enemies that resisted  
 “ you in the Fight, the rest reserve as Tributa-  
 “ ries, except the People of the Land of *Canaan*,  
 “ for they and all their Families are to be de-  
 “ stroyed; give your Enemies burial by Night;  
 “ take heed, but especially in War, that no Wo-  
 “ man use a Man’s Apparel, nor Man a Woman’s  
 “ Habit. Forget not the Injuries you suffered by  
 “ the *Amalekites*, lead out your Armies against  
 “ them, and take Vengeance of them for the  
 “ Wrongs they did you when you were in the  
 “ Desert.

Deuteron. xxv.

57.

These *Amalekites* were devoted to utter Extir-  
 mination by the Express Command of God; and  
*Abarbinel*, enquiring why such Severity was used  
 against his People, when the *Edomites*, who were  
 of the same Race, were favourably dealt with;  
 observes four Reasons given by *Moses*, why the  
*Hebrews*, when they were settled in *Canaan* and  
 were able to effect it, should remember, and not  
 forget to extinguish and destroy this Nation. The  
*First* is, that whereas Men undertake War  
 against others, either to defend their own Terri-  
 tories or to subdue the Country of their Enemies,  
 the *Amalekites* could pretend no such Cause; for  
 the *Israelites* did not pass by their Country, and  
 consequently gave them no Apprehension of an  
 Invasion, nor had they any Land of their own  
 which might tempt the *Amalekites* to covet it and  
 drive them thence; but they engaged in this War  
 with a petulant Malice only to reduce them a-  
 gain into a State of Slavery: Unto which he  
 might



might have added, that their Barbarity was much Chap. 39.  
 aggravated by assaulting them when they were  
 newly deliver'd from grievous Oppressions, and  
 were unaccustomed to War and without Provo-  
 cation. He gives this as a second Reason, that it  
 being the Custom of all Countries by the Law  
 of Nations, before they begin a War, to denounce  
 it by Heralds and to shew the Grounds of it; they <sup>Pirke Eliezer</sup>  
 fell upon the *Israelites* unexpectedly, which was <sup>cap. 44.</sup>  
 an Instance of the basest Treachery; they as-  
 sailed them, says one of their *Rabbins*, like a  
 Bear in their Way to devour the Mother of the  
 Children. The *Third* Cause is, that they did  
 not offer the *Hebrews* a pitched Battle, but only  
 fell upon their Rear, and cut off those who for  
 Weariness were obliged to lagg behind; what some  
 of the *Jews* say, that the *Amalekites* cut off the <sup>Schickard Jus.</sup>  
 privy Members of certain of the Tribe of *Dan* <sup>Reg. p. 113.</sup>  
 in Derision of Circumcision, is disowned by o-  
 thers of them as having no Foundation. He gives  
 this as a last Reason; that the *Amalekites*, though  
 they knew how wonderfully the *Hebrews* were  
 deliver'd from Bondage, yet had no Sense of the  
 Fear of God, but attempted to enslave those  
 whom God had lately freed, and continued un-  
 der the Protection of a glorious Cloud. Upon  
 these Accounts the *Amalekites* were to be cut  
 off without Mercy when the *Israelites* were fully  
 settled: For the Command was not to be im-  
 mediately executed, but after they were possessed  
 of the Land. This Injunction was never to be  
 forgotten, but imprinted deeply on their Hearts  
 and Minds, and accordingly the *Jews* pretend  
 to have had their Hearts so set upon it, that when  
 the Officers were about to proclaim Freedom <sup>Deuter. 20. 5. 6</sup>  
 from War, to those who had a Right to be ex-  
 cused; they always excepted the War against the  
*seven Nations*, and *Amalek*, in which every Body  
 was bound to assist.





## C H A P. XLV.

*The Age qualified to enter into the Service.  
Persons exempt from bearing Arms.*

**T**HE Age that was thought proper to bear Arms was from twenty to fifty; then a Soldier had Liberty to claim a Discharge, but if he pleased he might continue in the Service. At the first mustering of the Army the Priest *anointed of War*, or proper Heralds appointed by him, made Proclamation, that if any Man had built a new House and had not dedicated it, or had planted a Vineyard and had not eaten of it, or had betrothed a Wife and had not taken her, or was timorous and faint-hearted he might return Home. These Privileges were allowed only in Wars that were made voluntarily; the first is understood by the *Jewish* Writers, to signify a House that the Man had not yet dwelt in, for nothing of a Religious Consecration is here intended: At the first Entrance into an House they made a Feast, which being the first Meal eaten in it, was called *Chanach* or Dedication; and because a Year is allowed to a Man, to enjoy his Wife before he is obliged to go to the Wars, they indulge the same Time in these other Cases, as many have observed; and this they understand not only of a new built House, but of a House newly come into a Man's Possession, either by Purchase, Succession or Gift, yet not of such Houses as were unfit for Habitation.

Levit. 19. 29.

Concerning the Planting of a Vineyard it must be observed, that no one could lawfully eat of the Fruit of it for the three first Years after it was planted, and in the fourth Year the Fruit of it was to be carried to *Jerusalem* and eaten there, after which the Fruit of the fifth Year was wholly



wholly the Man's own, when it was no longer sacred but common to every one's Use. The Man, as the *Jews* say, had Liberty to return home, if he had made any other Plantation wherein were Fruit-Trees fit for Food, if there were five of them planted together in good Order. The Reason for this and the foregoing Privilege is given by *Josephus*, lest from a longing Desire after these Things, they should be sparing of hazarding their Lives and reserving themselves for the Enjoyment of them, not fight manfully; but many think this was a bare Concession to such Persons, who, if they could overcome their Affection to all Things, but the Love of their Country, might remain in the Camp and go to the Battle. The Law concerning a betrothed Wife has been already explained, and what relates to the fearful and the Faint-hearted, is refer'd by some Writers to old Soldiers, in whom that Heat and Vigour which makes Men valiant is quite abated; upon which Account they would not admit one, who had no Children, to go to War (if we may believe *Maimonides*) because he was not thought Masculine enough, or rather because they would not cut off all Hope of his having Posterity. But there are those who understand this Permission, *of the Terrors of an evil Conscience*, for they did not admit of the Practice that we follow in these Days (to send the wickedest Villains into the Wars) but if they knew any Man to be guilty of a great Crime, they thrust him out of the Army, lest they should all suffer upon his Account. All these who were thus dismissed were bound, if required, to furnish the Army with Victuals and Water, to clear the Way, and to take up their Quarters.

The Soldiers among the *Hebrews*, when they were enter'd into the Service, were trained up by proper Officers in the Art of War; the military Exercises, were such as were in Use likewise among other Nations. To be swift of Foot was an



Book VI. an Accomplishment highly valued among Warriors, the better to attack and pursue the Enemy; and St. *Jerome* speaks of an old Custom among the *Jews* that was practised in his Time, to set their Youth to lift great Weights to confirm their Strength, and to prepare them for the Fatigues of War.

2 Sam. 2. 18.  
In Zechari. 12,  
3.

## C H A P. XLVI.

## Military-Weapons Offensive and Defensive; Engines of Battery

THE warlike Weapons of the *Hebrews*, were either such as were to defend the Persons that wore them, or such as were to hurt and incommode the Enemy. Of the former Sort, were first a *Helmet* to cover and defend the Head. This was Part of the military Provision, which that warlike King *Uzziah* prepared for his vast Army; and we read before this, that Part of *Saul's* Armour was a *Helmet* of *Brass*. It was used by the *Philistines*, for *Goliath* had a *Helmet* of *Brass* upon his Head. And this martial Cap for the Head, was worn by the *Persians* and *Ethiopians* when they fought.

2 Chron. xxvi.  
14.  
1 Sam. xvii. 3.  
8.

1 Sam. xvii. 5.  
Ezek. xxxviii.  
5.  
1 Sam. xvii. 5.  
2 Chron. xxvi.  
14.  
Isai. lix. 17.  
Jerem. xlvi. 14.

Another defensive Piece of Armour used in those early Times, was a *Breast-Plate* or *Corslet*; *Goliath* was accoutred with this Defence, which we translate a *Coat of Mail*. This is mentioned among the *Jewish* Armory, and is called an *Habergeon*: Between the Joynts of this Harness (for so we english it) King *Abab* was casually struck with a Dart. To this Species of Armour the Prophet *Isaiab* alludes, where the same *Hebrew* Word is used, that is in the forementioned Texts, but is here render'd a *Breast Plate*; and in *Jeremiah* a *Brigandine* is our *English* Word for it: So that



that according to what may be gather'd from this Chap. 40. various rendring of it, it seems to answer the *Cuirasse*, or *Corset-Armour*, both for Back and Breast. It is likely, that it was chiefly designed to defend this latter, and thence had its Denomination. But some had it made so long as to come over all their other Clothes; which is the Reason, why in some Places it is otherwise translated.

The *Shield*, to defend the whole Body in Time of Battle, and to keep off the Enemies Insults, which was either *Tsinnaab* the great Shield or Buckler, or *Magen* the lesser Kind of this Weapon, was of great Service in old Times. It was frequent among the *Jews* in their Wars, and used by the *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, and by the *Egyptians*. *David*, who was a great Warriour, often mentions a *Shield* and *Buckler* in his divine Poems, to signifie that Defence and Protection of Heaven which he expected, which Psalm v. 12. he experienced and wholly trusted in. And when, he says, *God will with Favour compass the Righteous as with a Shield*, he seems to allude to the Use of the great Shield *Tsinnaab* (which is the Word he uses) with which they cover'd and defended their whole Bodies. King *Solomon* caused two different Sorts of Shields the (*Tsinnaab*, which answers to *Clypeus* among the *Latins* such a large Shield) as the Infantry wore, and the *Maginnim*, *Scuta*, used by the Horsemen, which were of a far less Size) to be made. The former of these are translated *Targets*, and are double in Weight to the other. The *Philistines* came into the Field with this Weapon: So we find their formidable Champion was appointed, one bearing a Shield went before him, whose proper Duty it was to carry this and some other Weapons, with which to furnish his Master upon Occasion.

A *Shield-Bearer* was an Office among the *Jews* as well as the *Philistines*, for *David* when he first went to Court was made King *Saul's* Armor-Bearer, 1 Sam. xvi. 21  
cr,



Book. VI. er, and *Jonathan* had a young Man who bore his *Armour* before him. Besides this *Tsinnah*, this great massy Shield, *Goliath* was furnished with a less one, which is not expressed by one of the forementioned Words, but is called *Cidon*, which we render a *Target* in one Place and a *Shield* in another, and was of a different Nature from the common Shields, and (as I conceive) was not only to hold in his Hand when he had Occasion to use it, but could also conveniently at other times be hung about his Neck and turned behind, wherefore it is added, that *it was between his Shoulders*. This *Target* as well as his *Helmet*, and some other Pieces of his *Armour* were of Brass, which was the usual Metals with which their Arms were made in those Times. The Loss of the *Shield* in Fight was excessively resented by the *Jewish* Warriors, as well as condoled by them, for it was a signal ingredient of the publick Mourning, that *the Shield of the mighty was vilely cast away*. *David* a Man of Arms, who composed the Funeral Song upon the Death of *Saul*, was sensible how disgraceful a Thing it was for Soldiers to quit their *Shields* in the Field, yet this was the sad and deplorable Case of the *Jewish* Soldiers in that unhappy Engagement with the *Philistines*, they fled away and left their Shields behind them; this vile and dishonourable *casting away* of that principal *Armour*, is the deserved Subject of this lofty Poet's Lamentation.

It may be further observed, that their *Shields* were used to be oiled, scoured and polished, as indeed it was the Custom to be equally careful of their other *Armour*, as may be gather'd from the Expressions of the Prophets, of *furbishing the Spears* and *making bright the Arrows*. But more especially their *Shields* (which were Weapons they highly valued, and upon which they generally engraved their Names and warlike Deeds, if they atchieved any, whereas those that had none of these were called *Blank-Shields*) these Weapons were carefully

Sam. xiv. 1.  
Sam. xvii. 6.  
45.

Sam. i. 21.

Sam. xxxi. 7.

Jer. lxvi. 4. &  
51. 11.



fully polished with *Oil*, and made exceeding bright; whence two Places of Scripture (if we give Credit to some Expositors) may receive some Light; the former occurs in the Chapter before cited, where it is said, *The Shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the Shield of Saul as if it had not been anointed with Oil*. For so the latter Clause may be understood to refer to the *Shield* and not to *Saul*, and the *Hebrew* Text will bear this Version. The meaning then is (according to this Construction which the Reader is to judge of) the *Shields* were cast away and trodden under Foot, as if they had not been made *bright with Oil*, as if there had not been that Care taken about them. And that other Passage of the Prophet, *anoint the Shield*, is a plain Reference to this antient Custom of polishing their Shields with Oil, and therefore the Import of these Words is this, *furbish and make ready that Weapon and prepare for Battle*: It might be further observed, that as they anointed their Shields to give them a Brightness and Lustre, so they cover'd them with a Case when they used them not, to preserve them from being rusty and soil'd, thence we read of *uncovering the Shield*, which signifies preparing for War, and having that Weapon especially in Readiness.

Another defensive Provision in War, was the *Military Girdle*, which was for a double End; *First*, In order to the wearing the Sword, for this hung as it does this Day at the Soldier's Girdle or Belt. *Secondly*, It was necessary to gird their Clothes and Armour together, thus *David* girded his Sword upon his Armour. To gird and to *arm* are Synonymous Words in Scripture; for those that are said *to be able to put on Armour*, are, according to the *Hebrew* and the *Septuagint*, *girt with a Girdle*, and from hence comes the Expression of *girding to the Battle*. There is express Mention of this *warlike Girdle*; where it is recorded, that *Jonathan*, to assure *David* of his entire Love and Friendship by some visible Pledges,

1 Kings xx. 11.

Isa. viii. 9.

2 Sam. xxii. 40.

1 Sam. xviii. 4.



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Pledges, stript himself not only of his usual Garments, but his military Habiliments, *his Sword, Bow, and Girdle, and gave them to David.*

*Boots* were part of their defensive Harness of old, because it was the Custom to cast certain ἐμπόδια *Impediments*, (so called, because they entangled the Feet) afterwards known by the Name of *Gall-traps*, which since, in *Heraldry*, are corruptly called *Call-trops*,) in the Way before the Enemy; the military *Boot*, or *Shoe*, was therefore necessary to guard the Legs and Feet from the iron Stakes, placed in the Way to gall and wound them; and thus are accounted for *Goliath's Greaves of Brass upon his Legs.*

Offensive Weapons, are either such as they made use of when they came to a close Engagement, or when they were at a Distance. Of the former Sort were the *Sword, Chereb*, and the *Battle-Ax Mapheng*. The first of these is the antientest Piece of Armour that we read of, (except the *Bow*, of which afterwards,) for we find it was treacherously handled by *Jacob's Sons*, when they invaded the *Shechemites*; and it was likewise used by the *Israelites* in the Wilderness. If it be enquired how they furnished themselves with this, and other Weapons in that Place, since as (it is generally said) they left *Egypt* without taking any Arms with them? there is no occasion to answer as some do, that the great Winds and Tide, upon the return of the red Sea, beat the *Egyptians* Arms upon the Shore, where the *Israelites* had pitched their Tents; for this is more than can be proved, and so indeed is their Supposal that the *Israelites* came unarmed out of *Egypt*, for the contrary plainly appears, *The Children of Israel went up harnessed*, that is, *girt or armed, out of the Land of Egypt*; and then it is no wonder that we read of their being armed in the Wilderness. This may be meant when it is said, *they borrowed of the Egyptians Rayment*, in which may be included military Habits; however, they are comprehended in what

Gen. xxxiv. 25.

Exod. xiii. 18.

Exod. xiii. 18.

Exod. xii. 35.



what follows, *The Lord gave the People favour* Chap. 46.  
*in the Sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent un-*  
*to them whatever they required, and they spoiled*  
*the Egyptians.* The Israelites left Egypt not only  
 with leave, but with the Consent of the Inhabi-  
 tants; for the last Plague, which slew all their  
 first-born in one Night, put them upon hurrying  
 them away, and to be rid of them, they were  
 willing to part with any thing; and accordingly,  
 they not only suffered them to carry off their own  
 Goods and Cattle, but gave them a great deal of  
 Gold and Silver, and all sorts of rich Materials,  
 with which afterwards they furnished the *Taber-*  
*nacle*; and among other Things, they doubtless  
 carried with them Weapons of War, for they who  
 willingly lent them Jewels, would scarce deny  
 them Armour.

Exod. iii. 22.

The *Battle-Ax*, mentioned by the Prophet *Je-*  
*remiah*, was another Weapon which they antient-  
 ly fought with, when they came to a close En-  
 gagement: We have no particular Account of  
 this martial Implement, but it is reasonable to  
 believe that it was a weighty Weapon, or Ham-  
 mer, made use of when there was occasion to  
 break asunder any hard thing that stood in their  
 Way, and to beat down the Enemies, and lay  
 them prostrate, and to bruise and batter their Ar-  
 mour. It is likely it was a sort of *Poll-Ax*, but  
 proper to the Cavalry; which I gather from the  
 following Verse, which speaks of *breaking in*  
*Pieces with it the Horse and his Rider, and the*  
*Chariot and his Rider.*

Jerem. li. 20.  
23.

The Weapons offensive, to wound and hurt  
 the Enemy at some distance, were the *Spear* or  
*Javelin*, which were of different Kinds, according  
 to their Length and Make. Some of them might  
 be thrown or darted, others were a sort of long  
*Swords*; and some of them were piked, or point-  
 ed at both ends.

1 Sam. xviii. 17.

Numb. xxv. 2.  
2 Sam. ii. 23.

A *Sling*, with which they flung Stones at the  
 Enemy, is reckoned a part of Warlike Provision,  
 and

2 Chron.  
xxvi. 14.



Book VI. and *David* made use of one of these to a good Purpose, when he slew the Giant of *Gath*. The *Benjamites*, (but properly the *Benjaminites*,) were famous in Battle, because they had attained to a great Skill and Accuracy in handling this Weapon, *they could sling Stones to a hair's breadth, and not miss*; and whereas it is said they were *left handed*, it should rather be rendered *Ambodexters*, for we are told, they could use *both the Right Hand and the Left*; that is, they did not constantly use their right Hand as others did, when they shot Arrows, or flung Stones, but they were so expert in their military Exercises, that they could perform them with their left Hand, as well as with their Right.

Judges xx. 16.

1 Chron. xii. 2.

Gen. xxvii. 3.

Gen. xxi. 20.

1 Sam. i. 18.


Job xx. 24.

Jerem. l. 14.

Isa. v. 28.  
xxi. 15.

*Bow* and *Arrows* are of great Antiquity, indeed no Weapon is mentioned so soon, *take thy Weapons, thy Quiver and thy Bow*; though it is true, these are not spoken of as used in War, but in Hunting, and so they are supposed and implied before this; where it is said of *Ishmael*, that he became an *Archer*, he used *Bows* and *Arrows* in shooting of Wild Beasts. This afterwards became so useful a Weapon, that care was taken to train up the *Hebrew* Youth to it betimes. When *David* had in a solemn Manner, lamented the Death of King *Saul*, he gave orders for teaching *the young Men the use of the Bow*, that they might be as expert as the *Philistines*; by whose *Bows* and *Arrows* *Saul* and his Army were slain. These were part of the military Ammunition, (for in those Times *Bows* were instead of *Guns*, and *Arrows* supplied the Place of *Powder* and *Ball*.) From *Job* it may be collected, that the warlike *Bow* was made of *Steel*, and consequently was very stiff and hard to bend, wherefore they used their Foot in bending their *Bows*; and therefore, when the Prophets speak of *treading the Bow*, and of *Bows trodden*, they are to be understood of *Bows bent*, as our Translators rightly render it; but the *Hebrew* Word which is used in these Places,



Places, signifies *to tread upon*. This Weapon Chap. 46.  
was thought so necessary in War, that it is there  
called *The Bow of War*, or the *Battle-Bow*.   
Zech. ix. 10.  
x. 14.

It was common in the *Eastern Countries*, to  
fight in open Chariots, or *War-Coaches*, and with-  
out doubt the Chariots of *Pharaoh* were of this  
kind, with which he pursued the *Israelites*; for he  
*appointed Captains over them*, which proves that Exod. xiv. 7.  
they were fighting Chariots: About fifty Years  
afterwards, we find this military Vehicle among  
the *Canaanites*, who used them in that Champaign Jos. xvii.  
Country, and struck such Terror to the *Hebrews*, 16. 18.  
that made them despair of conquering that Part  
of the Nation.

We learn from the Scriptures, that when they  
were besieged of old, they made use of *Engines* 2 Chron.  
*on their Towers, and Bulwarks to shoot Arrows* xxvii. 15.  
*and Stones withal*, and when they set down be-  
fore a Place, and resolved to besiege it, they dug 2 Sam. xvii. 20.  
*Trenches*, they drew a Line of *Circumvallation*,  
they made *Ramparts*, they built *Forts against it*,  
*and cast a Mount against it*; and set the Camp also Lam. ii. 8.  
*against it, and set battering Rams also against it* Ezek. iv. 2.  
*round about*. These *Engines of Shot* (as our Mar- Jer. vi. 6.  
gin renders it, in the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*)  
without doubt resembled in some measure the  
*Balistæ*, and *Catapultæ* among the *Romans*; which  
were used for throwing Stones and Arrows; and  
were to them of old, instead of Mortars and  
Carcases. I might observe, that to give notice of  
an approaching Enemy, and to bring the dispersed  
Inhabitants of the Country together, they used  
to set up *Beacons on the Tops of Mountains*, as a  
proper Alarm upon those Occasions. “ King Antiq. Lib.  
“ *Uzziah*, says *Josephus*, taught his Soldiers to 9. c. 11.  
“ march in a Battalia, (after the manner of the  
“ *Macedonian Phalanx*,) arming each of them  
“ with Swords, Targets, and Corsets of Brasses,  
“ with Arrows, and Darts. He also made great  
“ Provision of Engines, to batter Cities, and to  
“ shoot Stones, and Darts; besides Hooks of  
Vol. III. A a “ different



Book. VI. " different Fashions, and other such like Instruments.

Deut. xx. 19.

Schikard Jus

Reg. 1. c. 1.

There is a Law which expressly forbids the cutting down of Fruit Trees, in order *to employ them in a Siege*; not but, say the *Rabbins*, such Trees might be cut down, in order to shorten the Siege, if the Enemy made Advantage of them, for their Archers to shelter themselves behind; and if they brought no Fruit, or if the Fruit would not be so profitable as the Wood, for Building and other Uses, or if they hindred the Growth of better Trees, they might (say they) be destroyed in time of Peace. Such as were not *Trees for Meat*, might be cut down to raise Bulwarks, or otherwise to distress the Enemy; but not for the Sake of Waste and Desolation only.

## C H A P. XLVII.

### *The Discipline of War. The Ceremonies before and after the Battle.*

1 Kings x. 26.

**I**N the Beginning of their Republick, the Armies of the *Hebrews* consisted all of Foot, not that the Use of Horses was absolutely forbidden; for *Solomon* had a Body of twelve thousand Horse, and fourteen hundred Chariots, some with two, and others with four Horses belonging to them; but whether they served for Pomp, or for War is uncertain: These Chariots and Horses were brought from *Egypt*, but not without paying a great Toll; six hundred Shekels for a Chariot, and one hundred and fifty for a Horse. This Prince prevailed upon his Father in Law, the King of *Egypt*, to remit this Tribute, upon Payment of a certain Sum of Money by the Year; by this means he got rid of the Custom that was exacted from other Nations, and his Merchants



Merchants could afford to sell Chariots and Horses to the *Syrians*, at a lower Price than they could have them out of *Egypt*. Chap. 47.

The Soldiery was paid out of the King's Treasury, and to incite their Valour, there were Rewards publickly bestowed upon such as had signalized themselves against the Enemy: The military Honours were such as these, a Sum of Money, a Belt, a Woman of Quality for a Wife, an Exemption from Taxes, a principal Commission in the Army; and other Distinctions, attended with great Profit and Reputation. 2 Sam. xviii. 11. Jos. xv. 16. 1 Sam. xvii. 25. 1 Chron. xi. 6.

The General was the commanding Officer in the Army, under him were Tribunes, who had each the Command of a thousand Men, Centurions who commanded a hundred were the next; they had under them Commanders over fifties, and the last commanded over ten: There was a Secretary of War, who took an Account of the Number of the Forces, and Heralds to send of Messages to declare War, and to treat of Peace. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. The *Hebrews* made use of *Spies*, to enquire into the State of the Enemy, and were not unacquainted with Stratagems of War, by which they got many Victories. Judg. xi. 12.

It has been observed, that before they invested a City, they were obliged to offer Conditions; if they were refused, they did not begirt it all round, but only on three Sides, leaving one naked, that the Besieged might fly away if they pleased, by which means Effusion of Human Blood was prevented; but this Privilege was not allowed to the *Amalekites*, and the *Seven Nations* of *Canaan*. A Siege, say the *Jewish Doctors*, must be begun three Days before the Sabbath, and then it may be continued every Day, even upon the Sabbath, till the City be taken; and this may be done in a War that is engaged in voluntarily; agreeable to this, in some measure, is what *Kimchi* remarks of the Siege of *Jericho*, "The Ark of the Lord compassed the City the first time," *Hilkoth Schabbath*. in Josh. vi. 15.



Book VI. " time, upon the first Day of the Week. So  
 " our *Doctors* of pious Memory have delivered,  
 " that the seventh Day whereon the City was ta-  
 " ken was the Sabbath, though they killed and  
 " burnt upon that Day ; for he that commanded  
 " the Sabbath to be observed, commanded it now  
 " to be prophaned, for the Destruction of Je-  
 " richo : " If the Peace that was offered was ac-  
 cepted, the League was ratified, by a solemn  
 Oath on both Sides. Whether the Ceremony  
 of dividing a *Heifer*, and both Sides passing be-  
 tween the Parts of it was in use is uncertain, tho'  
 the Prophet *Jeremiah* speaks something of this  
 Rite, when he charges the Princes of *Judah* and  
*Jerusalem*, with violating the Covenant which  
 they made before God, when *they cut the Calf in*  
*twain, and passed between the Parts thereof.*

*Arias Montanus*  
*in Nahum* I.

When a Peace was concluded, it was publick-  
 ly proclaimed by order of the Magistrates : They  
 sent Heralds or Cryers upon the Top of all the  
 Hills, who made Proclamation, which being car-  
 ried from one to another, Notice was soon given  
 to all the Country about ; and this might con-  
 veniently be done, the rising Grounds being ma-  
 ny, and the Valleys of a small Extent.

Numb. x. 9.

*Antiq.* l. 3. c. 11.

Before they engaged in Battle, the Law of Mo-  
 ses appointed two Priests to blow with two Sil-  
 ver Trumpets, which are described by *Josephus*  
 to have been a Cubit long, and narrow like a  
 Pipe, but wider as ours are at the Bottom ; no  
 more than two were at first ordered for present  
 Use, but more were afterwards made when the  
 Priests and the People were increased. There  
 were others called Trumpets of Rams Horns,  
 (from their Shape I suppose) which were used in  
 War, to incite the Soldiers to fight. These In-  
 struments were blown to call the People to the  
 Sanctuary to pay their Devotion, and to pray to  
 God before they engaged ; and they were found-  
 ed with a particular Blast, that they might know  
 the Meaning of the Summons : Then *the anoint-*

*Josh.* vi. 4.

*ed*



*ed for the War*, going from one Batallion to another, was to exhort the Soldiers (in the *Hebrew* Language, and no other) to fight valiantly. The *Rabbins* have a Conceit, that the *Romans* learnt both the Form of Encamping, out of the Law of *Moses*, and also to make Orations to their Armies, before they went to fight ; but it is more reasonable to think they taught those that were Leaders of others, to encourage them to follow their Example. There were Officers whose Duty it was to make Proclamation, that those whose Business it was, should make sufficient Provision for the Army before they marched ; and every tenth Man was appointed for that Purpose.

Chap. 47.

*Deut. xx. 2.*

*Misch. So' a c. 8.*

*Josh. i. 10.*

*Judges xx. 10.*

When they gave the On-set, they rushed upon their Enemies with Shoutings and Cries, and after they had obtained the Victory, they sung Hymns, and Songs of Triumph, and went in publick Procession with the Women and Children, dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments ; and sometimes they erected a Triumphal Arch (as *St. Jerome* observes of *Saul*, when he had overcome the *Amalekites*,) of Olive Branches, Myrtle, and Palm, as a Token of Victory. The Land that was subdued, was divided by Lots, and the Crown of the conquered King, was set upon the Conqueror, who had likewise assigned him, as we find in the *Talmud*, the Furniture of the King's Palace, or Pavillion, as his share of the Spoils.

*Exod. xv. 12.*

*&c.*

*1 Sam. xv. 12.*

*Grotius de jure Belli l. 3. c. 6.*

*2 Sam. xii. 30.*

*Judges ix. 45.*

A City after it was taken, they usually dismantled or laid waste, and sometimes sowed it with Salt, not to make the Place barren ; (for the Strewing it with Salt could not destroy the natural Fruitfulness of the Soil,) but in token of Hatred, as wishing that the City might continue unbuilt, and be a perpetual Desolation.



## C H A P. XLVIII.

*The Discipline of the Hebrews in their Camps, and the Form of their Encampments.*

Deut. xxiii. 9.

More Nechoch.  
p. 3. c. 62.More Nechoch.  
p. 3. c. 41.in Deut.  
xxiii. 14.

A Strict Discipline, and an outward Decency and Purity, was observed in the Camps of the *Hebrews*; If a Soldier chanced to be unclean by a nocturnal Pollution, which was no moral Impurity, he was obliged to go out of the Camp, lest by touching, he should defile others, and continue excluded till the Evening, when he was to wash himself all over, and after the Sun was set, he was admitted again; to the End, says *Maimonides*, that all should believe their Camp ought to be as the Sanctuary of God, where no Man might enter in his Uncleanness; and not like the Camps of the *Gentiles*, where allmanner of Wickedness, Filthiness, and Rapine, is freely practised. They were not allowed so much as to *ease Nature* within the Limits of the Camp; this promoted Cleanness, and contributed to the Preservation of their Health; and hereby, as the *Rabbins* observe, they were distinguished from Brute Beasts, which commonly ease themselves before any Body, and in any Place; But *Moses* gives a much better Reason, which has respect to the divine Majesty, dwelling between the Cherubims, over the Ark which was carried with them in their Wars; and therefore all Uncleanness, though in it self natural, was to be removed far off. By such Actions as these, *Maimonides* observes, God intended to confirm the Strength and Faith of the Soldiers, that he dwelling among them, would go along with them, and fight for them against their Enemies; and *Abarbinel* remarks thus, The Camps of the



the *Israelites* ought to be holy, having a special Providence of God among them; for they do not make War by meer human Power and Courage, but by the Power of God, and of his Spirit, on which they depend for Deliverance from all Evil, and for Victory over their Enemies. The Place for this Evacuation, was to be at some Distance from the Camp, and every Soldier was to have a Paddle of Iron to fix upon the End of his Sword, which would dig a Hole in the Ground; this he was to fill again when his Purpose was served, that there might be no Appearance nor Scent of it remaining. The *Jews* will have it, that they were to accustom themselves to do this Business, in the Morning as soon as they were up, and thus (as *Leo of Modena* tells us in his History of them) Part I. C. VI. the *Jews* do at this Day, afterwards washing their Hands, that they may go clean to their Devotions. In this Matter, as I have remarked, the *Essenes* were extremely Superstitious, for as *Josephus* relates, they would not ease themselves at all upon the Sabbath, because they looked upon it as a Labour to dig in the Earth, and Excrements not fit to be seen upon that Day.

But many Rites in the *Levitical* Law were relaxed during the Time of Encampment; the Soldiers were allowed, say the *Rabbins*, to use forbidden Meats even Swines Flesh, to eat without washing their Hands before Meals, not to observe the Severity of the Sabbatical Rest, to fetch Wood where they could find it, to raise Bulwarks and Fortifications, and other Privileges, which would have been Penal, if not Capital in time of Peace.

*Schikard Jus*  
*Reg. c. 5.*

The Disposition of the *Hebrews* Encampment Numb. ii. 1, was at first laid out by God himself; every Family 2. &c. and Household had their particular Ensigns, besides the great Banner under which they encamped and marched, it being pitched and carried in the midst of them. How these Banners and Ensigns were distinguished one from another, we have no certain Knowledge. The later *Jews* say, particular-



Book. VI. ly *Aben Ezra*, that *Judah* carried in his Standard the Figure of a *Lion*, and *Reuben* the Figure of a Man, *Ephraim* of an *Ox*, and *Dan* of an *Eagle*, for which there is no manner of Foundation; for though *Judah* be compared to a *Lion*, yet the Reasons he gives for the other are very absurd, with which I shall not trouble the Reader; but only observe, that there is not one Word of any such Thing in their antient Writers, no not in the whole Body of the *Talmud*; and it is not likely, that they who had so lately smarted for making the golden Calf, would adventure to make any other Images, and expose them to the Eyes of all the People. Nor is it impertinent to observe, that when *Vitellius* in after Ages was to march against the *Arabians* through *Judea*, the great Men of the Nation met him, and beseeched him to march another Way, the Law of their Country not allowing Images (such as were in the *Roman* Ensigns) to be brought into it; for which one can see no Reason, if their Ancestors in the Wilderness had by the Command or Allowance of *Moses* carried an *Eagle* in any of their Standards. It is more probable, if there be room for Conjecture in this Matter, that the Name of *Judah* might be embroidered in great Letters in his Standard, and *Reuben* in his, and so of the Rest, or they were distinguished by their Colours only, as now our Regiments are.

Joseph. Antiq.  
L. 18. c. 7.

Mischna Eru-  
bin, cap. 1.

The Camp of *Israel* called the *Army of God* was of a Quadrangular Form, surrounded say the *Jews* with an inclosure of the height of ten Hands breadth, to prevent the Soldiers from flying from their Colours. It was not a regular Square, for the Court of the Tabernacle being in the midst of the Camp, and the Sides of that being unequal, those towards the *East* and *West* of no more than fifty Cubits Length, but those towards the *North* and *South* of the Length of a hundred Cubits, it made the Encampment about it also unequal. The Distance of the Camp from the Tabernacle, is reasonably



ably judged to have been about two Thousand Chap 48.  
Cubits ; at the *East* End were the Tribes of *Issa-*  
*char*, *Judah*, and *Zabulon*, at the *West* were *Ma-* Numb. iii. 17,  
*nasseh*, *Ephraim*, and *Benjamin*; at the *North* were 18, &c.  
*Aser*, *Dan*, and *Naphthali* ; at the *South* were *Si-*  
*meon*, *Reuben*, and *Gad*. This Camp say the *Jews*  
made a Square of twelve Miles in Compass about  
the Tabernacle. Within this was another called  
the Camp of the *Levites* ; they were divided into  
three Families the *Gershonites*, *Kobathites*, and  
*Merarites* ; the first guarded the West-end of the  
Tabernacle, the second stood on the South-side,  
and the third was placed towards the *North*. East-  
ward was the Station of *Moses* and *Aaron*, and  
their Families, who lay between the Standard of  
*Judah* and the Tabernacle ; which was the honour-  
able Post, where the Priests were with great Rea-  
son placed, together with *Moses* the chief Gover-  
nour, because they were to guard the Holy Place,  
that none might go into it but themselves. When Numb. x. 5.  
the Camp was to move, the Priests were to sound  
four Alarms with the Silver Trumpets, but in  
what Order they marched, have been described in  
another Part of these Antiquities. The Tents they Book iii. Chap.  
lived under were much the same as are now in 7.  
Use, as may be collected from a Passage in *Isaiab*, Chap. 54. v. ii.  
*Enlarge the Place of thy Tent, and let them stretch*  
*forth the Curtains of thy Habitation, spare not,*  
*lengthen thy Cords, and strengthen thy Stakes.*







## C H A P. XLIX.

*The Dividing of the Spoils. Purifications  
observed after the Battle.*

**T**HE Practice of the *Hebrews* concerning the Division of what they had taken in War was not always the same; but before this Distribution be inquired into, it may be observed, that what they took was commonly of three Kinds, the Persons of their Enemies called Captives, the Beasts called the Prey, and Money and Goods called the Spoil. Every thing that breathed, that belong'd to the *Seven Nations of Canaan*, and to the *Amalekites* was to be destroyed; if they were not of the seven Nations, the Men were to be cut off, but the Women and the little ones, the Prey and the Spoil they might keep for themselves; yet this Rule was not always followed; for after a Victory over the *Midianites*, the *Hebrews* were commanded to kill all the Males, and the Women that had known Man, but the Virgins they were allowed to keep alive for their own Use, either to be sold as Slaves to any other Nation, or to be kept as Servants, or taken to be their Wives after such Preparation as the Law required.

Numb. xxxi. 16,  
#7, &c.

The whole Army that went out to War were to stay without seven Days before they were admitted into the Camp, and such as had had their Hands in Blood, or had touched a dead Body, though killed by another were to be purified on the third, and on the seventh Day by the Water of Separation. All Spoil of Garments, or other things that they had taken, were to be purified in the same Manner, or to be washed in running Water, as the Method was in other Cases. All sorts of Metals had, besides Sprinkling with the Water of Separation,

Levit. xi. 32, 33.



paration, a Purification by Fire, and what would not bear the Fire passed through the Water, before it could be applied to Use. Chap. 49.

In the Distribution, the King had antiently the tenth Part of what was taken, but in following Times, say the *Talmudists*, he had all the Gold and Silver, and Things of Value, and half of the rest of the Prey, that was divided between him and the People. What was taken from the *Midianites* was divided by Divine Appointment into two Parts; the Army that won the Victory had one, and those that staid at Home had the other, because it was a common Cause in which they engaged, and the rest were as ready to fight, as those that went out to Battle; this Division was by a special Direction, but was not the Rule in after Ages; for after the General had taken what he pleased for himself, the rest was divided among the Soldiers, as well those who kept the Baggage, or were disabled by Wounds or Weariness, as those who were engaged in the Fight, but the People had no share; and this was ordained, as a Statute to be observed throughout their Generations: But in the Time of the *Maccabees* the *Jewish* Army thought fit to recede from the Strictness of this military Law, for when they had obtained a Victory over *Nicanor* under the Conduct of *Judas*, they divided among themselves many Spoils, and made the maimed, Orphans, Widows, yea and the Aged also equal in Spoils with themselves. Gen. xiv. 26.

1 Sam. xxx. 24.

2 Maccab. viii. 28, 30.

In the *Midianitish* War, after the Distribution of the Spoils among the Army and the People, there was another Division made for the Service of the Priesthood, and the Levitical Ministry. The Priests out of the Share that fell to the Army were allotted one out of five Hundred of all the Women, and Children, and Cattle that were taken, and the *Levites* from the Part that fell to the People received one out of Fifty, so that the Priests had just a tenth Part of what was allowed to the *Levites*, as they had a tenth Part of the Levitical Tythes, which was paid them for their constant, Num. xxxi. 23. 29, &c.



Book. VI. stant Support; but whether this was the Practice in future Wars is uncertain. Sometimes all the Spoils were by Divine Appointment ordered to be destroyed; and there is an Instance in the Siege of *Jericho*, when all the Silver and the Gold (except the Gold and the Silver of their Images, which were to be consumed utterly) and Vessels of Brass and Iron were devoted to God, and appropriated to his Service. They were to be brought into the Treasury which was in the Tabernacle, after they were purified by making them pass through the Fire according to the Law; the *Jews* conceive, that these Spoils (called in Scripture, *the accursed Thing* on the account of their being devoted, with a *Curse* upon him, who should take them for his own Use) were given to God, because the City was taken upon the Sabbath Day.

*Josh. vi. 18.*

*Deut. vii. 25, 26.*

## C H A P. L.

*The Rites of Burial among the Hebrews.  
The Method of Embalming, Shrouding,  
Laying out, and bearing the  
Dead.*

*Gen. xlix. 2.*

THE *Funeral Rites* among the *Hebrews* were solemn and magnificent; when a Man was dying, his near Relations, especially his Children attended upon him, to whom he gave good Counsel concerning their future Conduct, together with his Blessing before his Departure; for it was an antient Opinion, that the Souls of all excellent Men, the nearer they approached their End, the more Divine they grew, and had a clearer Prospect of Things to come. The Practice among the more modern *Jews*, was to send ten Persons with a *Rabbi*, before whom the sick Man repeats the Confession of his Sins, which is composed in



in an Alphabetical Order, each Letter of the Alphabet containing one of the Sins that are usually committed. As this Confession is only made for the Ignorant and for common Use, those that have a more lively Sense of their Faults, and a more comprehensive Knowledge, enter into the Particulars of their Sins, after the manner of penitent *Christians*. The sick Person also prays God to restore him his Health, or to take care of his Soul, and especially he begs that Death may serve for an *Expiation*. His Friends go to the Synagogue to pray to God for the Sick *under another Name*, to signify, that he had changed his Life. Chap. 50.

Those that continue in the Chamber, wait the Moment when the Soul must separate from the Body and leave the Earth, they made it a particular Piece of Devotion to be present, and they thought to reap great Benefit by it, especially, when it was a Person eminent for his Learning and Piety; the next Relations kiss the Dying Person, and this Use is very antient; for *Philo*, relating *Jacob's* Complaint upon the unexpected Death of his Son, makes him say, that he shall not have the Comfort of closing his Eyes, and giving him the *last Kiss*; this was the last Farewel and Sign of Affection given to those that left the World; and this Practice was dispersed among the *Heathens*, who pleased themselves with receiving the last Breath of Persons that were dear to them, and this they called *the Soul of the Dying*. Gen. l. 1.

They had such a Veneration for the Book of the *Talm. Bava Kama* Law, that they would not allow it to be laid upon the Bed of a Person leaving the World, lest it should be polluted by touching the Dead. ma, p. 17.

The first Thing after one expired, was to close his Eyes (which was performed likewise among *Greeks* and *Romans*) by the nearest Relations or the dearest Friends. Then did the Company rend their Clothes, which was a Custom of great Antiquity, and the highest Instance of Mourning in the earliest Ages; this Practice was never omitted by Gen. xlii. 4.  
Menoch de Rep.  
Heb. L. 8. c. 4.



Book VI. by the *Hebrews* upon sorrowful Events ; but  
 was so particularly used for the Dead, that it was  
 forbidden to the high Priest, who never tore his  
 Robe but out of Zeal when he heard Blasphemy ;  
 at present there is but a faint Imitation of this an-  
 tient Custom, for the *Jews* only cut some Part of  
 their Garment, to shew they are afflicted. It is  
 pretended that there is another old Use ; which  
 is, to throw all the Water into the Street that is  
 found in the House and in the Neighbourhood, but  
 it is peculiar to the modern *Jews*, and we do not  
 find it was practised by the Antients. The Design  
 is to give Notice, that there is a Person dead in  
 that Place, that he may be regretted and lamented,  
 and this is what is found in Antiquity : For God  
 threatened *Jehoiakim* as with a terrible Curse, that  
 no Body should lament him at the Hour of his  
 Death.

Hal. Ebhel. c. 4. The Management of the Dead (says *Maimonides*) among the *Israelites* is thus ; they close the Eyes of the deceased, and if the Mouth gapes, they bind up the Jaws ; they stop up the Passages of the Body after they have cleaned away the Excrements, by pressing the Belly, and then they anoint it with various Kinds of Spices and Perfumes. After Death, they lay out the Body upon a Cloth on the Earth, with the Face covered, it being no longer lawful to see it : And says a Book of the *Jewish Rituals*, they bend the Thumb into the Hand, which they tye with the Strings of his *Thaled*, because the Thumb having the Figure of the Name of God, *Schaddai*, the Devil dares no more come near it ; the rest of the Hand remains open, to signify that he abandons all ; whereas Children come into the World with their Hands closed, to shew, say they, that God has put all the Riches of the Earth into their Hands. Then was the Body washed, which is a Custom difficult to give a Reason of ; the Notion of the *Jews* is, that the Body ought to appear clean before God. But it is a more probable Conjecture, that the Ointments and  
 Perfumes



Perfumes might more easily enter into the Pores Chap. 50.  
when they were opened by warm Water; the Women performed this Office, which was always esteemed an Act of great Charity and Devotion.

The *Hebrews* formerly embalmed the Bodies of their Dead; for *Joseph* after he had fallen upon his Father and kissed him, commanded his Servants the Physicians, to embalm him, and this agrees with what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate, that there were those in *Egypt* who professed the Art of preserving Bodies from Corruption, in which they excelled all other People, Bodies of their embalming remaining whole unto this Day, and are often brought into these Countries. The Authors above mentioned, give an Account of the different Prices at which this Operation was performed, and tell us there were three Rates according to the Cost that Men would bestow upon their Friends. Upon the first Rank of Funerals, they expended a Talent of Silver; the second cost about twenty Pound, about the third they made but small Expence. The Manner of embalming was thus, they scooped out the Brain with a bent Iron, and threw in Medicaments to fill up the Vacuum; they also drew out the Entrails; and having stuffed the Body with Myrrh, Cassia, and other Spices, except Frankincense, that were proper to dry up the Humours, they pickled it in Nitre where it lay a soaking seventy Days; longer than which, neither the Bodies of the better nor of the meaner Sort were to be salted. After that, they were wrapped up in Bandages of fine Linnen and Gums, to make it stick like Glue, and so they deliver'd the Body to the Kindred of the Deceased entire, in all its Features, the very Heirs of the Eeylids being preserved. The Kings of *Judah* were for many Ages embalmed, and after the Manner of the old *Egyptians*, had Spices and Perfumes burnt before them at their Funerals, and as *Kimchi* observes, they burnt the Bed on which they lay, and other Household-stuff, that none might have the Honour to use them when

Gen. l. 2.

Diodor. lib. i.

Sect. 2.

Herodot. Eu-

terpe, c. 86, 87,

&c.

2 Chron. xvi. 4.

in locum



Book VI.



In Juchafin

when they are gone. Private Persons, as well as Kings, were at prodigious Expences upon this Account, and if we may believe what the *Jews* say, when *Gamaliel* the Son of *Simeon*, the Grand-child of *Hillel* (at whose Feet Saint *Paul* sat) was buried, *Onkelos* burnt seventy Pound of Frankincense on his Sepulchre; but this is a Fable invented to raise the Credit of the *Targum of Onkelos*, which (say some) was not known till many Ages after. The best of the *Jews* believe this burning of sweet Spices and Woods, was first intended merely to prevent the Offence, which the Smell of dead Bodies might possibly sometimes give, but the Vanity of particular Persons often made them exceed beyond Necessity. This Practice is still kept up in the *East*, where Perfumes are more common and not so dear, but in *Italy* the *Jews* are contented, to put dry Roses and Chamomil in the Water, which they use to wash the Dead Body.

When the Body is washed it is *shrouded*, the Head is bound about with a Napkin, and the Body is swathed with a Linen Cloth, tho' in most Places they only put on a pair of Drawers and a white Shift. *Abrabinel* affirms, that *Samuel* was buried with the Cloak wherewith he cover'd himself as a Prophet, but this Conjecture is only founded upon the Sorcery of the *Pythoneses*, who shew'd *Saul Samuel's* Apparition with his Mantle, which is much suspected. Others say, that they sumptuously apparelled the Dead, and that the Funeral Expences grew so excessive, that they were sometimes forced to fly and abandon the Corps; but *Gamaliel* the old restrained this Abuse, by ordering them only to cover their dead Body with a Linen Cloth, without any Distinction of Conditions, which was executed. They wrapped them up with Fillets, as is observed in the *Egyptian* Mummies, and this Reformation of the Doctors was approved, his own Body was buried without Pomp, and the Nation followed his Example.

There

R. Saadia  
in Sephur He-  
munoth



There is a Controversy among the Rabbins, about the Kind of Habits that are put upon the Dead; some are persuaded that they may bury them in a Cloth mingled with Wool, Thread or Silk; it would be a Crime in the Living, to wear such, because they are forbidden by the Law, but they believe that Death dispenses with its Observation; and they add the Words of *David*, who complained that he was *free among the Dead*; others maintain, that if it be lawful to cloath the Dead with Linscy-woolsey Habits, it can only be for the Time they are exposed in the Coffins, and that they must be divested of them when they are carried to the Grave. The devout cause themselves to be buried in the Clothes they wore in their life Time. Some add to the Habit, or to the Shift, a Kind of Rochet of very fine Linen; they put the *Thaled* over it, and a white Cap upon the Head.

P. S. 49. 10.

The Body was exposed for some Time before it was carried to the Grave, and a Candle was placed at the Head which always burns. Some have imagined, that this Light was ordered to enlighten the Soul, that returns to visit the Body and to facilitate its Entrance; but the *Jews* reject this Accusation, and say, that this very antient Custom among them, was established only to ridicule the Sorcerers, who maintained, that the lighting a Wax Candle near the dead Body, was sufficient to cause violent Pains in the separate Soul.

Then he was placed in the Coffin, which was formerly a Kind of Bed so made, that the Body laid upon it might be easily carried. The History of the *Kings* tells us, that *Asa* being dead, they laid him in the Bed which was filled with sweet Odors. *Josephus*, describing the Funeral of *Herod the Great*, says, that his Bed was adorned with precious Stones, that his Body rested under a purple Covering, that he had a Diadem and a Crown of Gold upon his Head, a Scepter in his Hand, and that all his House followed the Bed. About the Bier were his Sons and Relations; and the Guards of *Thra-*

2 Chron. xvi. 4.

De Bell. 1. 1. c.

22.



Book VI.

Jofipp. m. p.  
124.Cap. 4. Efel.  
Sect. 2.

*cians, Germans and Gauls*, went before in Order, as if they were going to the Wars; the rest of the Soldiers followed their Captains and Leaders, and five hundred Servants carried Perfumes. He was born upon the Shoulders of the prime Nobility of *Israel*, with slow and solemn Pomp into the Castle called *Herodion*, where according to his own Appointment, he was interred: The Ceremony of carrying out the Corpse of private Persons, is thus described by *Maimonides*; they bear the Dead upon their Shoulders till they come to the Place of Sepulture, and the Bearers are not allowed to be shod with Sandals, lest a Latchet should break, and so the Solemnity of the Procession be interrupted; they dig a Cave in the Earth, and they make a Hollow in the Side of it, and there they bury the Dead with his Face upwards; they use Coffins of Wood, and those who attend upon the Funeral, solemnly pronounce *go in Peace*. One Corpse is never placed upon another, nor do they bury two at one time, but an Infant is allowed to be buried with its Mother. No Part of the Dead could be applied to any Use except the Hair, which is an Excrecence and no integral Part of the Body; nor was any Linen, or Cloth, or Vessels, that were used about the Dead to be preserved for common Purposes, but to be carried with him or given to the Poor; a Corpse once buried is never to be removed.



C H A P.



C H A P. LI.

*Musick used at Funerals. Concerning the  
Body of Adam; Places of Burial.*

**A**MONG the *Jews*, the Time of Burial is in the Day time; the nearest Friends and Relations follow the Dead Body, which is usually carried in Proceſſion through the Streets and publick Places. It is unlawful (ſays a learned *Rabbi* Sanhedrin Cap. 2. Sect. 13.) by our Conſtitutions for the King to accompany a dead Corps to the Grave, but he might mourn at home, though *David* thought fit to follow the Bier when *Abner* was buried; but this, ſays another famous Writer among them, *Mikotzi*, was indifferent; the King might do as *David* did if he pleaſed, who to purge himſelf from all Suſ- 2 Sam. iii. 38. picion of being concerned in the Death of *Abner*, and to ſhew his extreme Grief upon the Occaſion, attended the Solemnity and did him that publick Honour.

It was accounted the higheſt Inſtance of Reſpect to lament the Dead, for which Purpoſe, in the later Times of their Republick, they hired Perſons who dolefully played upon muſical Inſtruments, Matth. ix. 23. a Cuſtom borrowed from the Rites and Manner of the *Gentiles*; for the old Practice was to begin the Lamentation with the Voices of old Women, who in a ſad Modulation ſtrove to extort Sorrow from thoſe that were preſent, and this Ceremony it ſeems the Children in the Street were uſed to act and imitate. When Muſick was introduced at Funerals, the Trumpet was uſed for Perſons of Quality, and the ſmall Pipe or Flute for thoſe Hefel. c. 4. of ordinary Rank, and ſays *Maimonides*, the poor-eſt among the *Iſraelites* ought to be mourned for with two Pipes, and one lamenting Woman; but if he be rich let all Things be done according to



Book VI. his Degree. Besides the Musicians, there were Men and Women hired for the Purpose, which were paid and procured by the Heir of the deceased, unless upon his Death Bed he had given express Orders to the contrary. When they came to the Grave and laid the Corps there, it was the Custom to make great and loud Lamentations, which are sometimes called Howlings in the Prophetical Language. In some Places they carried lighted Torches with the Corps, but it does not appear from any Passage of Scripture, that the ancient *Jews* carried Torches in their Funerals in the Day-time, and those that cite *Josephus* for their Voucher, as if he had lighted Lamps and Fires at *Herod* the Great's Funeral are mistaken; for the Historian makes no mention of it.

Page 120.  
4th Edit.

There is a most curious Collection of Traditions, to be found in the Works of the most learned Mr. *John Gregory*, concerning the Body of *Adam*, and the manner of the Funeral; you must know, says he, that it is a most confessed Tradition among the *Eastern Men*, (and *St. Ephraim* himself is very principal in the Authority) that *Adam* was commanded by God, and left the same in charge to his Posterity, that his dead Body should be kept above Ground, till the Fulness of Time should come, to commit it to the middle of the Earth, by a Priest of the most high God; for *Adam* prophesied this Reason for it, that there should be a Redeemer of him, and all his Posterity. The Priest that was to officiate at this Funeral, they say was *Melchisedec*, and that he buried his Body at *Salem*, which might very well be the Middle of the habitable World as then, and indeed it was so afterwards. Therefore, as they say, this Body of *Adam* was embalmed, and was transmitted from Father to Son by a reverend and religious Way of Conveyance, till at last it was delivered up by *Lamech*, into the Hands of *Noah*, who being well advised of that Fashion of the old World which was to worship God toward a certain Place; and





and considering with himself that this could not be towards the Right, (which was the *East*) under the Inconstancy and Inconvenience of a Ship, appointed out the middle of the Ark for the *Place of Prayer*, and made it as holy as he could, by the reverend Presence of *Adam's* Body. Towards this Place, the following Prayer was said, not as terminating the least part of divine Worship in the Body, (it were a stupid thing to think so,) but (where it ought to be, and where all Worshippers do, or should do so,) in God himself, and only him, as the Tradition distinctly clears the Case. So soon as ever the Day began to break, *Noah* stood up towards the Body of *Adam*, and before the Lord, he and his Sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, prayed, *O Lord, excellent art thou in thy Truth, and there is nothing great in comparison of thee; look upon us with the Eye of Mercy and Compassion, deliver us from this Deluge of Water, and set our Feet in a larger Room; by the Sorrows of Adam, the first made Man, by the Blood of Abel, thy holy One, by the Righteousness of Seth, in whom thou art well pleased; number us not among those who have transgressed thy Statutes, but take us into thy merciful Care, for thou art our deliverer; and thine is the Praise from all the Works of thy Hand, for evermore: The Sons of Noah, and the Women answered from another part of the Ark, (which shews the Antiquity of the Custom of the sitting of Women a-part from the Men, in the Houses of God) Amen, Lord. The Blood of *Abel*, it seems was so holy and reverend a Thing, in the Sense and Reputation of the old World, that the Men at that Time used to swear by it. The learned Mr. *Selden* observes, that the *Sethians* took a solemn Oath upon the Blood of *Abel*, that they would not go down from their holy Mountain into the Plain of the *Cainites*. But enough has been said upon this Subject.*

*Catena Arab.*  
c. 25. fol. 56. 60



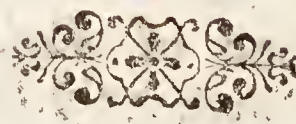
## Book VI.

Sam. xxxi.  
12.

Geierus de Ebr.  
Luctu, cap. 5.

De Rep. Hebr.  
Lib. i. c. 7.

It is certain, that there was no such Custom among the antient *Hebrews*, as burning the Bodies of the Dead ; notwithstanding we read that the Bodies of *Saul*, and of his Sons were burnt, which is supposed to have been done by the *Benjamites*, out of an Affectation of Singularity, and in compliance with the Superstition of the *Gentiles*. The Practice from the Beginning, was to bury their Dead, and their common Cemeteries were in publick Places, as they are with us, but generally of a considerable Distance without the Cities. The *Talmudical* Writers, says *Cunæus*, allow this Privilege to *Jerusalem*, above other Towns of *Judea*, that no House in the City after one Year, could be retained by the Buyer : It was not lawful to plant Orchards or Gardens there ; dead Bodies which were carried any where, were not admitted into the City, out of respect to the Holiness of the Place ; only two Sepulchres were there, of the House of *David*, and of *Huldah* the Prophetess, built, they say, by the old Prophets : Yet were the *Levites* bound up by a more strict Religion, being prohibited to bury their Dead in their Cities, and in the Field of the Suburbs too ; wherefore, by divine Appointment, they received from the other Tribes, a parcel of Ground without their own Borders, where they might lay the Bones of their Dead to rest. In other Towns it was not unlawful to bury, provided seven honest Men consented to it ; but when once the Corpse was carried out of the Gate, it could not be received again within the Walls, though all the People should desire it.





CHAP. LII.

Sepulchers of the Hebrews, particularly  
of the Hebrew Kings.

THE most noble Sepulchres were hewn out of some Rock, with great Art and Expence ; they are thus described by the *Jewish* Writers : To those that entered the sepulchral Cave, and carried the Bier, there was a Floor where they stood and set down the Bier, in order to let the Body down into the Sepulchre. The Floor within the Entrance consists of a Square, according to the Dimensions of the Bier, and of them that bear it ; the Cave contains thirteen Sepulchers, four on each Side, and three before, one on the right Hand of the Door, and another on the Left ; and the Sepulchers were in a hollowed Place, deeper than the Floor, by four Cubits.

The Cave of *Machpelah*, bought by *Abraham* Gen. xxiii. 2. for a Burying-Place, has given great Trouble to Expositors ; for though it be the most probable Conjecture, that it was the proper Name of a Place, yet the *Talmudists* generally conceive the Word to signify (as the vulgar *Latin*, also with the *Seventy* understand it) a double Cave ; yet they cannot agree in what Sense it was so, whether they went through one Cave into another, or there was one above another ; for by a Cave, is certainly meant a Vault arched over with Stones or Wood, and was the same with the *Cryptæ* of the Antients. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, in his *Itinerary* relates, that being in a Valley near *Hebron*, Itiner. p. 49. he found this double Cave, of which he gives a Description ; Here, says he, is a Temple that bears the Name of *Abraham*, and was formerly a Synagogue. The *Christians* have built six Se-



Book VI.



pulchers, to which they have given the Names of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, of *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, of *Jacob* and *Leah*, and they shew them to Travellers for Money ; but when a *Jew* comes there, the Porter, when he is paid, opens an Iron Gate, which was made in the Time of the Patriarchs ; the *Jew* enters in with a Wax Candle in his Hand, passes the first and second Cave without finding any thing, but in the third, are the Sepulchers of all the Patriarchs, distinguished by their Names ; these Tombs have a Lamp continually burning by them : There are also great Casks full of dry Bones, because the *Israelites* continue to carry their dead Bodies thither. At the End of the Field of *Machpelah* is *Abraham's* House, and a Fountain before it. *Jacob* had not an Opportunity to carry his Wife *Rachel* to this Sepulchre of his Father's, and therefore he buried her in the Highway of *Bethlehem*, and erected a Pillar upon her Grave as a Monument, which continued for many Ages. The *Jew* abovementioned relates, that five hundred Paces from *Bethlehem*, he saw *Rachel's* Sepulchre, upon which was a Pillar composed of twelve Stones, with reference to *Jacob's* twelve Children which is covered with a Vault, supported by four Pillars, and all the *Jews* that travel thither engrave their Names upon one of the twelve Stones. It is certain the *Hebrews* antiently had their Sepulchers upon great Roads, to awaken the Curiosity of the Travellers, and keep up the Memory of the Dead ; they have placed them likewise in Gardens, and the more modern *Jews* at the Entrance of their Synagogues ; or rather they have taken up a Custom of building Synagogues, near the Tombs of Saints, and great Men : And here on their Festivals, the *Jews* meet in Multitudes, and having read the History of their Deliverance, they revel it out, just as the *Christians* do about the Churches, on the Festivals of the Saints, to whose Honour they were built.

The



The latter *Jews* have held strange Conceits, Chap. 52, concerning the Place of Burials, and are persuaded, that if an *Israelite* be buried in any strange Country, out of the promised Land, he shall not be a partaker so much as of the Resurrection, except God vouchsafe to make hollow Passages under the Earth; through which, his Body, by a continual Volutation and Rowling, may be brought into the Land of *Canaan*. The Ground of this, is taken from the Charge of *Jacob*, to his Son *Joseph*, that he should not bury him in the Land of *Egypt*, but in *Canaan*; for which Charge they assign three Reasons, first, because he foresaw by the Spirit of Prophecy, that the Dust of that Land should be afterward turned into Lice; secondly, because those who died out of the holy Land, would not rise again, without a pitiful rowling and tumbling of their Bodies through these hollow Passages; thirdly, lest he should be made an Idol, and an object of false Worship among the *Egyptians*.

*Solom. Farchi.*  
*Gen. xlvii. 29.*

The Sepulchers of the *Hebrew* Kings, were exceeding Grand, and Magnificent, and are supposed to be at present, the only true Remains of old *Jerusalem*, that are to be seen by Travellers. This royal Burying-Place discovers so great an Expence, both of Labour and Treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the Work of Kings, and is generally ascribed to King *Solomon*: It lies now without the Walls of *Jerusalem*, but it is probable was formerly within them, before that City was destroyed by the *Romans*. You approach it (says the judicious Mr. *Maunder*, from his Observations upon the Spot) at the East Side, through an Entrance cut out of the natural Rock, which admits you into an open Court of about forty Paces Square, cut down into the Rock, with which it is encompassed instead of Walls. On the Southside of the Court, is a Portico nine Paces long, and four broad, hewn likewise out of a natural Rock: This had a kind of Architrave

*Journey from*  
*Alep. to Jerus.*  
*Edit. 4. p. 76.*





trave running along its Front, adorned with Sculpture of Fruits and Flowers, (still discernible) but by much time defaced. At the End of the Portico on the left Hand, you descend to the Passage into the Sepulchers: The Door is now obstructed with Stones and Rubbish, that it is something difficult to creep through it; but within, you arrive in a large fair Room, about seven or eight Yards square, cut out of the natural Rock. Its Sides and Cieling are so exactly square, and its Angles so just, that no Architect with Levels and Plummets, could build a Room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a Chamber hollowed out of a Piece of Marble. From this Room we passed into (I think) six more, one within another all of the same Fabrick with the first of these, the two Innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second Descent of about six or seven Steps into them.

In every one of these Rooms, except the first, were Coffins of Stone, placed in Niches in the Sides of the Chambers: They had been at first covered with handfom Lids, and carved with Garlands, but now most of them were broke in Pieces by Sacrilegious Hands. The Sides and Cieling of the Rooms were always dropping with moist Damps condensing upon them, to remedy which Nufance, and to preserve these Chambers of the Dead polite and clean, there was in each Room, a small Channel cut in the Floor, which served to drain the Drops that fall constantly into it; but the most surprizing Thing belonging to these Subterraneous Chambers, was their Doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpose to puzzle the Beholders: It consisted of a Plank of Stone, about six Inches in Thickness, and in its other Dimensions, equally the Size of an ordinary Door, or somewhat less; it was carved in such a manner, as to resemble a Piece of Wainscot.



Wainfcot. The Stone of which it was made, Chap. 52. was visibly of the fame Kind with the whole Rock, and it turned upon two Hinges, in the Nature of Axles. These Hinges were of the fame intire Piece of Stone with the Door, and were contained in two Holes of the immoveable Rock, one at the Top, the other at the Bottom.

The Custom among the *Hebrews*, was to bury Antiq. lib. 7. c. 12. great Riches and Treasure in the Sepulchers of their Kings; *Josephus* relates, that *Solomon* interred his Father *David* with great Grandeur, and Solemnity in *Jerusalem*, with all the Ceremonies proper to be used at Royal Obsequies, and among others, he buried a prodigious Value of Riches with him; the incredible Estimate of which, may be conjectured from that which follows; for one thousand three hundred Years after, the high Priest *Hircanus*, being besieged by *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Wicked*, and willing to give him a Sum of Money to induce him to raise the Siege, and unable to procure it by any other means, he opened one Cabinet of the Monument of *David*, from whence he took three thousand Talents; which he delivered to *Antiochus*: And a long time after this, *Herod* opened another Cabinet, from whence he took an immense Sum. A learned Country-man of our own, has offered many Reasons to shew the Improbability and the Fiction of this Account, which, I confess, give me no Satisfaction. Prideaux Cens. ne Et. Part 2. Book. 5.







## C H A P. LIII.

## Ornaments fixed upon Tombs. Superstitious Customs at the Sepulchres of the Dead.

I Macchab xiii.  
27, 28, &c.

Chap 32. & 27.

Mattsch.  
semabb. c. 14.

THE Tombs of great Men were usually set out with Ornaments suited to the Actions and Atchievements for which they were distinguished. We have this Description of the Tombs of the warlike *Macchabees*: *Simon* built a Monument upon the Sepulchre of his Father and his Brethren, and raised it aloft to the Sight with hewn Stone behind and before; Moreover, he set up seven Pyramids one against another, for his Father and his Mother and his four Brethren, and in these he made cunning Devices, about the which he set great Pillars, and upon the Pillars he made all their Armour for a perpetual Memory, and by the Armour Ships carved, that they might be seen by all that sail on the Sea. This is the Sepulchre which he made at *Modin*, and it standeth yet unto this Day. The Prophet *Ezekiel* alludes to this Custom of hanging the Arms of deceased Warriors at the Heads of their Tombs, where he threatens the *Egyptians*, that *they shall not be buried with the Mighty, and though they have laid their Swords under their Heads, yet their Iniquities should be upon their Bones.*

It was Sacrilege, says *Josephus*, in the Place above, for any Man to deface the Tombs of Princes, which were magnificently built, and not to be violated; and the Sepulchers of private Persons were held likewise in great Reverence and Veneration; it was unlawful to cross them with an Aqueduct or a Highway, to gather Wood there, or to lead Flocks to Pasture; they were not allowed to walk





walk among the Tombs with Phylacteries fastned to their Heads, nor with the Book of the Law hanging at their Arm, with other Niceties too insignificant to insert; these Observations grew at last into Superstition, and the *Jews* at length resorted to the Sepulchers of their Saints for the Purposes of Devotion, and to offer up their Prayers; for they believed they had a Power to assist and succour them in their Distress. Thus, say they, *Caleb* escaped from the Hands of his Persecutors, because he went to the Tomb of his Ancestors to pray them to intercede for his Safety; and for this Custom they allege four different Reasons. They believe that the Souls return and hover about the Tombs where their Bodies are buried. They conceive that there is a sensitive Virtue in it which being made active by the Prayer of the Devout, goes and awakes the Soul in Heaven and admonishes it to pray. They are also persuaded, that the divine Influences are communicated to Men by the Bones of the Dead; and *Lastly*, They imagine that to visit the Sepulchres is the way to learn more pressing Motives to Repentance and Humility; for, say they, this Lesson naturally arises from viewing a Tomb, *you are all dead like these unless you be converted.* The old *Hebrews* had an Idolatrous Custom among them, of going among the Tombs in order to receive Dreams, by which they judged of Events and how to manage their Affairs, for they are charged by the Prophet *Isaiab* with *remaining among the Graves, and lodging in the Monuments*, which is render'd by the *Seventy*, *with sleeping in the Tombs* upon the Account of Dreams; and it is reasonable to believe, that the Sepulchre of *Moses* was purposely concealed, lest in after Times it should become an Object of Worship and Adoration; for says *R. Levi ben Gersom*, future Generations perhaps might have made a God of him, because of the Fame of his Miracles; for do we not see how some of the *Israelites* erred on the Account of the Brazen Serpent, which *Moses* made?

Wagenfeil Excerpt. Gem.

Chap. 55. 4.

The



## Book VI.

Matth. xxiii.

27.

The *Jews* had a Custom of marking the Graves with Chalk, and drawing upon them the Figure of human Bones; and every Year they whited them with Lime, in the Month of *February*, that they might be known, for fear of defiling themselves in passing by; these Graves were otherwise grown over with Grass, and not to be distinguished from other ordinary Ground; so that it was necessary they should be mark'd that no one might go over them, and by that means contract a legal Pollution. It is certain, that the dead Bodies defile and render those that touch them unclean, but the Impurity is not contracted till the Soul is perfectly separate from the Body and there remains no Motion; then a Piece of a dead Body no bigger than an Olive, a Nut-shell of Ashes, any Part of a Bone, a little Quantity of Blood, are sufficient to propagate the Contagion. But some Doubt is raised concerning the Gate or Pales, that shut up or encompass the Tombs; some maintain that they can't defile, except when some Particles of a dead Body are observed upon them. Others that are more rigid, will have every touch of the Sepulchral Stones or Planks to be impure. When they plow up a burial Place, they may plant Trees and sow Grain in it which is mowed and reaped, but it is not lawful to sow such as is plucked up, because the Root carries with it Dust and Bones with the Earth; at least the Grain that has been thus gather'd must be twice sifted, to avoid contracting Impurity. In order to purify the burial Places; they add new Earth to them, or take a certain Quantity from them; but the surest Way is to cover them with great Tables of Stone fastened together, for fear that by moving them in walking, a Quantity of Bones or Dust may fly out and defile.



C H A P. LIV.

*Epitaphs upon the Tombs of the Jews. Ceremonies used at the Grave, and after the Funeral. Self-Murderers denied the Privilege of Burial.*

**I**T has been disputed by learned Men, whether *Epitaphs* or *Inscriptions* were in use among the ancient *Hebrews*. *Benjamin of Tudela* travelling Itiner. p. 49. into *Judea* relates, that he read the *Inscriptions* upon the Tombs of the Patriarchs that were buried at *Machpelah*; this is the Sepulchre of *Abraham* our blessed Father; but the Christians, who for a long Time had the Custody of these Tombs, had made these *Inscriptions* to deceive devout Travellers, and to get the more Money by them. The Scripture says, that *Jacob* having buried *Rachel* in the Way to *Bethel*, erected a *Pillar* there. The Author of the *Vulgar*, has translated it a *Title*; and hence it has been concluded that it was an *Epitaph*, since the Heathens engraved some Verses upon the Tombs of the Dead, and those Verses were called *Titles*. But though the Use of *Epitaphs* may not be of that Antiquity, yet the *Jews*, it is certain, Buxtorfs Talmud. have long since received this Custom. We may read those produced by *Buxtorf*; *I have set this Stone for a Monument, over the Head of the venerable B. Eliakim deceased,----God grant he may repose in the Garden of Eden, with the rest of the Saints of the Earth, Amen, Amen, Selah.* Here is the Elegy of a Maid, *I have erected this Monument on the Head of the most holy, most chaste, and most excellent Rebecca, Daughter to the holy Rabbi Samuel the Levite, who has lived in good Reputation, and who died the Eighth of December, in the Year 135* (that



Book. VI. (that is, in the Year 1375.) *Let her Soul be bound in the Garden of Eden.* We find another for *R. Baruch*, who descended towards those who are among the Cedars, and God is prayed to, that his Soul may be in the Bundle of Life. It would be useless to multiply these Inscriptions which are so frequently to be met with in the Writings of that Nation.

The Sepulchre, one would think, should be called *the House of the Dead*; but on the contrary, the Jews give it the Title of *the House of the Living*, or *House of the Age*, and they imagine that these Names were invented by the *Pharisees*, who would teach their Enemies, the *Sadduces*, that the immortal Soul lived after its Separation from the Body, and that the Body shall rise in the World to come.

Buxtorf Syag.  
Heb. p. 502.

But to return to the Rites of Burying, of which there being so few Foot-Steps in Scripture, we must have Recourse to the Practice of the later Jews. When they come to the burying Place, a Speech is made to the Dead. *Blessed, say they, be God who has formed thee, fed thee, maintained thee, and taken away thy Life. O Dead! He knows your Numbers, and shall one Day restore your Life: Blessed be he that takes away Life, and restores it.* They put the Coffin in the Ground, and if it be a Person of Merit they make his Elogy. The holy *Job*, they say, alluded to this Custom, when he considers it as a Curse to the Wicked, *whose Root shall be dried up, and his Branch cut off, his Remembrance shall perish from the Earth, and he shall have no Name in the Street*; they urge likewise, that *David* when he had the News of *Jonathan's* Death, made a Kind of Funeral Oration for his Friend; but these Proofs are very weak; for *Job* speaks of Reputation which is lost after Death, and the *Street* does not signify a Cemetery. Nor did *David* assist at the Funeral of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, he only made a Song of Lamentation upon the Loss of the Battle

Job xviii. 17.



Battle and the Death of the Princes that were killed in it. Chap. 54

After the Encomium, they make a Prayer which they call the *Righteousness of Judgment*, because they give thanks to God for having pronounced an equitable Sentence upon the Dead; and it begins with these Words of *Deuteronomy*, *He is the Rock, his Work is perfect*. Then they turn the Face of the Dead toward Heaven, and say *go in Peace*. Those that most scrupulously observe the Rites of the *Talmudists* say, *go to Peace*; because the first of these Benedictions, was given by *David* to *Ab-salom*, who remained hung in the Forest by his Hair, and the other was given to *Moses* by *Jethro* his Father in Law, whose Journey after it, was prosperous. They lay a little Bag of Earth upon the Head of the Dead, and nail up the Coffin. Ten Persons turn seven times round it, and say a Prayer for the Soul of the deceased, but this is not done in all Places; the nearest Relation tears a Corner of his Cloaths, then they lay the Body into the Grave, and as they let down the Coffin, they must take care that there has been none laid there before, because they will not allow two Bodies to be placed one upon another. The Relations of the Dead are the first that throw Earth upon the Coffin. Each of those present throw in handfuls, or with a Shovel till the Grave be filled. Before they leave the Cæmetery, each plucks up Grass three times and throws it behind him, saying, *they shall flourish like Grass of the Earth*, and this in hopes of the Resurrection which shall restore the Bodies, or to teach that *all Flesh is Grass, and the Glory of Man is like the Flower of the Field*. They also put Dust upon their Heads, to remember that they are Dust and shall return to Dust. Some add as taking farewell of the Dead, *We shall follow thee as the Order of Nature shall require*. They wash, sit down, and rise nine times saying, *He that dwelleth in the secret Places of the most high*; and at last the Company departs.

Salom. Ben Vir-  
gæ Hist. Jud. p.  
293.



## Book VI.

Gloss. in Kid.  
dush, fol. 80. 2.

The *Jews* distinguish the Age of the Children that die ; if the Child expires thirteen Days after the Birth, a Woman carries it in her Lap ; if it be a little older they make it a Coffin, but they don't carry it on their Shoulders like a bigger Corpse, one or two Women make the Funeral Pomp. It is not lawful to alter this Order ; because, if there were two Women and one Man, they might both yield to be corrupted, whereas two Men don't so easily agree to debauch one Woman. At least this is the Notion of the *Rabbins*, which is founded upon the great Distance of Cæmeteries, from the Cities which give Opportunity of Temptation by the Way. In the mean Time they tell, that a Woman carrying her Child to the burying Place, under Pretence it was dead though it was still alive, to find Opportunity of committing Adultery with him that accompanied her, suffer'd her self to be dishonoured by ten Men that followed her. This extraordinary Event shews, they had Reason to take Precautions for the maintaining a Decorum, and prevent the Disorders occasioned by the Weakness of Women.


After the Burial, a Feast followed, which ridiculous Practice the *Jews* are supposed to espouse, because the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* says, that *Delicates poured upon a Mouth shut up, are as Messes of Meat set upon a Grave* ; but the Author does not attribute to his own Nation the Custom of setting Dishes upon the Graves, but alludes only to that of the Heathens, who made many Collations, and brought Meat and Wine to the Tombs, as if the Dead could be replenished with them. It is certain that the *Gentiles* invited their Friends and Relations to eat upon the Sepulchre of the Dead, where they made a Feast. One would think that this Custom had come among the *Jews*, since *Tobias* advised a Man to pour out his Bread on the Burial of the Just. God likewise threatens his People by the Prophet *Jeremy*, as with a great Calamity, that Men shall not give them the Cup of Consola-

Eccclus. xxx. 18.

Tob. iv. 17.

Jer. xvi. 17.



Consolation to drink for their Father or their Chap. 54.  
Mother; and *Josephus* observes, that *Archelaus* af-   
ter he had lamented *Herod the Great* seven Days, De Bell. l. 1. c.  
gave a magnificent Treat to the People; and that ult.  
the Custom ruined most of the *Jews*, who were  
not able to bear the Expence of those Feasts, and  
yet they would have been thought Atheists, if they  
had not done it.

*Saint Jerome* relates another Custom of the *Jews*  
of his Time, who rolled themselves in Ashes, and  
in Imitation of the *Pharisees*, they first eat Lentils,  
to remember that they had lost their Birthright.  
At present the Relations of the Dead being re-  
turned Home sit upon the Ground, and having ta-  
ken off their Shoes, Bread and Wine and hard  
Eggs are brought them, and they eat and drink.  
*Give strong Drink unto him that is ready to perish,*  
*and Wine to those that be of heavy Hearts.* He Prov. xxxi. 16;  
that says the common Grace to the Meat, is used  
to add some Words of Consolation. In the *Le-*  
*vant* and in many other Places, the Friends and  
Relations usually send in for seven Days together,  
Night and Morning, to the near Kindred of the  
Dead, Provisions for great and sumptuous Enter-  
tainments, and also go and eat with them to com-  
fort them. As soon as the Dead is carried out  
of the Doors, they double up the Quilts, and roll  
up the Coverings which they leave upon the Mat,  
then they light a Lamp at the Head-board, which  
burns uninterruptedly for seven Days. They also  
take down all the Beds of the House; some say  
this is done the very Moment the Dead is carried  
out, others when the Grave is shut up; and the  
Controversy is so nice, that the Talmudists have  
left it undecided. The Reason assigned for this Leo de Mod.  
Custom is, that the Friends of *Job* sat with him p. 181.  
*near* the Earth; but the Practice at present is, for  
the Relation of the Dead to continue in the House  
seven Days, sitting on the Ground and eating in  
this Posture.



## Book VI.

Jacob Pontan.  
 Progymn. Lat.  
 l. 4. Deuter. 21.  
 23.

De Jure Bell.  
 l. 2. c. 19.

The Privilege of Burial among the *Hebrews*, was denied to none but *Self-Murderers* who laid violent Hands upon themselves; these had their right Hand cut off, and were thrown out to rot above Ground. Malefactors that were hanged upon the Gallows (which was a Circumstance of the greatest Ignominy) were always buried the same Day; which was done, say the *Rabbins*, out of Reverence to the Image of God wherein Man was created; and though God, says *Grotius*, has sometimes punished some Persons with the Loss of Burial, yet this he did by his own peculiar Right, as his Authority is above all Laws. And whereas *David* kept the Head of *Goliath*, to shew it as a Token of his Victory; this was done to an Alien, to a Contemner of the true God, and under that Law wherein the Word *Neighbour* was confined to the *Hebrews* alone. There is, however, this one Thing remarkable concerning Burial, that in the *Jewish* Law, an Exception was made of those that laid violent Hands upon themselves, as *Josephus* informs us; and no wonder since no other Punishment can possibly be inflicted upon them who esteem Death itself to be none. Yet some of the *Hebrews*, as the same Author goes on, except one Case out of the Law against Self-Murder, as a Kind of *commendable Transport*, when a Man plainly perceives that his Life is like to be nothing for the future but a Reproach to God himself; for since it is concluded, that the Right over our own Lives is not in our selves but in God; they are of Opinion, that the Will of God made known to us by sure Tokens, is the only lawful Reason why a Man should hasten his Death. To this Purpose they alledge the Example of *Sampson*, who found the true Religion was made a Mock of in his Person, and that of *Saul* who fell upon his own Sword, that he might not be insulted by his and God's Enemies; for they will have it, that he repented as soon as *Samuel's* Ghost had foretold him his Death; and though he knew he



he should die in case he fought, yet that he would not refuse to fight for his Country and the Law of God, having attained eternal Praise thereby as *David* declares; and hence it was, that he so highly commends those who had given *Saul* an honourable Burial. Chap. 55.

## CHAP. LV.

### *Rites of Mourning for the Dead.*

**T**O *mourn* for the Dead, was esteemed an affirmative Precept by the *Jews*, and it was accounted a Sign of a Cruel and Savage Disposition, to deny this last Tribute to the Deceased. This Duty more peculiarly was paid to the nearest Relations; and says *Maimonides*, a Man is bound by the Obligation of the Law, to mourn for his Mother, his Father, his Son, his Daughter, his Brother, and his Sister by the same Father; and he is obliged by the Judgment of our Ancestors, to mourn even for a Wife betrothed, before he has cohabited with her. If a Relation of this Kind died in another Country, and a Man had notice of it within thirty Days, or upon the thirtieth Day after the Decease, he was obliged to observe seven Days of Mourning, with all the Ceremonies belonging to it; and to reckon from the Day when the News was brought him. This was the Rule for Relations that were grown Persons. *Hefel c. 2.*

The *Jews* make a Distinction between *Weeping* and *Mourning*, and (if I understand the Difference) the first denotes all *outward* Expressions of Grief, the other signifies *inward* and silent Sorrow; which is always understood to be most sincere. Children that were abortive, were allowed the Ceremony of Weeping, and others



Book. IV. that were about five or six Years old, had the same Privilege. Persons that were lawfully executed for capital Crimes against the King, might be mourned for, and though their Estates were forfeited to the King, their Bodies were buried in the Sepulchers of their Ancestors. Such as suffered by the Sentence of the Judges, for private Offences, had a Mourning allowed for them, but were not buried among their Fore-fathers, till their Flesh was perished from the Bone, their Estate however descends to their Heirs; when their Bones are laid up in the Sepulchre, then the Solemnity of Mourning begins. A Person drowned in a River, or torn by wild Beasts, for such, the Day of Mourning commenced from the time that any Part of the Body was found; or when the Relations despaired of finding the least Member of it. One that laid violent Hands upon himself, was denied the Ceremony of Weeping and Mourning, and so were all wicked and prophane Persons, who neglected the Worship of the Synagogue, and the Observation of the Law: For these, the nearest Relations were forbidden to mourn; their Brethren and Neighbours at their Death, were to put on *white Garments*, and to rejoice, because an Enemy of God, and of Religion, was taken out of the World. Upon the Death of a Servant Man or Maid, there was no Weeping or Mourning, nor was any more regard had to them, than to an Ox or an Ass when it died; which was this, that the Neighbours usually wished to the Master, *The Lord make up thy Loss.*

2 Chron. xxxii.

33.

Schikard Jus  
Reg. c. 6.

The Obsequies of a King were celebrated with peculiar Honours; among others, says *Maimonides*, a Company of Students in the Law were appointed to sit at his Sepulchre, and to mourn seven Days together. All the Horses in the King's Stable were ham-strung after his Death, and so were the Mules that were used to Burdens: His Servants, Men and Maids, were not to submit



to vulgar Offices, but kept in their Employments, Chap. 55.  
by the Successor. But the *Queen Dowager* suffered the severest Discipline, she was bound never to marry, not the Brother of her deceased Husband ; but to remain in her Widowhood all the Days of her Life. The King, the high Priest, and Priests of a lower Order, were exempt by the Law of *Moses*, from the principal Ceremonies of Mourning ; but these Immunities being already explained, in the former Part of this Work, are not to be repeated in this Place.

The time of Mourning for the Dead, was longer or shorter, according to the Dignity of the Person. The *Jews* have a Tradition which distinguishes between the Days of Weeping and Mourning, the former of which never exceeded a Month, which was the time they wept for *Moses* ; the latter never lasted more than a Year, as they gather from the Example of the greatest Doctor they ever had, *Rabbi-Judah*, who composed the *Mischna*, for whom they mourned twelve Months. The nearest Relation was usually the principal Mourner, and the Neighbours were Comforters ; and say the *Rabbins*, when they returned from *Bava Bathra*. the Grave, they went forward a little, and then fol. 100. 2. sat down, partly to comfort the Mourner, partly to weep themselves, and partly to meditate upon the Subject of Mortality ; then they stood up again, and went on a little, and sat down again, and so for seven Times ; and these seven Standings or Sittings for the Dead, must not be diminished. The Mourner always sits Chief, and the Comforters were not to speak a Word till he broke Silence first. There are many other Niceties to this Purpose, too trifling to be inserted, which may be judged of by these already mentioned. The three first Days of Mourning were observed with more Severity than the other : Upon the first Day, it was not lawful for the Mourner to wear his Phylacteries, to eat of holy Things, nor indeed to eat of any Thing of his



Book VI. own: All the three Days he might do no servile Work, no not privately; and if any one saluted him, he was not to salute him again; for the first seven Days, he was not to use his Wife, nor to put on his Sandals, to do no servile Work publickly; not to wash himself in warm Water, nor his whole Body in Cold, nor to anoint himself, nor to read the *Mischna*, or the *Talmud*, nor to cover his Head. All the thirty Days he was not to be shaved, nor to wear any Clothing that is white, or whitened, or new, nor to sew up the Rents that he made in his Garments, for the Party deceased. They go to the Sepulchers, says another Tradition, for three Days, the very Heighth of Mourning is not till the third Day; for three Days the Spirit wanders about the Sepulchre, expecting it may return into the Body, but when it sees the Form or Aspect of the Face is changed, then it hovers no more, but leaves the Body to it self.

Rambam in  
Moed. Katon.  
cap. ult.

Berehrabba,  
fol. 114. 3.

The common time for Mourning, among the more modern Jews, is for seven Days; ten Persons come Evening and Morning to pray with the Afflicted, they read the forty ninth *Psalm*, pray for the Soul of the Dead, and administer their Comforts in proportion to the Loss. They dress themselves in Mourning, according to the Custom of the Country where they live, without being obliged to it by any Commandment. At the seven Days end, they come out of Doors, to go to the Synagogue, where many cause Lamps to be lighted, Prayers to be said, and promise Alms for the Soul of the Dead; which they repeat again at the End of the Month and Year. If the Dead be a *Rabbi*, or some considerable Person, they make on these Days his *Esped*, that is, his Funeral Oration. The Son was used to say every Day, Night, and Morning, in the Synagogue, his Prayer *Cadisc*, or *Holy*, for the Soul of his Father or Mother, and this for eleven Months



Months together ; and some fast every Year on Chap. 55.  
the Day that one or the other of them died.

The *Mourning Habit* among the *Hebrews* was Ezek. xxxi. 15.  
Black, and the Tokens of Sorrow Publick and  
Private were doleful and affecting; to cover the 2 Sam. xv. 30.  
Head was a Sign of the severest Grief and Distress,  
and to suffer the Beard to grow rude and disorder-  
ly, expressed the greatest Confusion and Calamity.  
It was a Funeral Ceremony to go bare-foot, which  
was used likewise on the great Fast, or Day of Codex Joma,  
Expiation, though the Doctors say, they might put cap. 8.  
on Woollen or Linnen Socks, but no Leathern  
Shoes. Their Feet also were unwashed, which 2 Sam. xix. 24.  
made Men very sordid, especially in hot Weather,  
when the Smell of them was strong and offensive;  
nor did they wash their Shirt, or any of the Lin-  
nen which they wore, for their woollen Garments  
were never washed. To rend the Clothes was  
antiently the highest Degree of Mourning, which  
they did upon occasion of any great Misfortune,  
or the Commission of any great Crime; and this  
Custom continued in the Times of the Prophets,  
who make it criminal that Men did not rend their  
Cloths, when grievous Sins were committed. To  
put Dust upon the Head was an Expression of  
great Grief, and though the Holy Job shaved his Job i. 20.  
Head (or rather plucked off the Hair) in his Affli-  
ction, yet it was not allowed to be shaved du-  
ring the Days of Mourning, and to pull off the  
Hair was equally unlawful. The *Hebrews* were Deut. xiv. 1.  
expressly forbidden to make any Baldness between Lev. xix. 27.  
their Eyes for the Dead, and to mar the Corners  
of their Beards; these Prohibitions certainly re-  
fer'd to the Superstitious Customs among the *Gen-  
tiles*, in their Ceremonies of Mourning. Some of  
the *Heathen*, says *Theodoret*, cut off all their Hair  
and offered it to the Dead, they threw it into the  
Sepulchre with the Bodies of their Friends, or laid it  
upon the Face or Breasts of the deceased as an of-  
fering to the Infernal Gods. Others shaved their  
Beards, their Eye-brows and Eye-lids, or (which  
some

In Deut.  
Quest. 13.



Book VI.



some think is the meaning of *between their Eyes*) the Hair in the forepart of their Head, or near their Temples; which seems to be the Design of the *Jerusalem Targum*, which translates it, ye shall not make any Baldness *in the House of your Countenance*; and whether it were done with the Razor, or they used any Art by Plaisters or Ointment to make the Hair fall off, it was the same Offence against this Law. The *Heathen* had another Practice, which was to cut themselves with their Nails, or with Knives, or with sharp Instruments in order to pacifie the Infernal Spirits, and make them favourable to the Dead. These Incisions were forbidden, and *Huetius* conceives that Law of *Solon's*, which was transcribed by the *Romans* into the twelve Tables, that Women in Mourning should not scratch their Cheeks, had its Original from this Institution of *Moses*.

Lev. xix. 28.

Demon. Evang.

Propos. 4. c. 12.

No *Mark* was to be printed upon their Bodies in Imitation of the *Gentiles*, who made Impressions upon their Flesh at the Funeral of their Friends, that by the Compunction and Pain they felt, they might pacifie and appease the Infernal Powers.

There were other Ceremonies of Mourning which being less significant, to mention only will be sufficient; such as profound Silence, Elevation of the Hands, the letting the Nails grow, lying upon the Ground, with Watching and Fasting; a Garment of Sackcloth was sometimes wore next the Flesh, and sometimes over their Clothes. It was made of harsh and course Materials, which some conjecture to be Camels Hair. It was common in Mourning and great Afflictions, to beat the Breast and the Thigh. The Prophet *Nahum* says, that *the Queen being a Prisoner, her Maids accompanied her as with the Voice of Doves, tabring upon their Breasts*; this Passage has been thought obscure. To make the Queen march with the sound of Tabers, as many Interpreters do, is a sign of Joy, rather than Grief. It is therefore more natural to ascribe to those Maids, who fol-

Nahum ii. 7.

lowed



lowed the Princess in her Captivity, *the Mourning of Doves*, and to make them beat their Breast with the same vehemence as a Taber is beaten. Sometimes they laid their Hand upon their Head, as well as upon the Thigh. *Jeremy mentions both these Customs. Thou shalt go forth from him, and thine Hands upon thy Head, for the Lord hath rejected thy Confidence, and thou shalt not prosper in them. I have laid my Hand upon my Thigh,* says he in another Place; and this Custom has continued to this Day. Chap. 56.

## CHAP. LVI.

### The Hebrew Coins.

**I**T does not appear that there was any pecuniary Traffick before the Flood, and it is probable, that bartering one Thing for another was the Practice of those Times; as it still is among the most barbarous Nations. And even after the Flood this way Commerce did not cease, as when there was a Dissention between the Servants of *Abraham* and *Abimelech* about the Well that *Abraham* dug, we read that *he took Sheep and Oxen and gave them to Abimelech*, which perhaps denote his Bartering for the Well, no less than furnishing him with Beasts for Sacrifice, by which they made a Covenant with one another.

The most antient mention of Money or Coin, is when we are told that *Abraham was very rich in Silver and Gold*; and that Money was used in the Days of that Patriarch, is evident from the Text which speaks of a *Servant that is bought with Money*, or as the Hebrew has it, *that is the Acquisition of Silver*; and concerning the same Patriarch, it is said, that *Abraham weighed to Ephron four Hundred Shekels of Silver for a burying Place*, which is called *Current Money with the Merchants*, such as Gen. xiii. 2.  
Gen. xvii. 13.

pas-



Book VI.



passed to the Trader, which he would take as well as give. This is undeniable Evidence, that Money, Silver Coin, was in Use betimes, even in those first Ages of the World. From this Time we constantly read, that Things were purchased with *Keseph*, Money, properly Silver, and therefore render'd by the Seventy *ἀργύριον*. This is the Word for a *Shekel* in all those Texts, where it is put absolutely and alone by it self, it is generally translated *a Piece of Silver*, but by the Prophet *Isai-ah*, *a Silverling*.

Money was not antiently stamp'd, but it was received by its Bulk and Weight, which being very troublesom, they learnt in Time to set a Mark upon it to free it from that Inconvenience; for having the publick Stamp, that made it Current at a known Value. This must not be understood of Foreign Money, which was still weigh'd though stamp'd; but of that of their own Country, which they were sure was worth so much as the Mark expressed. Yet it continued to be weigh'd among the *Jews* till *David's* time, and even till the Captivity of *Babylon*, and indeed the very Word *Shekel* comes from *Shakal* to weigh, and may properly be interpreted *the Weight*. From hence it appears, that there is no Truth in what the *Jews* say, that *Joshua*, *David*, and *Mordecai*, nay *Abraham* coin'd Money in their Days. To support which Fiction they have counterfeited some Coins with the Inscription of *Senex* and *Anus* on one side, and *Ju-venis* and *Virgo* on the other, as if *Isaac* and *Rebekah* were now married, or *Abraham* had Power to coin Money in a Country where he did but sojourn and was no Sovereign. The Tradition upon this Occasion runs thus, On *Abraham's* Money were stamp'd on one side an old Man and an old Woman, on the other a young Man and a young Maid; on *Joshua's* Money on one side an Ox, on the other a *Monoceros*; on *David's* Money on one side a Staff and a Scrip, on the other a Tower; on *Mordecai's* Money, on one side Sackcloth and Ashes, on the other a Crown.

What

1 Chron. xxi.

25.


Jer. xxxii. 9.

In *Berkeith*  
*Rabba*.



*What is the Jerufalem Money* fays another Tradition? the Answer is, *David and Solomon were stamped on one fide; and on the reverse Jerufalem the Holy City.* But the Truth of all this depends upon the Credit of the Authors, which I fear is but of fmall Signification.

Chap. 56.

  
Bava Kama.  
fol. 24. 2.

Among the Antients the way of reckoning their Money was by Talents; fo the *Hebrews*, fo the *Babylonians*, fo the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* did reckon; and of thefe Talents they had Subdivifions, which were ufually into *Mina's* and *Drachms*, that is of their *Talents* into *Mina's*, and of their *Mina's* into *Drachms*. The *Hebrews* had befides thefe their *Shekels*, and *half Shekels* or *Beka's*, and the *Romans* their *Denarij*, which laft were near of the fame Value with the *Drachms* of the *Greeks*. What was the Value of an *Hebrew Talent*, appears from a Passage in *Exodus*, where fix hundred Thoufand and three Thoufand five hundred and fifty Perfons being taxed at a *half Shekel* a Head, they muft have paid in the whole, three hundred Thoufand, and one Thoufand feven hundred and feventy five *Shekels*, and that Sum is faid in the Text to amount to a hundred Talents, and a Thoufand feven hundred and feventy five *Shekels* over; if therefore we deduct the one Thoufand feven hundred and feventy five *Shekels* from the Number, thirty Thoufand and one Thoufand feven hundred and feventy five, and divide the remaining Sum, that is, three hundred Thoufand by a hundred, this will prove each of thofe Talents to contain three Thoufand *Shekels*. Each of thefe *Shekels* weigh'd about three Shillings of our Money, and fixty of them *Ezekiel* tells us made a *Mina*, and therefore fifty of thofe *Mina's* make a Talent.

Exod. xxxviii.  
25, 26.

Ezek. xlv. 12.

As to their *Drachms*, it appears by the Gofpel, that it was a fourth Part of a *Shekel*, that is nine Pence of our Money, for there the Tribute Money annually paid to the Temple by every Jew (which was half a *Shekel*) is called *Διδραχμον*, that is the *two Drachm Piece*; and therefore if a

Matth. xvii. 24.

*half*



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Antiq. Lib. 3.  
c. 9.

*half Shekel* contained two *Drachms*, a *Drachm* must have been the quarter Part of a *Shekel*, and every *Shekel* must have contained four of them; and so *Josephus* tells us it did, for he says that a *Shekel* contained four *Attic Drachms*, which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the Valuation in the Currency of common Payments; for according to the Weight the heaviest *Attic Drachms* did not exceed eight Pence Farthing half Farthing of our Money, and an *Hebrew Drachm*, as I have said was *nine Pence*: But what the *Attic Drachm* fell short of the *Hebrew* in Weight, might be made up in the Fineness, and its ready Currency in all Countries (which last the *Hebrew Drachm* could not have) and so might be made equivalent in common Estimation among the *Jews*. Allowing therefore a *Drachm*, as well *Attic* as *Jewish*, as valued in *Judea* to be equivalent to nine Pence of our Money, a *Beka* or *half Shekel*, will be one Shilling and six Pence, a *Shekel* three Shillings, a *Mina* nine Pound, and a *Talent* four hundred and fifty Pound. So was it in the Time of *Moses* and *Ezekiel*, and so was it the same in the Time of *Josephus* among that People; for he tells us, that a *Hebrew Mina* contained two *Litra's* and a half, which comes exactly to nine Pound of our Money; for a *Litra* being the same with a *Roman Libra*, contained twelve Ounces *Troy-weight*, that is ninety six *Drachms*, and therefore two *Litra's* and a half must contain two hundred and forty *Drachms*; which being estimated at nine Pence a *Drachm*, according to the *Jewish* Valuation, comes exactly to sixty *Shekels*, or nine Pound of our Money. The quarter of a *Shekel* was called *Zuza* by the *Talmudists*, and the *Gerah* was the twentieth Part, and is translated ὀβολος by the *Seventy Interpreters*.

I Sam. ii. 36.

Exod. xxx. 13.

The *Shekel* was sometimes called the *Shekel of the Sanctuary*, because there the Standard was kept, by which such Money was to be examined; as *Justinian* commanded the Weights and Measures, where



whereby all others were to be regulated to be kept in the great Church of every City; for there is no Foundation for that Opinion, that there were two sorts of *Shekels* among the *Jews*, one *Sacred* (as valuable again as the other) and the other *Common*, but strong Arguments against it: The Cabinets of the Curious pretend to shew a *Jewish Shekel* among their Collections; one side is marked with the *Pot of Manna*, or as others think, *Aaron's Censer* or the *Incense Cup*, and round this Vessel are written these Words, *The Shekel of Israel in Samaritan Characters*; on the Reverse side was represented *Aaron's Rod Budding*, with this Inscription about the Coin, *Jerusalem the Holy*.

The Valuations of the *Hebrew Money* hitherto mentioned, must be understood only of *Silver Money*, and not of *Gold*, for that was much higher. The Proportion of *Gold* to *Silver* was among the antients most commonly as ten to one, sometimes it was raised to it as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. The present Proportion among us in *England*, is as sixteen to one, but the Understanding of the *Hebrew Coin* will be much easier by the following Table of Calculation.

|                                                                                                                                            | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>q.</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| The <i>Gerah</i>                                                                                                                           | 000       | 00        | 01        | 3         |
| An <i>Hebrew Drachm</i> or <i>Zuza</i>                                                                                                     | 000       | 00        | 09        |           |
| Two <i>Drachms</i> made a <i>Bekah</i> ,<br>or <i>half Shekel</i> , which was<br>Tribute Money paid by e-<br>very <i>Jew</i> to the Temple | 000       | 01        | 06        |           |
| Two <i>Bekahs</i> made a <i>Shekel</i>                                                                                                     | 000       | 03        | 00        |           |
| Sixty <i>Shekels</i> made a <i>Mina</i>                                                                                                    | 009       | 00        | 00        |           |
| Fifty <i>Minas</i> made a <i>Talent</i>                                                                                                    | 450       | 00        | 00        |           |
| A <i>Talent</i> of <i>Gold</i> sixteen to one                                                                                              | 7200      | 00        | 00        |           |



## C H A P. LVII.

Hebrew *Weights*.

*Scripture*  
*Weights.*  
Chap. 4.


Page 76.

THE principal Weights used by the *Hebrews* were the *Shekel*, the *Talent* and the *Mina* or *Maneh*; the *Shekel* (says Dr. *Cumberland*) was just of the weight of half an Ounce *Averdupoise* now, and antiently used in *England*, or it weigh'd 219 Grains used in our *Troy-weight*, and so wanted 21 Grains of the half Ounce *Troy*, and this he proves from many *Shekels* still remaining that differ not sensibly from this Weight; which may reasonably be thought to have been tried by the *Jewish* Standards when they were coined. Of these *Villalpandus* reckons up many, and *Greaves*, two, one in the Library of King *Charles the First*, of blessed Memory, weighed by Archbishop *Usher*, and another in Mr. *Selden's*, weighed by himself as he witnesseth in his learned Treatise of the *Roman Denarius*.

I have also, says the same learned Prelate, seen and weighed two *Shekels* with *Samaritan* Inscriptions on them, which (although I had not opportunity to weigh them to a Grain) yet I do testify they weighed within a very few Grains as is above expressed. Nor can I find any sufficient Reason to reject these as counterfeit, and if any will believe them to be such, yet it must be acknowledged, that they are made so as to agree in Weight with the Testimonies of the Ancients, which is sufficient to our Purpose, because their Value in our Coin may be deduced thence; for since it is known, that now by the Laws of our Mint, 62 Pence are coined out of every *Troy Ounce*, it will follow that 2 s. 4 d. and a Farthings worth of Silver with three Centesimals of a Penny over, must be contained in 219 Grains, which is the *Shekels* Weight.

By



By this Analogy; as 480 s. are to 62 d. so 219 s. Chap. 57. are to d. 28, 28 Decimals of a Penny which make  1 Farthing, and near the 8th Part of a Farthing.

Such was the *Shekel of the Sanctuary*. Another half so heavy is contended for by some Modern *Jews* and *Christians*. There is certainly a Piece of that Weight, but it constantly bears the Inscription of *half a Shekel*, called a *Bekah*, whose Weight must be 109 Grains and a half. The Quarter called *Zuza*, is Gra. 54, 75. Its twentieth Part <sup>1 Sam. ii. 36.</sup> which is the *Gerah* (and is understood to be the same with *Agurah*, which we translate indefinitely a *piece of Silver*) must be Gr. 10. 95: Which wanting but the twentieth Part of a Grain, of eleven Grains may pass for just so many.

The Weights less than a *Shekel* being stated, those which are greater may be called Sums of *Shekels*, and are the *Talent*, and the *Maneh*. A *Talent* was 3000 *Shekels*, as may be collected by halving the Number of the *Israelites* (because each one <sup>Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.</sup> brought half a *Shekel*) which half of their Number is 301775, and is the Sum of the *Shekels* which they all contributed. Now *Moses* assures us, that these amounted to 100 *Talents* with 1775 *Shekels* more, wherefore that Number which dividing 301775 will quote 100, and leave 1775 in Remainder, is the Number of *Shekels* in a *Talent*, but only 3000 will do this, therefore 3000 *Shekels* are a *Talent*. Now we may easily reduce the *Talent* to Ounces or Pounds *Averdupoize* used in Weight among us; for two *Shekels* are our Ounce *Averdupoize*, there- 1500 Ounces are in a *Talent*: Which Number divided by 16, the Ounces of a Pound *Averdupoize*, gives the Pounds in a *Talent*, thus 16) 1500 (93, 75. The Quote shews that 93 Pounds and three Quarters of a Pound *Averdupoize* are in a *Talent*. This Weight is the same now and in former Ages; but the true Value of this Weight of Silver or Gold alters in several Ages considerably, as Coins do every where.




Book. VI. The *Maneh*, being set for a meer Weight, without respect to the Coinage, contained just 100 *Shekels*: This seems clear by comparing the Text,   
 1 Kings x. 17. where it is said, that in each of *Solomon's* Shields were three *Maneh's*, or as we translate it, *Pounds*   
 2 Chron. ix. 16. of *Gold*, with another, where our Translation affirms, that 300 *Shekels* of *Gold* went to one of those Shields. And indeed, although the Word *Shekel* be not in the Original exprest, yet it must be understood, because *Ezekiel* assures us that by the *Shekel*, the *Maneh* was adjusted.

Levit. xix. 35. There is an an exprest Injunction in the *Mosaic* Law, *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in Judgment, in Mete-yard, in Weight, or in Measure*; so that   
 Præcept 260. says *Rabbi Levi, of Barcelona*, he who measures or weighs has the Office of a Judge, and if he commits any Frauds in his Measures and Weights, he is a Corrupter of Judgment, and is called wicked, abominable, accursed. He observes further, that such Men are the Cause of five Mischiefs which are imputed to unjust Judges, who defile the Land, prophane the Name of God, remove the Presence of the divine Majesty, bring a Sword upon the People, and at last carry them away Captive out of their own Country: And therefore great Punishments have been enacted in all Countries, against this Crime, as destructive to human Society; particularly *Justinian* ordained that such should be sorely beaten, as impious People. The *Mete-Yard*, refers to the Measuring of Land, Cloth, and other Things; for the Word in the Original signifies the Measure of continued Quantity, that is, in Things dry.

They were obliged to be just in *Weight*, by which they paid and received Money in those Days, and sold Brass, and Iron, and things of the like Nature; and they were commanded to do no unrighteousness in *Measure*, which relates to the Measure of discrete Quantity (as we speak) as of Corn, and of all continued fluid Quantity, as of Wine and Oil; the same *Rabbi Levi* will have



have it signify the very least of such Measures, Chap. 57.  
 about which, says he, the Law concerns it self,   
 that Men should be exact in them, as well as in  
 the greatest : And so *Hesychius* notes upon this  
 Occasion, that *Moses* provides against all Injustice,  
 in small Things, as well as in great ; for what  
 the Possession of a Field or a House is to a  
 wealthy Man, that the Measure of Corn, or  
 Wine, or the Weight of Bread is to the Poor,  
 who have daily Need of such Things for the Sup-  
 port of Life. The *Jewish* Doctors assert, that  
 it was a Constitution of their wise Men, for the  
 preventing of all Frauds in these Matters ; that  
 no Weights, Balances, or Measures should be  
 made of any Metal, as of Iron, Lead, Tin,  
 (which were liable to rust, or might be bent, or  
 easily impaired,) but of Marble, Stone, or Glass ;  
 which were less subject to be abused ; and there-  
 fore the Scripture speaking of the Justice of God's  
 Judgments, in the Book of *Proverbs*, observes  
 (according to the *Vulgate*) that they are weighed Prov. xvi. 11.  
 with all the Stones in the Bag.

For these excellent Constitutions *Moses* was so  
 famous, that his Name was celebrated on the  
 Account of them in other Nations. *Apuleius*  
 (a rude kind of Writer, but who had collected  
 much out of better Authors) says, that *Mochus*  
 was the Inventor of Scales, and Weights, and  
 that his Memory is preserved in the Constellation  
 called *Libra* : Now if for *Mochus*, we read *Mos-* Demonst. Evan.  
*chos*, it is the very Name of *Moses*, (*viz.* *Moschek*), Prop. 4. cap. 7.  
 who, as the learned *Huetius* observes, is so called  
 by other Authors.







## C H A P. LVIII.

## Measures of Capacity, among the Hebrews.

2 Kings vi. 25.

THE Measures of *Capacity*, are either of Things that are *Dry*, or of those that are *Liquid*; of the first Sort are the *Cab*, the least of *dry* Measures used by the *Jews*, containing about a quarter of a Peck, of our *English* Measure.

Levit. v. 11.

The *Ephah*, of the same Quantity with the *Bath*, (of which afterwards) only the one is for dry Things, the other for Wet. It may be called the *Hebrew Bushel*, because it was much about that Quantity, though some will have it to be much more, and others a considerable deal less; that is, half a Bushel, and a Pottle. Some say it contains about seven Gallons, others nine, so that we cannot fix the precise Quantity of this Measure; which neither the *Greek* Interpreters knew, though they were *Jews*, for they render the Word differently, sometimes μέτρον, sometimes πέμμη, and at other times ὕφει, and ὕφι, and οἰφει.

An *Homer*, or *Chomer*, is ten Baths or Ephahs; that is, ten Bushels say some; but others set it higher, making it fourteen Bushels; and others bring it lower, reducing it to about eight Bushels. This is the greatest (however the just and exact Quantity be disputed) of all dry Measures.

Exod. xvi. 36.

An *Omer*, or *Gnomer* in the *Hebrew*, in the *Vulgar Latin Gomor*, has been confounded by some Writers of no mean Note, with the *Homer*; and the *Seventy Interpreters* did so long before, calling both of them *Gomor*, but they are certainly two distinct Measures; for we are assured, that an *Omer* is the tenth Part of an *Ephah*, that is, the tenth



tenth Part of a Bushel, or thereabouts, and therefore is called a *Tenth Deal*; whereas the *Homer* contained ten *Ephabs*, or *Baths*, that is, ten Bushels. But yet this is an Equivocal Word, as appears from this Precept, *Ye shall bring a Sheaf of the first Fruits of your Harvest unto the high Priest.* It is the Word *Omer* which is here translated a *Sheaf*, (a far different thing from a Measure) and by the *Septuagint*, and vulgar *Latin Version*, a *Maniple*, or *Handful*; which is indeed a sort of Measure, but greatly disagreeing with the usual Signification of *Omer*; but in all other Places, the *Hebrew* Name it self is retained in the *Greek* and *Latin Versions*, as well as in ours.

Chap. 58.

Numb. xv. 4.

Levit. xxiii. 10.

The *Cor* is made by some a distinct Measure from those before named, but you will find that according to the vulgar *Latin*, a *Cor* and a *Chomer* are the same.

1 Kings iv. 22.

Ezek. xlv.

13, 14.

The Measures for Liquids among the *Hebrews*, were a *Log*, which contained about half a Pint; however, this is sure that it was the least of *Liquid Measures*.

Levit. xiv. 10.

A *Hin* was somewhat bigger than a *Log*, some say it held ten *Logs*, a great Gallon I may call it.

Numb. xv. 4.

A *Bath* was yet bigger, and contained six *Hins*, that is, about six Gallons; others say four Gallons and a half: And yet it is said to be of the same Capacity with the *Ephab*, that is, a Bushel; and consequently should hold eight Gallons.

Ezek. xlv. 11.

The *Homer* was also a Measure for Liquor, as well as for Grain, and it contained ten *Baths*, as is evident from the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *Ten Baths are an Homer*; but because a *Bath* is more or less, according to the different Determinations of Writers, we cannot assign the exact Quantity of an *Homer*.

Ezek. xlv. 14.

A *Cor* (which I before mentioned, as the same with the *Chomer*, the greatest of all dry Measures,) is also a Measure for Liquids. But it is

1 Kings v. 11.



Book VI. no wonder that we have not an exact Knowledge of these *Jewish* Measures, for even those that are mentioned in *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and very much fall short of the Antiquity of these, are but little known by us.

## C H A P. LIX.

*The Antiquity of Agriculture, and the Feeding of Cattle. The Offerings of Cain, and Abel.*


Gen. ii. 15.

WHEN God placed *Adam* in Paradise, a Garden of delight, he instructed him to dress and keep it, that is, according to the *Seventy*, to *work and belabour the Ground*; to open the Earth, to let in the Influences of Heaven, to prune the Trees, and cherish the Plants, to preserve the Fruits from the Beasts and Fowls, which had Admittance into that Place, and to keep all Things in good Order, as a skilful Gardener and Husbandman; for both these made up the first Employment and Trade in the World. And when Man was ejected out of Paradise, he was still set about the same Work, and there was more need of exercising this Art now than before, the Earth not being a little endamaged by the Curse which God had denounced against it, and had executed upon it; which was one Reason why *Adam* brought up his Son *Cain* to Husbandry and *tilling the Ground*, for now it wanted Manuring and Cultivating: And as his eldest Son was brought to take care of the Fruits of the Earth, so his next was bred up to feeding of Sheep. *Jabal* advanced higher, and became the first Grasier, for so the Words may be understood, *He was the Father of such as have Cattle*, that is, other Cattle besides Sheep; for these and the keeping or feed-

Gen. iii. 23.

Gen. iv. 20.



ing of them had been mentioned before : He Chap. 59.  
lived upon Pasturage, and for that purpose was   
*the Father of such as dwell in Tents* ; the Meaning  
of which is, that others generally lived in one  
fixed Place and Habitation, but he and those of his  
Calling went from one Place to another feeding.  
They travelled as their Cattle did, and for this  
Reason it was requisite they should have Tents ;  
accordingly that they might take Care of their  
Flocks and Herds the better ; they invented these  
Coverings, that they might be out in the Fields  
all Night under this Shelter. This was the pri-  
mitive State of Things, *Adam* and his First-born  
Son were Husbandmen, and others of his Race  
were busied in feeding of Cattle. Such was the  
Employment of those that were the first Heirs  
of the World.

For a long time after, in the first and most un-  
corrupted Ages, this was the Entertainment of the  
greatest Persons, the old Patriarchs embraced this  
kind of Life, and the Wealthiest of them lived  
by looking to their Grounds, and to their Flocks.  
*Moses*, the great Law-giver of the *Hebrews*, was  
a Shepherd ; *Nabal* and *Absalom* were *Sheep-Ma-*  
*sters* ; *Elijah* when he was busy at the Plough,  
was called to the Prophetick Dignity and Office ;  
and *Amos* of a Herdsman, became a divine Mes-  
senger, and Preacher : *Shamgar* was taken from  
the Herd to be a Judge in *Israel*, and with the  
same Goad that he drove his Oxen, he slew six  
hundred Men ; *Gideon's* Seat of State and  
Justice, was in a *Threshing-Floor* : The renown-  
ed *Jair*, and *Jephthah*, were fetched from that  
Employment to be Judges ; and *David* the Son  
*Jesse*, was taken from the *Sheepfolds*. Thus the  
Pastoral Art was a Preludium to Empire and  
Government. King *Uzziah* was a *Lover of Hus-*  
*bandry* ; and the wise *Solomon* confessed, that the <sup>2 Chron. xxvi.</sup>  
*Profit of the Earth was for the Advantage of all* ; <sup>10.</sup>  
and more especially (as it is in the *Hebrew*,) <sup>Eccles. v. 2.</sup> *the*  
*King himself is a Servant to the Field.*



## Book VI

Gen. iv. 3.

The first Oblations that were made to God were of the Fruit of the Ground, and of the Firstlings of the Flock: They were offered by Cain and Abel, in process of Time as the Text speaks; in the Hebrew the Words are in the End of Days, that is, in the Conclusion of the Year, or after Harvest. This was a very seasonable Time to make their Acknowledgements to God, who had given them a fruitful Year, and blessed them with Increase. The first of these Offerings were the most antient Sacrifices among the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans, as their Authors tell us; and therefore it is supposed, that Adam began with these Oblations of Herbs, Flowers, Frankincense, Meal, &c. in which Cain followed him, being of the same Profession, and provided with such Things. Now as there were some solemn Times of making their devout Acknowledgments to God, so without question there were some set Places where they met for that Purpose, for it is said, they brought their Offerings; and the Word in the Hebrew is never used about domestick, or private Sacrifices, but always about those publick Sacrifices, which were brought to the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, to be offered by the Priest, as it is expressed in Leviticus, He shall bring the Bullock to the Door, &c. which occurs all along, especially in the ninth Chapter of that Book.

Levit. iv. 4.

And therefore, I suppose they brought their Sacrifices here mentioned, to some fixed Place, looking towards the Shechinah, or glorious Presence of God, at the Entrance of the Garden of Eden, from which Adam had been expelled: for there being no doubt some settled Place, where they performed sacred Offices, it is most reasonable to think it had respect to the Shechinah, or the divine Majesty. Wheresoever that appeared, there they appeared (as the Scripture speaks) before God, because there he manifested his special Presence, which moved them to go thither to worship



worship him, to give him Thanks, or to enquire of him. Chap. 59.

What Kind of Sacrifices these were is a Question among learned Men. The *Talmudists* are of Opinion that they were *whole Burnt-Offerings*, and that there was no other before the Law was given, nor would the *Jews*, after the giving of the Law, permit the *Gentiles* to offer any other at their Temple. It is their Opinion also, that *Cain* and *Abel* brought these Sacrifices to be offered by *Adam*; but the most difficult Question is, how they came to sacrifice at all, either *Meal* or *Beasts*? since we read of no divine Command requiring them to bring such Oblations; which induced some to conclude, that Men did this out of a grateful Inclination to return God some of his own Blessings, though they had no Directions from him about it. But if this were true, How came *Abel* to believe, that his Sacrifice of a Beast would be so acceptable to God; as the Apostle says, it was by *Faith*? That *Faith* had certainly something else to warrant it than barely his own Reason. *Adam* in all likelihood had received some Order concerning it, and sacrificed by Direction from the *Shechinah* or divine Majesty, from whence a Voice spake to him upon several Occasions. This Order indeed is not recorded, no more than many other Things which *Moses* has omitted in the Book of *Genesis*; but it does not seem probable, that *Adam* would have presumed to invent a Way of Worship, by killing Beasts and burning their Fat, especially since one cannot perceive any Inclination to it in Nature. And therefore *Eusebius* very judiciously observes, in my Opinion, that this way of Worship was not taken up by Chance, or by a human Notion, but suggested to them by a divine Intimation. *Plato*, one would suppose, had some Thought of this, when he forbids his Law-maker (in his *Epinomis*) to make any Alterations in the Rites of Sacrificing, because it is not possible for our mortal Nature to know any thing about such Matters.

Heb. xi. 4.

Gen. ii. 16, 17,  
iii. 8, 9.

Demonst. Evan.  
L. I. c. 10.

The



Book. VI.

Hist. of Tythes  
Chap. I.

Heb. xi. 4.

Levit. ix. 24.

Judges vi. 21.

Sec.

The Offering of *Abel* was of *the Firstlings* of his *Flock*; and therefore many have fancied from hence that *Cain's* Guilt lay in this; that he did not bring *the first* of his Fruit as he ought to have done, as the Heathens ever did, or were bound to do by the pontifical Laws (as Mr *Selden* observes) in their *Præmessum*, that is, the first Fruits of their Corn, or their *Calpar*, which was the richest of their Wine: For it is only said, he brought *of the Fruit of his Ground*, when *Abel* brought *of the Firstlings of his Flock*. And *Moses* also adding, that *Abel* brought *of the Fat thereof*, that is the very best, they think that *Cain's* Fault was, that he brought not the fullest Ears of Corn (which he kept for himself) but the leanest, and offered them with a niggardly Hand, or a grudging Mind. Thus *Palladius* in his Life of St. *Chrysostome* says, *He was the first that tasted the first Fruits, and kept the best Things for his own Belly*. But there is no Certainty of this; and the Apostle to the *Hebrews* has directed us to a better Account. *Abel* offered with a pious Mind, *Cain* without a due Sense of God and sincere Affection to him. He offered the Fruit of his Ground, but did not devote himself to God, therefore he did not so much as shine upon his Sheaves, much less make them ascend up to Heaven in a Smoke, though he were the elder Brother and brought his Offering first. God testified his Acceptance of *Abel's* Sacrifice, say the *Jews*, by a Fire from Heaven (or rather I think by a Stream of Light, or a Flame from the *Shechinah* or glorious Presence of God to whom it was offered) which *burnt up his* Sacrifice. Thus it is expressed in the Translation of *Theodotion*, *He looked upon Abel's Sacrifices and set them on Fire*; of which there were many Examples in future Times, to be met with in the holy Scriptures.



C H A P. LX.

Of Ploughing Sowing, *and* Reaping.

**I**N the first Ages of the World, Men were chiefly employed in digging and throwing up Gen. ix. 20. the Earth with their own Hands, but *Noah* advanced the Art of Husbandry, and found out fitter Instruments for Ploughing than were known before. This Patriarch is called *a Man of the Ground*, but in our Translation a *Husbandman*, because of the Improvements he made in Agriculture, and of the Inventions he found out to make the Earth more tractable and fruitful. It was a Curse upon the Earth after the Fall, that it should bring forth Thorns and Thistles: These Obstructions were to be removed, which required a great deal of Pains; and the Ground was to be corrected by Ploughing.

The *Hebrews* were forbidden by the Law of *Moses*, to plough with an Ox and an Ass together. Deut. xxii. 10. This Precept, without doubt, had respect to some Magical Rites, used by the Idolatrous Nations of the *Eastern* Countries; who thought their Fields would be more fruitful, if according to some Directions which had been given by their Gods, they were ploughed: For it can scarce be supposed, that Men of themselves, would join together two Creatures so different in their Temper and Motions, to draw in the same Yoke, if they had not been led to it by some Superstition; for as *Eben-Ezra* observes upon this Law, *The Strength of an Ass is not as the Strength of an Ox*; whence it was, that *Ulysses*, to make it be believed that he was mad, joined a Horse, and an Ass to plough. The *Jews* commonly think this Law extends to all other Creatures of different Species, which might not be yoked; but some understand it so, that they might join several Kinds together, provided



Book VI.

2 Cor. vi. 14.

vided one was not unclean, and the other clean :  
And there are those who think the Apostle alludes to this, when he says, *Be not unequally yoked together with Unbelievers.*

Judges iii. 31.

Bochart L. 1.  
Canaan c. 18.

Edit. 4. p. 110.

There is no Account of Ploughing in Scripture, but with Oxen drawing by Pairs, in a Yoke, which without doubt, was practised before the Time of *Moses*, who was long before *Ceres*, or *Triptolemus*; to whom this Invention is ascribed by the *Greeks*. *Elisha* was ploughing with twelve Yoke of Oxen, when *Elijah* found him, which shows him to have been a great Man; who, according to the Manners of those antient Times, looked after his Business himself; his Servants managed the rest, he himself drove the last. *Shamgar*, who was called to be a Judge in *Israel*, it is supposed was at Plough when the *Philistines* came to invade his Country; and gave them such a Repulse, with the loss of Six Hundred of their Men, without any other Weapon than an *Ox Goad*. And thus *Lycurgus* is said to have overthrown the Forces of *Bacchus*, without any other Arms, but *βεπλῆνι*, an *Ox Goad*. The ingenious Mr. *Maundrel* in his Journey from *Jerusalem* to *Aleppo*, relates, that when he was near *Jerusalem*, he came to a certain Place, where (says he) “ The Country People were every where at Plough “ in the Fields, in order to sow Cotton: ’Twas “ observable, that in Ploughing, they used *Goads* “ of an extraordinary Size; upon measuring of “ several, I found them to be about eight Foot “ long, and at the bigger End, six Inches in “ Circumference. They were armed at the lesser “ End with a sharp Prickle, for driving of the “ Oxen, and at the other End, with a small “ Spade, or Paddle of Iron, strong and massy, “ for cleansing the Plough from the Clay that “ incumbers it in working. May we not from “ hence conjecture, that it was with such a *Goad* “ as one of these, that *Shamgar* made that prodigious Slaughter related of him. I am confident,



“ fident, that whoever should see one of these Chap. 60.  
 “ Instruments, would judge it to be a Weapon,  
 “ not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a Sword for  
 “ such an Execution : *Goads* of this Sort I saw  
 “ always used hereabouts, and also in *Syria* ; and  
 “ the Reason is, because the same single Person  
 “ both drives the Oxen, and also holds and ma-  
 “ nages the Plough ; which makes it necessary to  
 “ use such a *Goad* as is above described, to avoid  
 “ the Incumbrance of two Instruments.

The Method of managing the Ground, and preparing it for the Seed, was much the same with the Practice of the present Times ; for *Jeremiah* speaks of *Ploughing up the fallow Ground*, Jerem. iv. 3.  
 and *Isaiah* of *Harrowing, or breaking up the Clods* ; Isa. xxviii. 24.  
 but *Moses* gave a positive Injunction, that they should not sow their Fields *with mingled Seed*.

*Philo* remarks ingeniously upon this Occasion, De Creatione  
*Things of the same Kind were made for Society one Princip.*  
*with another, but Things heterogeneous (as we call them) were not intended to be mixed, and associ-*  
*ated ; and therefore, he who attempts to mingle them,*  
*wickedly destroys the Law of Nature.* This Law Precept. 250.  
 is extended by *Rabbi Levi*, to Trees, which he says they were not to ingraft one upon another ; but it concerns, they say, only such Seeds and Plants as are for Mens Food, not those that are for Medicine. But *Maimonides* found a particular More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 37.  
 Reason for this Precept, from the Idolatrous Customs of the old *Zabij*, who not only sowed different Seeds, and grafted Trees of a different Kind upon one another, in such or such Aspect of the Planets, and with a certain Form of Words and Fumigations, but also used abominable Filthiness, at the very Moment of the Incision ; which he proves out of a Book, *concerning the Incision of an Olive into a Citron*, and doubts not that God forbid his People to *sow with mingled Seed*, that he might root out the detestable Idolatry, and those preternatural Lusts which abounded in those Days.

Among



Book. VI.

Deut. xi. 14.

Deut. xxviii. 5.

Gen. 23.

More Nevoch.  
p. 3. c. 30.

Among many Rewards promised to the *Jews* for their Obedience, they were to expect the *first Rain*, to soften their Ground, before the sowing of their Seed, and after it was sown, that it might take Root in the Earth, and spring up; and *the latter Rain*, by which their Corn was brought forward when it was but in the Blade, to Earing, and so on to Harvest. They were to be blessed *in their Basket and their Store*, which signifies, their Barns should be full, where they laid up their Corn, and other Fruits of the Earth; they should be preserved from Fire, or Thieves, or other Disasters; and they should have over and above what was sufficient for their present Use. As a Curse for their Disobedience, it was threatened, that the Clouds which hung over their Country, should have no more Moisture in them than Brass, and that the Earth should be as hard as Iron, for want of Rain to soften it. The Observation of *Maimonides* is worth noting upon this Part of the Law, That the *Zabij*, an antient sort of Idolaters in the *Eastern* Countries, thought the Fruitfulness of the Earth, depended upon the Worship of the Planets, and the rest of the heavenly Bodies: “ And therefore their wise  
 “ Men, and their Prophets (as he says he found  
 “ in their Books, particularly in one, concerning  
 “ the *Husbandry of the Egyptians*,) taught the  
 “ People to keep Festivals in their Honour, be-  
 “ cause the Fruitfulness of the Earth, upon which  
 “ Men subsist, depends upon their Will and  
 “ Pleasure. In opposition to which, God order-  
 “ ed *Moses* to tell the *Israelites* in his Name,  
 “ that if they worshipped the Stars, they should  
 “ have no Rain, the Earth should be barren, the  
 “ Trees yield no Fruit, the Season prove un-  
 “ healthful, and their Lives be shortened: On  
 “ the contrary, if they worshipped Him, the  
 “ Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Him alone,  
 “ they should have Showers from above, the  
 “ Earth should bring forth abundantly, and they  
 “ should



“ should be blessed with healthful Seasons, sound Bodies, and long Life.” It is further threatened if they would not conform to their Duty, that there should be such a long Drought, that instead of Rain, Showers of Dust, blown up into the Air by the Wind, should fall down from Heaven upon them; that they should be oppressed sorely by Famine, for they should carry much Seed into the Field, but should gather little in; that Strangers should eat up the Fruit of their Land and of their Labours, and that Swarms of Locusts should devour the Produce of their Trees and of their Fields.

Chap. 60.

Deut. xxv. ii. 24.  
ver. 38.

The sorts of Grain that they sowed, were Fitches, Cummin, Wheat, Barley, and Rice; there were three Months between their Sowing, and their first Reaping, and four Months to their full Harvest; their Barley Harvest was at the Passover, and their Wheat Harvest at the Pentecost. The Reapers made use of Sickles, and according to the present Custom *they filled their Hands* with the Corn, and *those that bound up the Sheaves* their Bosom: There was a Person set over the Reapers, to see that they did their Work, that they had Provision proper for them, and to pay them their Wages; the *Chaldees* call him *Rab*, the Master, the Ruler, or Governor of the Reapers. The Women were used to reap as well as the Men, and such was the Piety of antient Times, that such who came into the Field, saluted those they saw at Work in this Form, *The Lord be with you*, to which they answered, *The Lord bless thee*. This was practised by the *Gentiles* themselves, especially in Harvest-time; which they would not begin, by putting the Sickle into the Corn, till *Ceres* had been invoked; as *Virgil* relates in the first Book of his *Georgicks*. This religious Salutation became familiar among the *Jews*, and was continued even to our Saviour's Days, when the *Angel* saluted the blessed *Virgin* after this Manner. The Reapers were usually entertained

Isa. xxviii. 25.

Weemse's Works.  
Vol. 3. Tract. 2.  
p. 192.

Ruth ii. 5.

Ruth ii. 4.

ver. 347. 348.

Luke v. 28.



Book VI. entertained above the Rank of common Servants, though in the time of *Boaz*, we find nothing provided for them, but Bread, and parched Corn, and their Sawce was Vinegar, it being very cool in those hot Countries. The Poor were allowed the Liberty of leasing, they were not bound to admit them immediately into the Field, as soon as the Reapers had cut down the Corn, and bound it up in Sheaves, but when it was carried off: they might choose also among the Poor, whom they thought most Worthy, or most Neccessitous.

Ruth ii. 14.

## CHAP. LXI.

### Of Threshing and Grinding the Corn.

Isa. xxviii. 27.

Amos ii. 13.

AFTER the Grain was carried into the Barn, the next Concern was to *thresh*, or beat the Corn out of the Ear, which (as was before observed) was performed different Ways. It was done sometimes by drawing a loaded Cart with Wheels over the Corn backwards and forwards, so that the Wheels running over it, did forcibly shake out the Grain. Of this is exprefs mention in *Isaiab*, where we read that *Ophan gnagalah*, the Cart Wheel was turned about upon some sort of Corn: And this in the next Verse, is called *Gilgal gnagalah*, which is the same; and therefore by the vulgar *Latin*, is rendered both here, and in the former Place *Rota Plaustri*. To this bruising of their Corn with loaded Carts, perhaps that place of *Amos* refers, (although otherwise applied by Expositors generally) which may be rendered thus, *I am pressed under you, as a full Cart presseth the Sheaves, or Sheaf*; (for it is in the singular Number,) It sets forth the Manner of Threshing in those Days, which was by pressing the Ears  
of



of Corn with a heavy Cart, and forcing out the Grain, by bringing the Wheels often over it. Chap. 61.

Another antient way of Threshing, was with a wooden Slead, or Dray without Wheels, full of Iron Nails or Teeth, on the Side towards the Ground, and loaded with massy Iron, or some other heavy Weights at the Top to make it heavy; and this was drawn by Oxen over the Corn, till the Ears were so pressed, that the Grain flew out. This Instrument was commonly known (as the *Hebrew* Masters, and *Talmudists* report,) Isa. xxviii. 27. by the Name of *Morag*, and also of *Cherutz*; 2 Sam. xxiv. 22 and accordingly it has these Names given it, and both of them together we meet with in *Isaiah*, where it is translated by us a *sharp threshing Instrument*; and in the same Place it is said to have *Teeth*, which plainly refers to the aforesaid make of it; and shews that this great wooden Plank was set at the Bottom with Iron Teeth, or Spikes to cut the Sheaves, and make way for the Grain to come out: And to these Iron Nails or Teeth, the Prophet *Amos* refers, where this sort of Country Tackling is called *Threshing Instruments of Iron*. Amos i. 4. Upon the whole, it appears, that the Instrument wherewith Husbandmen at this Day break the Clods of Earth, was used heretofore (when they had not attained any great Skill in these Affairs,) in threshing the Corn; for by the Description that is given of it, it seems to have been a kind of *Harrow*.

They threshed with Oxen, who with their Hoofs (which for that Purpose were generally shod with Iron or Brass,) were used to tread out the Corn, and sometimes they brought in a whole Herd of Oxen, to trample upon it. This way of Threshing is refer'd to, when they were forbidden to muzzle the Ox when he treadeth out the Corn. And this is plainly alluded to in *Hosea*, Hos. x. 11. *Ephraim is a Heifer that is taught, and loveth to tread out the Corn*; and in *Micah*, Mich. iv. 12, 13. *He shall gather them as Sheaves into the Floor, (that is, to be threshed.)*



Book VI. *ed,) Arise, and thresh, I will make thy Hoofs Brass and thou shalt beat in Pieces.*

Another Method of Threshing, was that which is now in Use with us, that is, with Flails ; some sort of Grain and Seeds were beaten out with this *Flagella*, (for this is the Word whence the *English* one comes,) as is clear from *Isaiab*, *The Fetches was beaten out with a Staff, and the Cummin with a Rod* ; and generally Bread-Corn was thus threshed. Of this Nature was *Gideon* and *Judges vi. 10.* *Araunah's* threshing of Wheat, for it is represented as their personal Action, and those general Terms *Chabat*, and *Dash*, (the Words in those Places) favour this Sense ; and in the former Text, Threshing is rendered by *αβδιζων*, in the Version of the *Septuagint*, which signifies beating with Staves, Sticks, or Rods.

Sometimes they used the Feet of Horses, to tread out the Corn, as may be gathered from the *Scripture*, in *Isaiab*, *He will not ever be threshing it, nor break it with the Wheel of his Cart, nor bruise it with his Horsemen.* These Threshing Floors were Places of great Note among the old *Hebrews*, particularly that of *Araunah*, the *Jebusite*, which was the Spot of Ground made choice of by King *David*, to build the Altar of God upon ; and this was the very Place where the Temple of *Solomon* was afterwards erected. These Floors were covered at the Top, to keep off the Rain, but lay open on all Sides, that the Wind might come in freely, for the Winnowing of the Corn ; which being done, I suppose, they were shut up at Night, with Doors fitted to them, that if any Body lay there, he might be kept warm, and the Corn be secured from the Danger of Robbers : The Time of Winnowing, or separating the Corn from the Chaff, was in the Evening, when the Heat of the Day was over, and cool Breezes began to rise ; for this Purpose, they had the same Implements which are in com-  
mon



Isa. xxx. 24.  
Amos ix. 9.

The manner of *Grinding*, was either in Mortars, or in Mills ; that both of these were in use, appears by the Text, where we read of *Rechuim*, Numb. xi. 8. Mills, and *Medacah*, a Mortar. In this latter they were used *Pinsere*, (for from the Jews this Practice descended to the Romans,) to pound or bray their Corn ; whence *Bakers*, who did this in order to make their Bread, had their Name *Pistores* : That they used of old to beat and bruise their Wheat in a Mortar, with a heavy Pestle, may be collected from the *Proverbs*, where this hollow Vessel is called *Maatesh*. But Mills were chiefly made use of for this Purpose in those early Times ; and they were of such Use and Necessity, that Men were strictly forbidden to take the Nether or the upper Milstone to Pledge, because it was taking a Man's Life. The Grinding at Mills, was counted an inferior sort of Work, and therefore, Prisoners and Captives were generally set to it ; whence, to take Milstones and grind Meal, is part of the Description of a Slave ; and to this refers *Sampson's* Grinding in the Prison House : For of old Time there were Mills in the Prisons, (whence *Pistrinum* is used both for

E e 2

a Mill,



Book VI. a Mill, and a Prison,) and the Prisoners were  
 used by Grinding, to earn their Living, and procure themselves Food ; however, this was counted a very laborious, and slavish Employment : And this was in Use, not only among the *Jews*, and *Philistines*, but the *Egyptians* also ; and thence there is mention of the *Maid Servant behind the Mill*, that is, thrusting it forward with her Arm. So among the *Chaldeans*, the young Men, the Captives of *Judea*, were taken by them to grind, but for the most Part, the Women Servants were employed in this Drudgery, as is deducible from the Gospel ; Women are said to be *grinding at the Mill*, whilst the Men are *in the Field*. Therefore, *Buxtorf* observes, that the Word for Grinders is *Resosbeth*, of the feminine Gender, to note that Grinding was usually Womens Work. These Mills which they used in those Days, were Hand Mills, and therefore, before the Invention of others that go with greater Force, they first dried their Corn, (as I mentioned before) that they might grind it with the greater Ease.

Exod. xi. 5.

Lam. v. 13.

Mat. xxiv. 41.

Lex Chald.  
p. 586.



C H A P. LXII.

*Of Vineyards and Oliveyards.*

**I**T is supposed, that before the Flood Mankind were accustomed to eat Grapes, but drank no Wine (unless the Off-spring of *Cain* may be said to have debauch'd themselves with it, of whom it is recorded in the Gospel that *they drank*). The first Planter of a regular Vineyard was *Noah*, who apprehending how seasonable the Benefit of Wine would be at that Time, when the Flood had chilled the Earth and Air, and made every Thing look bleak and dismal, set Vines in the warm Place where his dwelling was. He made choice of a proper Soil for them, for *Armenia* is noted for an excellent Ground for Vines, and the Vines of that Place are celebrated by Historians. And now when the good old Man had taken this Pains, and skilfully order'd that generous Fruit by pressing out the Juice, he began to taste the Product of his Labours, which happen'd to be with ill Success, for he had chosen so excellent a Spot of Ground, and had so richly cultivated it, that the Liquor proved too potent and active for his Brain, so that through the Heat of the Weather, and of the Wine he threw off his Clothes, and *was uncover'd in his Tent*.

Luke xvii. 27.  
Gen. ix. 20.

It was ordained by the Law of *Moses*, that they should not sow their Vineyards with divers Seeds, which without doubt was an Idolatrous Custom, as the Reason given against it plainly shows. *Maimonides* says, that he found it written in a Book of the *Zabij*, that these three Things Wheat, Barley, and Grapes dried in the Sun, should be sown together in the Ground with one and the same cast of the Hand, which was so senseless a Thing, that he could not but think they learnt it from the Ways of the *Amorites*, as his Words are, that is

Deut. xvii. 9.  
*More Nevoch.*  
P. 3. c. 37.



Book VI. from the wicked Idolaters of the Country to which the *Israelites* were going when this Law was given; for Wheat being sown properly at one season of the Year, and Barley at another, and a Vineyard being an improper Place for the growth of either of them, this Custom could not have its Original either from God or from Man, but from the Devil the Author of Confusion, who perhaps taught them this uncouth Rite in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, whom they joined in the same Act of Worship. If the *Israelites* had followed this Custom, it would have made the Corn and the Grapes that sprung up from such Seed, impure, because polluted by Idolatry, the very Smell of which says *Maimonides*, God would not have to remain among them. Besides, it was unlawful for the *Hebrews* to eat any of the Fruits of the Earth, till the first Fruits of them had been offered to God, which would not have been accepted by him of such Things that were expressly forbidden by his Law, and consequently the whole Crop became unclean to them, and might not be used by them.

Numb. xiii. 23.  
Page 862.

The Land of *Palestine* abounded with generous Wine, and the Clusters of Grapes, especially in the Southern Part of the Country were of an extraordinary Bigness, so that the Spies, who were sent to search the Land of *Canaan*, bore one Cluster between two on their Shoulders upon a Staff. In Confirmation of this *Forster* in his *Hebrew Dictionary* asserts, that there was a Preacher at *Norimberg* called *Achaicus* who lived as a Monk eight Years in the Holy Land, who told him upon his sick Bed, that in his Time there were Clusters of Grapes at *Hebron* of such a Size, that one single Kernel was sufficient to quench his Thirst for a whole Day, when he lay sick there of a Tympany. The time of Vintage was a season of Joy and Feasting, and it was denounced as a Curse upon the Land of *Moab*, that in their Vineyards there should be no singing, neither shall there be shouting, the Treaders shall tread out no Wine in their

Isa. xvi. 13.

Pres-



*Presses; I have made their Vintage-shouting to cease.* Chap. 62.  
 And it is recorded of the Men of *Shechem*, that they gathered their *Vineyards*, and trod the *Grapes*, and made merry. Their Mirth consisted in plentiful Entertainments, in Dances with Musick and Songs: Which was a Practice used among the *Greeks* in Honour of *Bacchus*, when they pressed out the *Grapes*.  
Judg. ix. 27.  
 Spencer de Leg.  
 Hebr. Lib. III.  
 Differt. 1.

It was a Curse pronounced upon the *Israelites*, that upon their Disobedience, they should plant *Vineyards* and dress them, but they should neither drink of the *Wine*, nor eat the *Grapes*, for the *Worms* should eat them. It seems there is a peculiar sort of *Worms* that infest the *Vines*, called by the *Latins* *Volvox* and *Convolvulus*, because it wraps and rolls it self up in the *Buds*, and eats the *Grapes* up, when they grow towards a *Ripeness*, as the *Roman* Authors explain it.  
Deut. xxviii.  
 39.  
 Bochart. Hieroz.  
 p. 3. l. 4. c. 27.

Besides other *Fruits* that were common in *Ju-dea*, as *Dates*, *Figs*, *Pomegranates*, they had regular Plantations of *Olives*; and among the *Judgments* with which God threatned the *Israelites* for their *Sins*, it was denounced, that though they had *Olive-trees* through all their *Coasts*, yet they should not anoint themselves with the *Oil*, for the *Olive* should cast her *Fruit*; being blasted (as the *Jerusalem Targum* explains it) in the very *Blossom*, the *Buds* should drop off for want of *Rain*, or the *Fruit* should be eaten with *Worms*. *Maimonides* observes, that the *Idolaters* in those *Countries* pretended by certain *Magical Arts* to preserve all manner of *Fruit*, so that the *Worms* should not gnaw the *Vines*, nor either *Buds* or *Fruits* fall from the *Trees* (as he relates their *Words* out of one of their *Books*): Therefore to deter the *Israelites* from all idolatrous Practices, *Moses* pronounces that they should draw upon themselves those very Punishments, which they endeavour'd by such means to avoid.  
Deut. xxviii.  
 40.  
 More Nevo. h.  
 p. 3. c. 37.

The *Fruit* of *Trees* that were planted for *Food*, was to be accounted impure for the three first Years.



Book VI.



Lev. xix. 23.

Years, which Command in the *Levitical Law* is understood by some *Jews* to refer only to the Vine, which, say they, if it be not cut for sometime, its Grapes are not so large, nor the Wine so good, nor fit to be offered at the Altar. But *Moses* expressly mentions *all manner of Trees for Food*, and therefore there can be no Pretence for this Limitation; and a very good Account, as *Nachmanides* observes, may be given of this Prohibition, if we have Respect only to natural Reason; for young Trees grow better, if they are stript of their Fruit, the Juice which is waterish and unconcocted, having neither a pleasant Smell nor Taste; and therefore not proper for Food, and upon that account not fit to be offered as the first Fruits to God.

More Nevoch.

p. 3. c. 37.

But, besides all this, *Maimonides* asserts, that there was an idolatrous Custom among the *Zabij* to which this Law of *Moses* may reasonably be thought to be opposed; for they imagined all Trees would be blasted, or their Fruit fall off, whose first Fruit was not offered in their Idol Temples, and the other Part eaten there. And therefore God commanded his People to forbear to eat the Fruit of any Tree till the fourth Year, and not doubt of the Fruitfulness of their Plantations, though they did not consecrate the Fruit of the foregoing Years, after the manner that the *Gentiles* did. The Fruit of the fourth Year was to be offered as the first Fruit to God, and for their Obedience to this Precept, he promises they should lose nothing by staying, till the fifth Year for the Fruit of their Trees, for by forbearing so long, their Trees should be the more exceeding fruitful; and therefore says *Maimonides*, they were sure to receive abundant Increase, though they did not use the wicked Arts which the *Zabij* did; for it was their Custom to let certain Things lie till they are putrified, and when the Sun was in such a Degree to sprinkle them about the Trees which they had planted, using certain Magical Ceremonies, by which they fancied Flowers and Fruits would be produced



ced sooner, than they could have been without Chap. 63.  
these Practices.

C H A P. LXIII.

*Of the Feeding of Cattle.*

**T**HE Riches of the Old *Hebrews* consisted in Flocks and Herds, and very much Cattle, that is in Camels, in Oxen, and black Cattle, in Goats and Sheep, and Asses ; to look after them was the Business of the antient Patriarchs, and of their Children, their Daughters not being exempted from taking Charge of them, whose Office it was to water them, and tend them in their Pasture. They were very expert in this Profession, and *Jacob* particularly gave a nice Testimony of his Skill when he bargain'd with *Laban* his Father-in-Law, about the Hire he was to have for taking Care of his Cattle. The Contract stood thus, Gen. XXX. 23, &c.

He was to separate all the Sheep and Goats, and then out of those that were of one Colour he was to have all that should prove hereafter to be spotted or speckled. Now this was a Thing so unlikely to happen, that *Laban* greedily embraced the Motion, thinking that white or black Cattle, would bring forth none but such as were like themselves. This Separation being made it would appear, that if *Jacob* had any spotted, they were not taken from *Laban's* Flocks, but given by God as a Reward of his honest Diligence. *Laban* therefore went and separated the spotted Cattle from the rest, and then, lest *Jacob* should procure any of them to mix with those of one Colour, he committed them to his own Sons to be set apart by themselves ; he removed them to the Distance of three Days Journey, that none might be in Danger to stray to the Cattle which were fed by *Jacob*, unto whose Care were committed all that had no Spots at all.

Now



## Book VI.

Now *Jacob* to obtain his Purpose made use of three Artifices. The first was this, he procured some Rods of green Poplar, and of the Hazel (or rather of the Almond) and Chesnut Tree, and peel'd off the Bark from the Rods, till the white appeared between the Bark, which was of a different Colour. These Rods thus discoloured, he laid in the Channels of Water at that Time, when the Cattle were used to couple; that their Fancies might be painted with such divers Colours as they saw in the Rods. The *Greek* Fathers ascribe this to the miraculous Operation of God, as *Bochart* observes, but the *Latin* Fathers, particularly *St. Jerome*, look upon it as done by the natural working of the Imagination. For which he alledges the like Practice followed in *Spain* among Horses and Mares, and brings *Quintilian* and *Hippocrates* to justify the like Conceptions in Women, which he supports with a great Number of Authorities out of *Galen* and other Writers, who have observed indelible Marks to have been impressed upon Children, by the Objects that were presented to the Mother's Fancy at the Time of her Conception. *St. Austin* asserts, that the *Egyptians* by the like Device with this of *Jacob's*, had still a new *Apis* or *Pied Bull*, to succeed that which died, to whom they gave Divine Honour. But whatever Power there might be in natural Imagination to produce such Effects, it must be confessed, that God gave an extraordinary Blessing to this Contrivance, as appears by the Vision which *Jacob* says he had, wherein God (who had directed him to this Invention) promised to give it Success.

This Stratagem took Effect, those young Cattle (whether Lambs or Kids) which were brought forth spotted, he did not suffer to remain with the Flock of *Laban*, lest he should say, he did him wrong by letting them mix together, and so bring spotted Cattle, (and perhaps he might think also that they looking upon *Laban's* one coloured Cattle might bring forth young Ones like to them.)

But

*Hierozoicon*, p.  
1. l. ii. c. 9.

*Gen.* xxi. 10,  
11, 12.



But instead of this way of enriching himself he had a *second* Artifice, which was to put the spotted Cattle (produced by the former Device) *foremost*, so that *Laban's* Flock should always look upon them, and thereby be the more apt to conceive the like. Those which brought forth spotted by this second Artifice he also put by themselves, and suffered them not to be mingled with *Laban's* Cattle, as before he had separated those that were brought forth spotted, by looking upon the Rods.

This was the third Device, which is thus expounded by the *Chaldee*, and many other Authors; he laid the Rods before the Cattle only in the Spring time, when the Sun was ascending, and the Cattle lusty and vigorous: But let them alone, when the Cattle came together in *September*, or the Declension of the Year (for they bred twice a Year in those Countries) at which Time they were become more feeble. If he had always laid the Rods before the Cattle, there might have been none but spotted, and so *Laban* have been quite impoverished; therefore he chose to do it in their first and prime Copulation, which was in the Spring time, and omitted in the latter which was in the Autumn. Our famous Mr. *Mede* follows this Interpretation. But there is no certainty in it; for *Pliny* and *Columella* prefer these begot in Autumn to those begot in the Spring. And therefore our Translation is most proper, which represents *Jacob* using this Artifice of laying the Rods before them, when the stronger Cattle came together, and not when the weaker. And so the Seventy understood the Words, without Respect to the former or latter breed, and this is the proper Sense of the *Hebrew*. Some have made it a Question, whether *Jacob* got his Stock of Cattle honestly, because *Laban* did not think of his using any Art, but only of bare casual Productions; but as what was not directly against the Contract, may be thought to be allowed by it, so it is certain, that *Jacob* might lawfully take what God bestowed upon

*Bochart. Hieroz.*  
P. I. l. ii. c. 46.

*Discourse 45.*



Book VI.



upon him, who seems to have directed him by an Angel to this Artifice, or at least testified his Approbation of it: Intending to transfer unto *Jacob* the Wealth of *Laban*, as he gave the Riches of the *Egyptians* to the *Israelites*; for the World is his and the Fulness thereof, and he may dispose of every Thing in it, as he pleases.

There was nothing particular in the Pastoral Art as exercised by the *Hebrews*, from the common Practice of the present Times. It was the Custom with them, as it is with us at the Time of Sheep-shearing to make a Feast, and to invite their Kindred and Friends to it, which appears sufficiently from the Story of *Absalom*; for in those Countries where they had vast Flocks, Sheep-shearing was a kind of Harvest, which made that Time to be observed with great Joy, whence the Servants of *David* said to *Nabal*, that they were come to him on a good Day, for he was shearing his Sheep.

2 Sam. xiii. 23.

1 Sam. xxv. 8.

Levit. xi. 19.

The *Hebrews* were commanded by the Law, not to let their Cattle gender with a diverse Kind, as Horses with Asses, Goats with Sheep; but if they came together of themselves, it was lawful to use such Heterogeneous Creatures, as were so produced: For they did not abhor the Use of Mules, which were either accidentally begotten among them, or brought to them from other Countries. The Reason commonly given by the *Jews*, for this Precept, is, because God having made all Things perfect in their Kind, it was a presumptuous Attempt, to go about to mend his Creation, and add to his Works. By this means also, Men were deterred from unnatural Mixtures, which they saw to be abominable in Brutes. But after all, there might possibly be a Respect in this Precept, to some Idolatrous Customs, which *Moses* intended to prevent, or abolish; for it is supposed, that the *Gentiles* were used at this Time, or in after Ages, to procure such mixtures of Creatures, in honour of their Gods.

When



When *Joseph* was going to introduce his Father, Chap. 63. and his Brethren to the *Egyptian* Court, he instructs them to say that they were *Shepherds*, that they might be separated from the *Egyptians*, and be seated together in the Land of *Goshen*; which was a Country abounding with Pasturage, and next adjoining to *Canaan*, unto which they might the more easily return when the time came. Upon this occasion, the sacred Writer remarks, that every Shepherd is an Abomination to the *Egyptians*, which Text has given much trouble to Expositors. *Cunæus*, I think, has given the most reasonable Account of it, whose Words I shall translate, and with which, I shall conclude this Book. “ A third Part of the People lived at a “ Distance, in the Plains of *Egypt*, and in the “ Marshes; These were the *Shepherds*, active “ and able Men, but execrable to all the *Egyptians*, because they would not suffer them to be “ secure in their idle Course of Life: These “ often made great Commotions, and sometimes “ created Kings for themselves, wherefore the “ *Romans* in after Times, when they easily held “ the rest of *Egypt* in obedience, placed a strong “ Garrison in all these Parts. When you have “ taken the most exact View in all Things, you “ will find this was the Reason that made the “ *Egyptians* even from the first, so ill affected “ unto *Shepherds*, because those sedentary Men “ and Opificers, could not endure their fierce “ and active Spirits. *Pharaoh* himself, when he “ had decreed to abate and depress the growing “ Multitude of the *Israelites*, speaks to his Subjects in this Manner, *The Israelites are stronger than we, let us deal wisely, that they increase not, lest when War ariseth, they join themselves unto our Enemies, and take up Arms against us.* That Opinion I think to be true, nor can I assent to them that impute the Cause of this publick Hatred to their Superstition, as if the *Hebrews* Keepers of Flocks and Herds, could “ not

Gen. xlviii 34.

De Rep. Hebr.  
Lib. i. c. 4.



Book VI.

“ not be suffered by that Nation, who revered  
 “ some Sheep, some Goats, some other four  
 “ footed Beasts ; being persuaded there was in  
 “ them something of Divinity. But this Reason  
 “ is very improbable, for what will they answer,  
 “ when either they shall learn out of the *Pen-*  
 “ *tateuch*, that *Pharaoh* had innumerable Flocks  
 “ of Sheep, or when they shall see so many  
 “ Monuments of Histories to be produced, ma-  
 “ king it evident, that a considerable Part of the  
 “ *Egyptians* lived in Pastures, and among Cattle ?  
 “ And yet is that Saying notable in Scripture,  
 “ All Shepherds are hated by the *Egyptians* :  
 “ This could not be said of Husbandmen, nor  
 “ indeed, could their Valour (which was none  
 “ at all) be feared, or hated ; for the lazy  
 “ Clowns had all their Hopes placed, not in  
 “ the industrious Manuring of the Ground, but  
 “ in the River *Nile*. The overflowing Stream  
 “ nourished and increased their Corn, nor did  
 “ it bring only Fruitfulness to the Earth, but  
 “ Earth it self ; for being exceeding muddy, it  
 “ enlarged the Fields, and by a yearly Addition,  
 “ stretched out the Boundaries of their Land.

*The* E N D.







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THE  
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IN FOUR BOOKS.

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- II. The Ceremonial and Judicial Laws.
- III. The Arts and Sciences professed by the *Hebrews*.
- IV. The Canon, and Writers of the *Old Testament*, and the *Apocryphal Books*; with an Account of the Translation of the *Septuagint*, the Version of *Aquila* the *Jew*, and the *Targum*, or *Chaldee Paraphrases*.

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By THO. LEWIS, M. A.

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M. DCC. XXV.



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T H E





THE  
ANTIQUITIES  
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VOL. IV.

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BOOK VII.

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CHAP. I.

*Of Astronomy among the Hebrews.*



THE Science of Astronomy was studied and improved by the ancient *Hebrews*; and wherever this Knowledge has prevailed, the Invention of it is owing to the most early Ancestors of that People.

*Seth*, one of the Sons of *Adam*, and his Children, were the first who understood the Order and Motion of the Heavenly Bodies. This Patriarch (says *Josephus*) was under the Tuition of his Father; and so soon as ever he was able to distinguish between Good and Evil, he delivered himself up  
VOL. IV. B wholly

Antiq. lib. i. c. 36



Book VII. wholly to the Study of Virtue. He proved a wonderful Man; and his Children were the lively Images of so excellent a Father. They were all of them well bred and well disposed: They lived happily and peaceably with respect to the Publick, and in a perfect Agreement one with another. These were the first that made their Observations upon the Motions of the Heavens, the Courses and Influences of the Stars. And having been foretold by *Adam* of an universal Deluge and Conflagration to come, they erected two Pillars, one of Brick, and the other of Stone; which they were sure would be Proof, one or the other of them, against either Fire or Water. Upon these Pillars they engraved the Memorials of their Discoveries and Inventions, there to remain for the Benefit of Ages to come, and lest the Tradition of the Science should be lost for want of a Record. This they did; and their Foresight and Providence was not in vain, for the Stone Pillar is yet to be seen in *Syria* to this very Day.

*Abraham*, among other Accomplishments, was compleatly skill'd in these Studies. He was the first (says the *Jewish* Historian) that adventured to preach up the Doctrine of One God, the Almighty Maker and Creator of all Things in Heaven and Earth. This he argued from the orderly Course of Things, both at Sea and Land, in their Times and Seasons; and from his Observation upon the Motions and Influences of the Sun, Moon, and Stars; insomuch, that without an over-ruling and administering Providence, to keep the Wheel a going, the whole Frame of the Universe must drop into Confusion. And in the next Chapter he informs us, That this Patriarch, when he was in *Egypt*, read Lectures of Astronomy and Arithmetick; which Sciences the *Egyptians* understood nothing of, till *Abraham* brought them from *Chaldea* into *Egypt*; and from thence they passed to the *Greeks*.



*Philo*, in a Treatise that he wrote of the Life of *Moses*, relates, That this great Lawgiver was well acquainted with the Knowledge of the Stars, which he learnt from the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*; and was particularly expert in the Mathematicks. The Names of the Stars, as they were called by Astronomers, were known to *Job*, who, in celebrating the Greatness, the Power, and the Majesty of God, produces this as one of his mighty Works, That *He maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Chambers of the South.* If we believe the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, *Solomon* understood perfectly the Motion and Influence of the Celestial Bodies: He knew *How the World was made, and the Operation of the Elements; the Beginning, Ending, and Midst of the Times; the Alterations of the Turning of the Sun, and the Change of Seasons; the Circuits of Years, and the Positions of Stars, and the Violence of Winds.* And the Prophet *Amos* advises the Idolatrous Jews, *To seek him that maketh the Seven Stars, and Orion, and turneth the Shadow of Death into the Morning.*

The Hypothesis, that was laid down by the *Hebrews* of old for their Astronomical Observations, and the particular Improvements and Discoveries that they made in this Science, are scarce possible to be found out at this remote Distance; only it may be observed, that it seems to have been a fixed Principle among them, (contrary to the Scheme of some modern Astronomers,) that the Sun moved, and the Earth stood still. This appears from the Miracle wrought by *Joshua*, in the Battle with the five Kings of the *Amorites*; who, that he might have full Time to compleat his Victory, commanded the Sun to stand still upon *Gibeon*, and the Moon upon the Valley of *Ajalon*. Many are the Subtilties of the *Rabbins* in descanting upon this stupendous Event; as in what Sign the Sun now was; whether the Moon was in her Increase or Decrease; and how many Hours the Sun stood still; with many other Niceties, equally impor-



Book VII. tant. The Truth seems to be, That *Joshua* desired, that the Sun might stand immovable in that Part of the Heavens where he saw it now shining, upon *Gibeon* : For though the Text says, that *the Sun stood still in the Midst of Heaven*, it does not necessarily follow, that the Sun stood precisely in the Meridian Point, but that it appeared visibly to every body fixed in the same Place where it was when *Joshua* commanded it to stand still. The Moon stood over *Ajalon* : There were many Places of that Name ; but this (it is supposed) was in the Tribe of *Dan*, and lay furthest from *Gibeon* : For we must suppose these two Places to have been at some Distance, otherwise *Joshua* could not have seen the Sun and Moon both appear at the same Time ; as it is probable they were both now in his Eye, when he spoke upon this Occasion. The Space of Time that they stood fixed, the Text says, was *about a whole Day* ; which shews, how ungrounded is the Explication of *Maimonides* upon this Passage, who understands it only as the longest Day in Summer ; which was a poor Business, it being now Summer-time, when this Miracle was wrought, and, as *Lyra* thinks, in the Month of *June*.

More Nevoch.  
p. 11. c. 35.

The learned *Spanhemius* excellently notes, That what the Poets only fancied might be, was really done in the Days of *Joshua* : For *Callimachus* represents the Sun as stopping the Wheels of his Chariot, to behold a Chorus of Nymphs, which so highly pleased him, that it made him prolong the Day. That great Critick wishes, that *Grotius* had not follow'd some of the *Jews*, who made the Expression in the Text to be no more than a Poetical Phrase, to express a long Summer's Day : For the Prophet *Habbakuk* represents it otherwise ; and says, That *the Sun and Moon stood still in their Habitation*. And this is the Opinion of most of the *Talmudick* Doctors. Our Dr. *Jackson* observes, That the Heathen People of those Times did note this miraculous Event, and deliver the Tradition of it

Habbakuk iii. 11.

Book 1. on the  
Creed, chap. 15.



it to their Posterity, who, as Men are wont to do, endeavour to assign some Cause of it. And the Poets, in the Ages following, ascribe it, with some Additions, unto that unnatural Murder which *Atreus* committed, at which the Heavens blushed, and the Sun stood still : For this bloody Fact, if *Statius* mistakes not, was in the Time of the *Theban* War ; and that is placed by good Chronologers about the Time of *Joshua's* Conquest of *Canaan*. But this judicious Writer was in this Particular deceived ; for *Atreus* lived in the Days of the *Judges*.


## CHAP. II.

### *The Method of Measuring Time. Of Hours, Days, and Weeks.*

THE Feast of the Passover was always celebrated by the *Hebrews* after the Equinox of the Spring, on the fourteenth Day of the Month *Nisan*, when the Moon is in the Full. This Law was enjoin'd by God himself ; for when the People came out of *Egypt*, he changed the Order of the Times ; and appointed the Month *Nisan*, which answers to those of *March* and *April*, to be the first of the Year, that the Deliverance he wrought for his People might be more exactly remember'd ; but this Change related only to the Feasts of the Church. The Day of the Passover had been fixed by the Law ; but as the Months were Lunary, and it was necessary to make them quadrate with the Course of the Sun, the Men of Learning in most Ages have interested themselves in this Subject, and have offer'd abundance of Conjectures upon the Occasion. That we may the better therefore distinguish the Times, it will be proper to examine first into the Hours, secondly the Days, thirdly the Weeks, and fourthly into the Years of the *Jews*.



## Book VII.

 We are accustomed to see Night and Day divided into equal Hours ; and this Custom seems so natural and easy, that we are apt to think it never was otherwise : But yet this Division is of no very antient Date, and the politest Nations were a long Time ignorant of it. It is supposed, that the Hours and Dials began to be first known by the *Greeks*, a little before *Alexander* the Great, since neither the Comical Poets, as *Menander*, nor the Philosophers, as *Plato*, ever speak of the Hours, but to indicate the Seasons. They divided the Day into three Parts, the Morning, Noon, and Twilight of the Evening. The *Romans* had only Morning and Evening ; and Noon divided the two Extremes. They measured the Time by the Feet from the Shadow of the Body ; and in this Manner the Peasants can tell the Hour of the Day, without Dial and Clock, by the Shadow of their Cottages. The Difference of great or little Bodies made none at all in the Hours, because the Feet are always proportioned to the Stature. And thus it was, that *Pythagoras* measured the Height of *Hercules* by his Footstep, which he had imprinted upon the Sand in the *Olympick* Games. They reckon'd up to twenty Foot of Shadow, and vindicated their Appointments and Meal-times by such a Foot, as we distinguish them at present by the Hours. And hereby we are to understand the Raillery of a Comical Poet upon a Man, who had been invited to Dinner at the Shadow of twelve Feet, and who, for Fear of being disappointed, rose before Day, and took the Shadow of the Moon for that of the Sun.

It is certain, that the *Romans* knew nothing of Hours and Dials till the first *Punick* War. It was *Messala*, who, returning from *Sicily*, after the Taking of *Catapa*, brought one of them with him, and erected it in a publick Place.

The antient *Hebrews*, as well as the *Greeks*, divided the Day only according to the three sensible Differences of the Sun ; when it rises ; when it is at  
the



the highest Point of Elevation above the Horizon; and when it sets; that is, they divided the Day only into Morning, Noon, and Night. And these are the only Parts of a Day we find mentioned in the Old Testament. The Day with them began at Sun-set, and ended the next Day at the same Time. When the *Jews* came under the Dominion of the *Romans*, they learned from their Conquerors, to divide the Day into four Parts; the Beginnings whereof were notify'd by the Sound of the Trumpet, because then they resumed afresh their Devotions and Sacred Exercises. The first of these four Portions was from Six o' Clock in the Morning till Nine; the second from Nine till Twelve; the third from Twelve till Three; and the fourth from that Time in which they made the Offering till Six. They seldom counted the Hours that passed between these Divisions, at least they are very seldom mentioned. The *Samaritans*, and the other modern *Jews*, in Civil Matters, follow the Distinction of Hours received in the Countries where they live; but they have still their Hours consecrated to Prayer and Divine Service. They divide each Hour into a thousand and four hundred Scruples; and they reckon eighteen Scruples to each Minute.

The *Hebrews* likewise distinguish between *Two* Evenings; the first began at Noon, when the Sun begins to decline, and reached to its Setting; the second began at that Setting; and they call the Space of Time between these two, that is, from Noon to Sun-set, the Ninth Hour, or *between the two Evenings*.

The Night was originally divided by the *Hebrews*, and other Eastern Nations, into three Parts; and accordingly there were three Watches set; when the first Third Part was ended, they that had watched went to sleep, and another Company succeeded them till the Morning-Watch. The *Romans*, and the *Jews* from them, afterwards divided the Night into four Parts; from whence we read



Book VII.

in the Gospel of the Fourth Watch. The first of these four Parts of the Night began at Sun-set, and lasted till Nine at Night, according to our Way of Reckoning ; the second lasted till Midnight ; the third till three in Morning ; and the fourth ended at Sun-rising.

The Difficulty is not near so great concerning Days, as Hours. They are divided into three Sorts ; first, the *Natural*, which contains both Night and Day. *Moses* introduces God speaking in this Notion, when he says, that he sanctified all the First-born of the Children of *Israel* for himself, on the Day that he smote the First-born of *Egypt* ; when it is certain, that he struck that fatal Blow in the Night, whilst they were asleep ; and Destruction came whilst they thought themselves secure. This Natural Day began with the Evening at Sun-set, because of the New Moon ; the Feast whereof was to be celebrated after the Seeing its Crescent. The Modern *Jews* preserve the same Custom, and begin the Celebration of their Feasts with the Evening.

The second Day, which was called *Artificial*, consisted of twelve Hours, and began in the Morning at Sun-rising, at Six o' Clock, and ended at Sun-setting.

The third Day is called *Prophetical* ; and it has this Title, because it is mentioned only by the Prophets. It is taken for a Year in the Scriptures. They had likewise Prophetical Weeks, which consisted of seven Years ; Prophetical Months, which made thirty Years ; and Prophetical Years, which they reckoned for three hundred and sixty Years.

Luke xviii. 12.

The *Hebrews*, like us, make their Weeks to consist of seven Days ; six of which are appointed for Labour, and the seventh, which is called the Sabbath, for Rest. But this Term *Sabbath* is taken sometimes for the whole Week ; and hence it is, that the *Pharisee*, when he would express his Fasting twice in a Week, says, that he fasted twice every Sabbath. They at first distinguish'd the Days of the





the Week by their Number of First, Second, Third, from the Sabbath. But the *Hellenists Jews* have a particular Name for the Sixth Day, that is, for the Vigil of the Sabbath; and call it *Parascene*, that is, the Preparation. The Law of the Sabbath obliged the *Jews* to so strict a Rest, that they were not suffered to dress their Victuals, nor even to light their Fires, which obliged them to prepare Things on the Vigil. And this Day had another Name among the *Jews*, who were not *Hellenists*, for they called it the *Vesper of the Sabbath*; and this Vesper began at the ninth Hour, that is, three Hours after Noon. It was at that Time that they began to prepare for the Day following; and if they took a Journey that Day, they took care to be at the End of it before the Setting of the Sun. And the Emperor *Augustus*, in Compliance with their Customs, made an Edict in their Favour, which forbad the Bringing of the *Jews* before any Court of Justice on Fridays, after the ninth Hour of the Day. The *Jews*, that are mingled among Christians, give the Days their Planetary Names. The Lord's Day they call *Sunday*; some also call it the Day of the *Nazarenes*. The next Day is Monday, which, as well as Friday, is set apart for the Reading of the Law, and the Exercises of Piety. If you ask them why they prefer these two Days before the rest, they answer what *Moses* relates, That *They journied three Days, and found no Water*, that is, they ought not to suffer three Days to pass without reading the Law, if they expect God should supply them with the Necessaries of Life.

It is supposed, that the Distinction of Time by Weeks was of antient Use in the Eastern Countries, and that this Custom was followed by the Patriarchs that lived before the Deluge: For it is probable, that these Patriarchs could not be ignorant that the World was created in six Days, and that God rested on the seventh: *Adam* could not but know it; and so must *Lamech*, who had conversed  
for



Book VII. for so long Time with *Adam*. And as *Noah* must needs learn it from his Father *Lamech*, so he did not fail to impart it to his Children. From the History of the Deluge it is evident, that in *Noah's* Time they computed their Days by Weeks. *Moses* tells us, That *Noah* staid seven Days after he found the Waters decrease, and then sent forth a Raven and a Pigeon ; but the Dove finding no Rest for the Sole of her Foot, she returned into the Ark. *Noah* having staid yet seven other Days, he sent forth the Dove, which returned once more, but with an Olive Branch in her Mouth. *Noah* staid seven Days longer, and sent forth the Dove the third Time. It is evident, he then acted and judged as we do now, to expect from one Week to another, till a Matter is brought to Maturity. The History of the Marriage of *Jacob* with the two Daughters of *Laban*, may serve for another Instance of this Nature ; for *Jacob* being imposed upon, because they put *Leah* upon him instead of *Rachel*, *Laban* told him, *Fulfill her Week*, and we will give thee this also. *Moses* adds, and *Jacob* did so, and *Fulfilled her Week*. If this may be interpreted of the Week relating to Days, as I make no doubt but that it ought, this is an undeniable Argument for the Antiquity of the Weeks, and their Establishment in the East long before the Time of *Moses*. The Custom of dividing Time by Weeks, 'tis probable, was precedent to that of computing it by Months and Years ; for it requir'd some Time before Men could make due Observation of the Revolutions of the Sun and Moon ; whereas, being taught by Tradition, that God had created the World in six Days, they might, without the Help of Astronomy, easily be induced to believe, that this Number was the most proper and commodious to compute by.



CHAP. III.

*Of the Hebrew Months.*

THE Sun and Moon being the most considerable of the Planets, are the most proper to distinguish Time. They have both two different Motions : In the first of which they move round the Earth, from East to West, in twenty-four Hours ; and in the second, they move Eastward. But their Course is unequal ; for the Sun takes up three hundred sixty-five Days, five Hours, and forty-nine Minutes in his ; whereas the Moon finishes hers in twenty-seven Days, seven Hours, and some Minutes. The Circle which she describes, cuts the *Zodiack* (which is that Circle which the Sun describes in a Year) in two Places, which are by Astronomers called *Knots*, and vary every Month. And this Inequality of Motion it is, which is the Cause that the Moon is sometimes directly before the Sun, and sometimes at a Distance from it. The Space between her leaving the Sun, and rejoining it, takes up twenty-nine Days, twelve Hours, and some Minutes ; because at the same Time that she is making her Revolution, the Sun likewise is advancing in the *Zodiack* ; so that when she is returned to the Point of the *Zodiack*, from whence she set out, she has yet all that Way to go which the Sun has advanced in the mean Time, before she can come before it again ; and this takes up two Days and some Hours. The *Hebrews* call the Space between one Conjunction and the other, *Jarea*, and the *Greeks*,  $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  ; from whence the *Latins* have their *Mensis*, and we our *Months*.

The Intervals of Time are most easily distinguish'd by the Moon. Now there are three Sorts of *Lunary Months* : First, the Moon spends twenty seven Days and forty three Minutes in running through



Book VII. through the *Zodiack*, and returning to the same Point she set out from. This is what is called her *Period*. Secondly, the Moon rejoins the Sun, and returns to the same Point where she left him. This is what is called the *Synod*, or the Conjunction of the Moon. To make this Circuit, she employs twenty nine Days, twelve Hours, and forty four Minutes. And therefore, the Antients, who reckon'd their Lunary Months from this Conjunction, had two Sorts of Months; the one *hollow*, of twenty nine Days; and the other *full*, consisting of thirty Days. But there was a great Defect in their Calculation, since they had neglected the forty four Minutes, which exceeded the twelve Hours; which Minutes being collected together in a long Tract of Years, threw the Moon horribly out of Course.

Many are of Opinion, that the *Jews* reckon'd their Months from the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon: But thirdly, it is much more probable, that they particularly depended upon the Rising of the Moon, and observ'd its Crescent when it proceeded from the Rays of the Sun, and that *Phasis*, or Appearance, regulated the Feasts and the Beginning of the Months. And the Reasons are, First, because the *Caraites*, who are the most tenacious Bigots of antient Customs, maintain that this was the primitive Usage of the Nation. Secondly, That the *Hebrews* coming out of *Egypt*, and travelling in the Desert, were not so well vers'd and skill'd in Astronomy as to regulate the Course of the Moon, and its Conjunction with the Sun. They made their Judgment by their Senses, and knew the Time of the New Moon by seeing it appear. This was the easier to them, because they travelled on the Mountains and Desarts of *Arabia*, where the Mists that obscure the Rising of this Lunary are very rare. The *Romans* did the same Thing; for *Romulus* order'd that every Month should begin with the first Appearance of the Moon. Indeed, this caused some Inequality in the Months; but



but they afterwards corrected it by Experience. It may be said also, that when they had learn'd Astronomy from the *Chaldeans*, they added the Rules of that Art to their Sense, and made use of them on Occasion to rectify the Disorders that were crept into their Accounts. It is so true, that this was the antient Custom of the *Jews*, that notwithstanding their present Use of Astronomical Tables and Cycles, the *Jews* still assemble to discover the Crescents; and when they perceive it, they make a Prayer, in which they call God the Creator of the Planets, and Restorer of the New Moon. They lift themselves on Tiptoe towards Heaven, desire an Exemption from all Evils, make mention of *David*, salute one another, and disperse.

Leo de Modena,

c. 2.

I have observed in another Place of this Work, that the *Talmudists* have pretended that they used great Precautions not to be mistaken about the *Phasis* of the Moon; for which purpose they set Centinels on the Tops of Mountains to discover it the Moment it appeared. Those Centinels were select Persons, who came in all haste to make their Report to the *Sanhedrim*, or High Priest, who intimidated them with Menaces to oblige them to give the exacter Account. He confronted this Account with the Figures of the Moon which were drawn on the Walls of his Palace; and as soon as he was satisfied that the New Moon had appeared, he immediately dispatch'd a Courier to the neighbouring Cities, to give them Notice to celebrate the Feast. But this, upon Recollection, seems to have been a Fiction of the *Jewish* Doctors, who frequently describe Customs that nowhere appear in any antient Monument. It was impossible that these Waiters should make haste enough to give seasonable Notice to all the Cities of *Judea* of the Feasts that were to be celebrated during the Month: For though they had only gone ten Days Journey from *Jerusalem*, it would have been enough to hinder the Celebration of the new Moon's and many other Festivals. They might easily



Book VII.



easily foresee the Feast of the Passover, and promulge it, especially when they intercalated a Month; but they could not give such ready Notice for the other Feasts after the Sight of the New Moon. It is, therefore, much more probable, that without any Dependance upon the *Sanhedrim*, and the Couriers they sent out, that each City examined the New Moon, or caused it to be examined by some wise Person, to whom the *Caraites* gave the honorary Title of *Prophet*. Each City had its Centrics, and determined itself by their Reports.

The *Hebrews* did not originally admit of Lunar Months. By a strict Examination into the History of *Noah*, we shall find that the Year, at that Time, consisted of three hundred and sixty Days, and the Months of thirty; for *Moses* reckons a hundred and fifty Days whilst the Rain fell from the Seventh of the second Month to the Seventh of the seventh Month: It rained, therefore, for five entire Months. By dividing these five Months into thirty Days, you will find the hundred and fifty mentioned by *Moses*. Besides, it may be supposed that in *Noah's* Days they had not sufficiently studied the Course of the Moon to distinguish the six *hollow* and six *full* Months, by reason of the twelve Hours the Moon employs beyond the twenty nine Days to rejoin the Sun. They were not then so exact; and this Fraction of the Calculations came not in till many Years after.

In Process of Time, the *Hebrews* computed by Lunar Months that were set out by the *Phasis*, or Appearance of the Moon, when they saw their New Moon, then they began their Months, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine Days, and sometimes of thirty, according as the New Moon did sooner or later appear. The Reason of this was, because the *Synodical* Course of the Moon, (that is, from New Moon to New Moon,) being twenty nine Days and a Half, the Half-Day, which a Month of twenty nine Days fell short of, was made up by adding it to the next Month, which made



made it consist of thirty Days; so that their Months consisted of twenty nine Days, and thirty Days, alternately. None of them had fewer than twenty nine Days, and therefore they never look'd for the New Moon before the Night following the twenty ninth Day; and if they then saw it, the next Day was the first Day of the following Month. Neither had any of their Months more than thirty Days, and therefore they never looked for the New Moon after the Night following the thirtieth Day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded the Appearance was obstructed by the Clouds, and made the next Day the First of the following Month, without expecting any longer: And of twelve of these Months their common Year consisted.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of their Years.*

**T**H E *Jews* had four Sorts of Years; one for Plants, another for Beasts, a third for Religion and the Church, and the fourth was civil and common to all the Inhabitants of *Judea*. The Year of Plants was reckon'd from the Month of *January*, because they paid Tythe-Fruits of the Trees that budded at that Time. The second Year was that of Beasts; for when they tythed the Lambs, the Owner drove all the Flock under a Rod, and they mark'd the Tenth, which was given to the *Levites*: But they could only take those which fell in the Year, and this Year began at the Month *Elul*, which was the sixteenth of *August*. But the two Years that are most known, are the Civil and Ecclesiastick.

The Civil began the fifteenth of *September*, because it was an old Tradition that the World was created at that Time. From this Year they reckon'd their Jubilees, dated all Contracts, and noted  
the



Book VII. the Birth of Children and the Reign of Kings. It is said also that this Month was appointed for making War, because the great Heats being over, they then went into the Field. *David* sent *Joab* at the Head of all *Israel*, to destroy the *Ammonites*, at the Time when Kings go forth to Battle, that is, in the Month of *September*.

*Zachar. vii. i.*

The *Ecclesiastical* Year began in *March*, or the first of *Nisan*, because that was the Time of their coming out of *Egypt*. From thence they reckon'd their Feasts; and from this the Prophets sometimes dated their Visions and Oracles: For *Zachary* says the Word of the Lord came to him in the ninth Month in *Cisleu*. This Month answer'd to that of *November*; and so the Prophet went by the *Ecclesiastical* Year, which began in *March*. The Month *Nisan* is noted in Scripture by the *Overflowings* of *Jordan*, which were common, because it was swell'd by the *Snows* of *Mount Libanus*, which melted at that Time.

The Year being *Lunary*, and composed of three hundred and fifty four Days, there was a Necessity of reconciling it with the Course of the Sun, in order that their Festivals might be duly celebrated. Now twelve Lunar Months falling eleven Days short of a Solar Year, every one of those common Years began eleven Days sooner than the former; and this in thirty-three Years Time would carry back the Beginning of the Year through all the four Seasons, to the same Point again, and get a whole Year from the Solar Reckoning, as is now done in *Turky*, where this Sort of Year is in Use. To remedy this Inconvenience, their Method was sometimes in the third Year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another Month, and make their Year then consist of thirteen Months; by which Means they constantly reduced their Lunar Year, as far as such an Intercalation could effect it, to that of the Sun, and never suffered the one for any more than a Month, at any Time to vary from the other.

This



This the *Jews* were obliged to do for the sake of their Festivals ; for their Feast of the Passover (the first Day of which was always fixed to the Middle of their Month *Nisan*) being to be celebrated by their Eating of the Paschal Lamb, and the Offering up of the Wave-Sheaf, as the First Fruits of their Barley-Harvest ; and their Feast of Pentecost, which was kept the fiftieth Day after the Sixteenth of *Nisan*, (which was the Day when the Wave-Sheaf was offered,) being to be celebrated by the Offering of the two Wave-Loaves, as the First Fruits of their Wheat-Harvest ; and their Feast of Tabernacles, which was always begun on the Fifteenth of *Tisri*, being fixed to the Time of their Ingathering of all the Fruits of the Earth, the Passover could not be observed till the Lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the Barley fit to be reaped ; nor the Pentecost till the Wheat was ripe ; nor the Feast of Tabernacles till the Ingatherings of the Vineyard and Oliveyard were over : And therefore these Festivals being fixed to these set Seasons of the Year, the Making of the Intercalation, abovementioned, was necessary, for the keeping them within a Month sooner or later always to them. Their Rule for the doing of this was, whenever, according to the Course of the common Year, the Fifteenth of *Nisan* (which was the first Day of Unleavened Bread, and the first Day of their Paschal Solemnity) happened to fall before the Day of their Vernal Equinox, then they intercalated a Month, and the Paschal Solemnity was thereby carried on a Month farther into the Year, and all the other Festivals with it ; for according as the Paschal Festival was fixed, so were all the rest, that is, the Pentecost fifty Days after the second Day of the Paschal Feast, (that is, the Sixteenth of *Nisan*) on which the Wave-Sheaf was offered, and the Feast of Tabernacles, six Months after the Beginning of the said Paschal Feast ; for as the first Day of the Paschal Feast was the Fifteenth of *Nisan*, (the Fourteenth on the

Talmud. in  
Rosh. Halha-  
nah.



Book VII. Evening of which the Solemnity began, in the Slaying of the Paschal Lambs, being but the Eve of the Passover) so the first Day of the Feast of Tabernacles was on the Fifteenth of *Tisri*, just six Months after.

To make this the more clear, let it be observed that the *Hebrew* Months were as they follow:

|                        |     |                      |
|------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Nisan</i> .      | —   | { <i>March</i> ,     |
|                        |     | { <i>April</i> .     |
| 2. <i>Iyar</i> ,       | — — | { <i>April</i> ,     |
|                        |     | { <i>May</i> .       |
| 3. <i>Sivan</i> ,      | —   | { <i>May</i> ,       |
|                        |     | { <i>June</i> .      |
| 4. <i>Tamuz</i> ,      | —   | { <i>June</i> ,      |
|                        |     | { <i>July</i> .      |
| 5. <i>Ab</i> ,         | — — | { <i>July</i> ,      |
|                        |     | { <i>August</i> .    |
| 6. <i>Elul</i> ,       | — — | { <i>August</i> ,    |
|                        |     | { <i>September</i> . |
| 7. <i>Tisri</i> ,      | — — | { <i>September</i> , |
|                        |     | { <i>October</i> .   |
| 8. <i>Marchesvan</i> , |     | { <i>October</i> ,   |
|                        |     | { <i>November</i> .  |
| 9. <i>Cisleu</i> ,     | —   | { <i>November</i> ,  |
|                        |     | { <i>December</i> .  |
| 10. <i>Tebeth</i> ,    | —   | { <i>December</i> ,  |
|                        |     | { <i>January</i> .   |
| 11. <i>Shebat</i> ,    | —   | { <i>January</i> ,   |
|                        |     | { <i>February</i> .  |
| 12. <i>Adar</i> ,      | — — | { <i>February</i> ,  |
|                        |     | { <i>March</i> .     |

The thirteenth Month, called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*, answer'd chiefly to our *March*, it being then intercalated, or cast in, when the Beginning of *Nisan* would otherwise be carried back into the End of *February*.

Those twelve Months made their common Year; but in their intercalated Year, it consisted of thirteen Months. Supposing, therefore, their Ver-  
nal



nal Equinox should have been on the Tenth of *March*, (whereabout now it is,) and that the Fifteenth of *Nisan*, the first Day of their Passover, should, in the common Course of their Year, happen to fall on the Ninth of *March*, the Day before the Equinox; then, on their foreseeing of this, they intercalated a Month, and after their *Adar* added their *Veadar*, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine Days, and sometimes of thirty, according as it happened. At present we will suppose it to be of thirty Days, and then the first of *Nisan*, which is to begin this Year, instead of being on the Twenty third of *February*, (as otherwise it would,) must be carried on thirty Days forward to the Twenty fifth of *March*, and their Passover to the Eighth of *April* following. But the next Year after beginning eleven Days sooner, for the Reason I have mentioned, the First of *Nisan* must then have happened on the Fourteenth of *March*, and the first Day of the Passover on the Twenty eighth of the same Month. And the next Year after that the First of *Nisan* must, for the same Reason, have happened on the Third of *March*, and the first Day of the Passover on the Seventeenth of *March*. And the next Year after that, according to this Calculation, the First of *Nisan* would have happened on the Twentieth of *February*, and the first Day of the Passover on the Sixth Day of *March* following. But this being before the Equinox, another Inter-calculation of the Month *Veader* must have been made. And so after the same Manner it went through all other Years; whereby it came to pass, that the First of *Nisan*, which was the Beginning of their Year, always was within fifteen Days before, or fifteen Days after the Vernal Equinox, that is, within the Compass of thirty Days in the whole, sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the Beginning of all their other Months, and all the Fasts and Feasts observed in them.





This inartificial Way of forming their Months and Years was in Use only among the *Jews*, who lived in their own Land, and there might easily receive Notice of what was ordained in this Matter, by those who had the Care and Ordering of it. But when after the Time of *Alexander* the Great, they were dispersed through all the *Grecian* Colonies in the East, and had in great Numbers settled at *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and other Cities of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Cyrene*, *Syria*, and *Lesser Asia*, under the *Syro-Macedonian* and *Egyptic-Macedonian* Kings, this Method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore, from that Time they were necessitated to come to Astronomical Calculations, and the Use of Cycles, for the Settling of this Matter, that so they might know, at all distant Places, when to begin their Months, when to make their Intercalations, and when to solemnize their Festivals, all in one uniform Manner, at the same Time. How the Eastern *Jews*, who had, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* Captivities, been settled in *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Media*, and other Eastern Provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, ordered this Matter, is uncertain: But since they had in *Babylonia* a Prince called *Rosh Gola*, that is, the *Head of the Captivity*, for the governing of them in all Things according to their Law, and a *Sanhedrim* there, to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed Methods for the Settling of this Matter according to the truest Rules of Astronomy, especially since that Science was in those Parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other Country. It is most probable, therefore, that when the *Jews*, in the Dispersions, after the Time of *Alexander* the Great, through the Countries I have mention'd, saw a Necessity of coming to Astronomical Calculations and settled Rules for the fixing of their New Moons and Festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same Day in all Places, they borrowed from the *Greeks* the Cycle or Period of *Calippus*, which they found used among them for the


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the same Purpose. For the *Greeks*, reckoning their Months by the Course of the Moon, and their Years by that of the Sun, and thinking themselves also obliged annually to keep all their Festivals on the same Day of the Month, and on the same Season of the Year, in like manner as the *Jews*, had long been endeavouring to find out such a Cycle of Years, in which, by the Help of Inter-calations, the Motions of the Sun and Moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both Luminaries, setting forth together at the same Point of Time, might come round again exactly to the same; and all the New Moons and Full Moons come over again in every Cycle, in the same Manner they had in the former; for could such a Cycle be once fixed, the Observing how the New Moons and Full Moons happened in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all Cycles after; and there would need no more to be done, than to know what Year of the Cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very Moment of Time when every New Moon and Full Moon should happen therein, through each Month of it; because in every Year of the said Cycle the New Moons and Full Moons would all come over again at the same Points of Time, as they had in the same Year of the former Cycle; and so in all following Cycles for ever.

Many have been the Attempts of Astronomers to find out such a Cycle. The first was the Invention of the *Dieteris*, a Cycle of two Years, wherein an Intercalation was made of one Month; but in two Years Time the Excess of the Solar Year above the Lunar being only twenty two Days, and a Lunar Month making twenty nine Days and an half, this Intercalation, instead of bringing the Lunar Year to a Reconciliation with the Solar, over-did it by seven Days and an half: Which being a Fault that was soon perceiv'd, for the mending of it, the *Tetraeteris* was introduced; which was a Cycle of four Years, wherein



Book VII.  it was thought, that an Intercalation of one Month would bring all that to rights; which was over-done by the like Intercalation of the *Dieteris*. But four Solar Years exceeding four Lunar Years forty three Days and an half, the adding one Lunar Month, or twenty nine Days and an half, (of which it consists,) fell short of curing this Defect full fourteen Days: Which Fault soon discovering of itself, for the amending of it they intercalated alternately one four Years with one Month, and the next four Years with two Months, which brought it to the *Octoeteris*, or the Cycle of eight Years; wherein, by intercalating three Months, they thought they brought all to rights. And indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former Cycles; for by this Intercalation the eight Lunar Years were brought so near to eight Solar Years, that they differed from them only by an Excess of one Day, fourteen Hours, and nine Minutes. And therefore this Cycle continued much longer in Use than any of the rest.

But at length the Error, by increasing every Year, grew great enough to be also discovered, which produced the Invention of several other Cycles, for the remedying of it; of which that invented by *Meto*, a famous Astronomer of *Athens*, is the most perfect. This Cycle is called the *Enneadecaeteris*, or the Cycle of nineteen Years, which we stile the Cycle of the Moon; the Numbers whereof being, by reason of the Excellency of their Use, written, in the antient Kalendars, in Golden Letters, from hence, in our present Almanacks, that Number of this Cycle, which accords with the Year for which the Almanack is made, is called the *Golden Number*; for it is still of great Use to the Christians, for the Finding out of *Easter*, and also to the *Jews*, for the Fixing of their three great Festivals. By this Cycle of *Mezo's*, invented about four hundred thirty and two Years before the Birth of Christ, the two Luminaries are brought to come about to the same Points,



Points, within two Hours, one Minute, and twenty Seconds ; so that after nineteen Years the same New Moons and the same Full Moons do, within that Space, come about again into the same Points of Time, in every Year of this Cycle, in which they happened in the same Year of the former Cycle. This Cycle is made up of nineteen Lunar Years, and seven Lunar Months, by seven Intercalations, added to them. The Years of this Cycle, in which these Intercalations were made, were the Third, Sixth, Eighth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, and Nineteenth, according to *Petavius* ; but according to Mr. *Dodwell*, they were the Third, Fifth, Eighth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Sixteenth, and Nineteenth. Each of these seven intercalated Years consisted of thirteen Months, and the rest of twelve.

But *Meto* having reckoned, that the nineteen Years of his Cycle contained just six thousand nine hundred and forty Days, it was found, after an hundred Years Usage of it, that in this Computation he had overshot what he had aimed at by a Quarter of a Day ; for nineteen *Julian* Years contain no more than six thousand nine hundred and thirty nine Days, and eighteen Hours. And therefore, to mend this Fault, *Calippus* invented his Cycle, or Period of seventy six Years ; which consisting of four *Metonic* Cycles joined together, he thought to perfect the Matter, by leaving out one Day at the End of this Cycle, making it to consist of no more than twenty seven thousand seven hundred fifty nine Days ; whereas four *Metonic* Cycles, joined together, make twenty seven thousand seven hundred and sixty Days.

This *Calippus* was a famous Astronomer of *Cyzicus* in *Mysia*, and published his Cycle in the Year before Christ Three hundred and thirty, beginning it from the Summer Solstice of that Year, which was the same Year in which *Alexander* overthrew *Darius* at the Battle of *Arbela*. And this being the Cycle which was most in Reputation among the



Book VII.



*Greeks*, for bringing the Reckonings of the Sun and Moon's Motion to an Agreement at that Time, when the *Jews* wanted such a Cycle for settling the Time of their New Moons and Full Moons, and Festivals, by certain Rules of Astronomical Calculations, it is most likely, they then borrowed it from them for this Use; and that they might not seem to have any Thing among them relating to their Religion, which was of Hea-then Usage, they added the *Octoeteris* to this Period of seventy six Years, and by this Means making it a Cycle of eighty four Years, by this Disguise they affected to render it wholly their own. But the *Jews*, by this Addition, rather spoiled than any way mended the Matter; for though the Period of *Calippus* fell short of what it intended, that is, of bringing the Motions of the two greater Luminaries to an exact Agreement, yet it brought them within the Reach of five Hours and fifty Minutes of it: But the Addition of the *Octoeteris* did set them at the Distance of one Day, six Hours, and fifty one Minutes. However, this they used, till *Rabbi Hillel's* Reformation of their Kalendar, which was about the Year of our Lord Three hundred and sixty; during all which Time they must necessarily have made some Intercalations for the correcting of those Excesses, whereby one of those Luminaries did over-run the other, according to that Cycle; for otherwise the *Phasis's* or Appearances of the New Moons and Full Moons, would have contradicted the Calculations of it to every Man's View. But what these Intercalations were, or how or when used, we have no Account any where given us.

The Scheme of *Rabbi Hillel* places within the Compass of the nineteen Years Cycle, seven intercalated Years, consisting of thirteen Months; and twelve common Years, consisting of twelve Months. Their intercalated Years are the Third, the Sixth, the Eighth, the Eleventh, the Fourteenth, the Seventeenth, and the Nineteenth of that Cycle;  
and





and when one Round of this Cycle is over they begin another, and so constantly, according to it, fix their New Moons, (at which all their Months begin,) and all their Fasts and Feasts in every Year. And this Form of their Year, it must be confessed, is very exactly and astronomically construed, and may truly be reckoned the greatest Piece of Art and Ingenuity that is to be found among that People. This *Rabbi* was *Nasi*, or President of their *Sanhedrim*, and gave this Form the Authority of his Sanction, by Virtue of which it has ever since been observed by the *Jews*, and they say is always to be observed till the *Messiah* comes.

The Solar Year, (says *Abendana*, in his *Jewish* Kalendar,) consisting of three hundred sixty five Days and six Hours, is divided into four Quarters, each of which they call *Tekupha*, that is, *Revolution of Time*. So that every *Tekupha* contains ninety one Days, seven Hours, and an half. And the first of these is called *Tekuphath Nisan*, commencing in *March*, at what Time the Sun enters into *Aries*. The second, which is *Tekuphath Tamuz*, falls out in *June*, when the Sun goes into *Cancer*. The third, which is *Tekuphath Tisri*, begins in *September*, when the Sun enters into *Libra*. The last, which is *Tekuphath Tebeth*, falls in *December*, at what Time the Sun goes into *Capricorn*. The first *Tekupha* makes the Vernal Equinox, the second the Summer Solstice, the third the Autumnal Equinox, and the last the Winter Solstice.





## CHAP. V.

*The Computation of Years. The Æra  
of the Jews.*

THE Computation of Time from the Creation of the World, now in Use among the *Jews*, is not very antient, the Account being formerly taken from some great Event, or remarkable Revolution ; as particularly from the Departure of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, or from such a King's Reign : And though in the Computation they do not pretend to any perfect Exactness, (for many of their Doctors are of Opinion it should be carried higher,) yet they are contented to follow it, because it is generally received among them.

De Æris, ch. 12. Our Countryman, Mr. *Gregory*, in his learned Treatise *de Æris & Epochis*, gives this Account of the Æra of the *Jews*. *Alexander* the Great, with his *Grecian* Army, marching towards *Jerusalem*, with all Intention of Hostilities, the High Priest and Levites came forth to meet him, all in their holy Garments. The King, beholding this Reverend Assembly, made an Approach himself alone, and drawing near to the High Priest, fell down and worshipped. The Captains, wondering to see the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*, who had given Command that all Men should worship him, himself to fall down to a *Jew*, *Parmenio* drew near, and made bold to ask him the Question. To whom *Alexander* : 'Tis not the Priest, saith he, but his God whom I adore, and who, in his very Habit, appeared to me long ago at *Dius* in *Macedonia*, and encouraged me in my Undertakings for the Empire of *Asia*. This done, the King ascended the Temple, where, Sacrifice first done to God, the Prophecy of *Daniel*

was



was brought forth, the High Priest turning to that Place, which foretelleth of a mighty Prince of *Grecia*, that was to conquer the *Persians*; which, the Circumstances well agreeing, the King readily applied unto himself; and so departed very well pleased, and full of Hope, leaving the People to their antient Peace. It is added, moreover, by *Abraham* the *Levite*, in his *Cabala*, that the High Priest, by way of Acknowledgement, made Faith to the King, that all the Children, which should be born that Year to the Holy Tribe, should be called by his Name; and moreover, that from the same Time they would henceforth compute their *Minian Staros*, or *Æra of Contracts*.

But this Tradition is opposed by many great Men, who date the Beginning of this famous *Æra* from the Retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors. This Computation is made use of over all the East, by *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mahometans*; and it is called by the *Jews*, the *Æra of Contracts*, because, after they fell under the Government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to use it in all their Contracts, and other Instrument of Civil Affairs. And it afterwards grew so much in Use among them, that till a thousand Years after *Christ*, they had no other Way to compute their Time, but this *Æra of Contracts* only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the Years from the Creation of the World. As long as they continued in the East, - they followed the Eastern Custom of computing by the *Æra of Contracts*, (as they called it.) But when about the Year of our Lord One thousand and forty they were driven out of the East, and forced to remove into Western Parts, and were settled in *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Germany*, they learned from some of the Christian Chronologers of these Countries, to compute by the Years from the Creation. The first Years of this *Æra*, according to their Reckoning, falls in the Year of the *Julian* Period Nine hundred fifty three, and takes its Beginning from the



Book VII. the Autumnal Equinox of that Year. But the true Year of the Creation of the World, according to *Sealiger's* Computation, was an hundred eighty nine Years, and, according to others, two hundred forty nine Years higher up than where this *Æra* of the *Jews* places it. However, the *Æra* of Contracts is not at this Time out of Use among that People: The *Arabs* call it, *Taric Dilcarnain*, that is, *the Æra of the Two Horned*. The Reason of this Name some deduce from *Alexander*, who is in the *Alcoran*, and other *Arabick* Books, frequently called *the Two Horned*; and he is often found with two Horns upon his Coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond Vanity which he had of being the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; for that God of the Heathens being usually represented with two Ram's Horns upon his Head, *Alexander* might cause himself to be so represented likewise, the better to make the Fiction pass, that he was his Son. But this *Æra* has no Relation to *Alexander*, though it has been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his Name, *The Æra of Alexander*; for *Alexander* was dead twelve Years before it began; and its Commencement only was from the Recovery of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the Origine of this *Arabick* Name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from *Seleucus*. And *Appian* gives us in him a sufficient Reason for it; for he tells us, that *Seleucus* being a Person of that great Strength, that laying hold of a Bull by the Horn, he could stop him in his full Career, the Statuaries, for this Reason, usually made his Statues with two Bull's Horns upon his Head. And therefore it is most probable, that he, and not *Alexander*, was first meant by the *Two Horned*, in the *Arabick* Name of this *Æra*; for it was from him, and not from *Alexander*, that it had its Origine.

In Syriacis.

¶ Maccab. i. 10. This *Æra*, in the Books of the *Maccabees*, is called *The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the



the first Book of the *Maccabees* begins the Years of this *Æra* from the Spring, the second begins them from the Autumn following; and so did the *Syrians*, *Arabs*, and *Jews*, and all others, that antiently did, or now do, use this *Æra*, excepting the *Chaldeans*; for they not reckoning *Seleucus* to be thoroughly settled in *Babylon* till the Spring, in which *Demetrius* made his Retreat from thence, which was the next Year following, they began not this *Æra* till from that Spring, and for the same Reason reckoned the Beginning of all the Years of it from that Season also. So that whereas all other Nations, that computed by this *Æra*, began it from the Autumn of the Year before Christ Three hundred and twelve, it had not its Commencement among the *Chaldeans*, till from the Spring of the Year next after following.

It has been frequently observed by learned Men, how wide is the Variety in Chronology, and Settling of Time between the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* Scriptures, insomuch, that there is a manifest Difference of two thousand Years; and from hence some sceptical Minds have taken occasion equally to disparage the Authority both of the one and of the other. The learned Mr. *Gregory* speaks thus upon this Subject: It cannot be, says he, but that this Epilogism must be detracted from the *Hebrew*, or superadded to the *Greek*, there being no mean Way of Reconciliation: But certainly the *Hebrew*, (though I hold it not so every ways incorrupt, as if not one Jot or Tittle of the same suffered the common Fate of Time, yet I believe to be the Original, and by the incredible Diligence of the *Masora*, subservient to the greater Providence of God,) to retain more of its own Purity than any other Scripture whatsoever; and therefore that it rests in the *Greek* Translation to account for this Difference: Yet neither do I think that choice Assembly so neglected by God in a Matter so importantly cared for by him, as to recede so foully from their Original: I rather cast this Corruption upon

De Aëris & Epochis, ch. 21.



Book VII. upon the Dregs of Time, assuring myself that this  
 ~~~~~ Imposture was put upon us by the *Hellenists*, those  
 among them who affected that antient Heresy of
 the *Chiliasm*, the Conceit whereof I affirm to be
 the Occasion of this Corruption.

Here follows a Kalendar, shewing the Courses
 of the Priests that officiated every Week at the
 Temple; the Lessons out of the Law; and the
 Prophets used every Sabbath in the Synagogues;
 and the Festivals, great and less, as they fell out in
 their Seasons. The Year is supposed to be in its
 common ordinary Course, and [A] to be the Do-
 minical or Sabbath-Day Letter.



TISRI

The first Month of the } { The seventh Month of
Civil Year. } { the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has Thirty Days.


TISR I, or ETHANIM, *1 Kings 8. 2. 2 Chron. 5. 3.*

The first
Month.

From the Middle
of our September
to the Middle of
October.

| | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 1 | <i>A</i> | <i>Delaiah</i> : The three and twentieth Course. Feast |
| 2 | <i>b</i> | of Trumpets. |
| 3 | <i>c</i> | Lessons. |
| 4 | <i>d</i> | <i>Deut.</i> Chap. 26. from ver. 1. to Chap. 29. |
| 5 | <i>e</i> | ver. 10. |
| 6 | <i>f</i> | <i>Isa.</i> Chap. 60. from ver. 1. to the End of the |
| 7 | <i>g</i> | Chapter. |
| 8 | <i>A</i> | <i>Maaziah</i> : The four and twentieth Course: |
| 9 | <i>b</i> | Lessons. |
| 10 | <i>c</i> | <i>Deut.</i> c. 29. v. 10. to c. 31. 1. when there were |
| 11 | <i>d</i> | more Weeks in the Years, otherwise to the |
| 12 | <i>e</i> | End of the Book. <i>Isa.</i> c. 61. 10, to c. 63. 10. |
| 13 | <i>f</i> | The tenth Day of this Month was the solemn |
| 14 | <i>g</i> | and mysterious Feast of Expiation, <i>Lev.</i> 16. 29. |
| 15 | <i>A</i> | <i>The Feast of Tabernacles</i> : All the Priests are pre- |
| 16 | <i>b</i> | sent, and serve. The Law is begun to be read. |
| 17 | <i>c</i> | Lessons. |
| 18 | <i>d</i> | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 1. 1. to c. 6. v. 9. <i>Isa.</i> Chap. 42. |
| 19 | <i>e</i> | ver. 5. to ver. 11. of Chap. 43. |
| 20 | <i>f</i> | |
| 21 | <i>g</i> | |
| 22 | <i>A</i> | <i>Jehoiarib</i> : The first Course beginneth. |
| 23 | <i>b</i> | Lessons. |
| 24 | <i>c</i> | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 6. from v. 9. to c. 12. v. 1. |
| 25 | <i>d</i> | <i>Isa.</i> 54. 1. to ver. 5. of Chap. 55. |
| 26 | <i>e</i> | |
| 27 | <i>f</i> | |
| 28 | <i>g</i> | |
| 29 | <i>A</i> | <i>Jedaiah</i> : The second Course beginneth. |
| 30 | <i>b</i> | Lessons. |
| | | <i>Gen.</i> Chap 12. v. 1. to c. 18. 1. <i>Isa.</i> 40. from |
| | | ver. 27. to ver. 17. of Chap. 41. |

The


 The second Month of } { The eighth Month of
 the Civil Year. } { the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The second
Month.

Part of October
and Part of No-
vember.

MARHESHUAN.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | c | |
| 2 | d | |
| 3 | e | |
| 4 | f | |
| 5 | g | |
| 6 | h | <i>Harim</i> : The third Course beginneth. |
| 7 | b | Lessons. |
| 8 | c | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 18. 1. to Chap. 23. 1. 2. <i>Kings</i> 4. |
| 9 | d | from the Beginning of the Chapter to ver. 38. |
| 10 | e | |
| 11 | f | |
| 12 | g | |
| 13 | h | <i>Seorim</i> : The fourth Course beginneth. |
| 14 | b | Lessons. |
| 15 | c | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 23. 1. to c. 25. 19. 1. <i>Kings</i> Chap. 1. |
| 16 | d | from ver. 1. to ver. 32. |
| 17 | e | |
| 18 | f | |
| 19 | g | |
| 20 | h | <i>Malchijah</i> : The fifth Course beginneth. |
| 21 | b | Lessons. |
| 22 | c | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 25. 19. to Chap. 28. 10. <i>Malachi</i> |
| 23 | d | Chap. 1. from the Beginning to ver. 8. of |
| 24 | e | Chap. 2. |
| 25 | f | |
| 26 | g | |
| 27 | h | <i>Mijamim</i> : The sixth Course beginneth. |
| 28 | b | Lessons. |
| 29 | c | <i>Gen.</i> Ch. 28. 10. to Ch. 32. 3. <i>Hosea</i> , Ch. 11. |
| | | from v. 7. to v. 2. of Chap. 14. |

The third Month of the } The seventh Month of
Civil Year. } the Ecclesiastical Year.
It has Thirty Days.

C I S L E U.

The third
Month.

Part of Novem-
ber, and part of
December.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | d | |
| 2 | e | |
| 3 | f | |
| 4 | g | |
| 5 | h | Hakkoz: The seventh Course begins. |
| 6 | i | Lessons. |
| 7 | j | Gen. Chap. 32. from ver. 3. to Ch. 37. 1. Oba- |
| 8 | k | diah, all the Chapter ; or Hof. Chap. 12. from |
| 9 | l | ver. 12. to the End of the Book. |
| 10 | m | |
| 11 | n | |
| 12 | o | Abijah, or Abia: The eighth Course beginneth. |
| 13 | p | Lessons. |
| 14 | q | Gen. Chap. 37. 1. to Chap. 41. 1. Amos, Chap. 2. |
| 15 | r | from ver. 6. to ver. 9. of Chap. 3. |
| 16 | s | |
| 17 | t | |
| 18 | u | |
| 19 | v | Jeshuah, The ninth Course beginneth. |
| 20 | w | Lessons. |
| 21 | x | Gen. Chap. 41. 1. to Chap 44. 18. 1 Kings, Chap. 3. |
| 22 | y | from ver. 15. to the End of the Chapter. |
| 23 | z | |
| 24 | a | Feast of Dedication, eight Days, 1 Mac. 4. 59. |
| 25 | b | John 10. 22. |
| 26 | c | Shechaniab: The tenth Course beginneth. |
| 27 | d | Lessons. |
| 28 | e | Gen. Chap. 44. from v. 18. to v. 27. of Chap. 47. |
| 29 | f | Ezek. Chap. 37. from v. 15. to the End of the |
| 30 | g | Chapter. |



The fourth Month of } { The tenth Month of the
the Civil Year. } { Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The fourth
Month.

Part of Decem-
ber, and part of
January.

TEBETH, *Esth.* 2. 16.

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | f | |
| 2 | g | |
| 3 | h | <i>Eliashib</i> : The eleventh Course beginneth. |
| 4 | i | Lessons. |
| 5 | j | <i>Gen.</i> Chap. 47. from ver. 27. to the End of the |
| 6 | k | the Book, 1 <i>Kings</i> , Chap. 2. from the Begin- |
| 7 | l | ning to ver. 13. |
| 8 | m | |
| 9 | n | |
| 10 | o | <i>Jakim</i> : The twelfth Course beginneth. |
| 11 | p | Lessons. |
| 12 | q | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 1. from Beginning to Chap. 6. ver. 2. |
| 13 | r | <i>Isa.</i> Chap. 27. from ver. 6. to Chap. 28. ver. 14. |
| 14 | s | Or <i>Jer.</i> Chap. 1. ver. 1. to Chap. 2. ver. 4. |
| 15 | t | |
| 16 | u | |
| 17 | v | <i>Huppah</i> : The thirteenth Course beginneth. |
| 18 | w | Lessons. |
| 19 | x | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 6. 2. to Ch. 10. 1. <i>Ezek.</i> Ch. 28. 1. |
| 20 | y | from ver. 25. to the End of Chap. 29. |
| 21 | z | |
| 22 | a | |
| 23 | b | |
| 24 | c | <i>Jehebeah</i> : The fourteenth Course beginneth. |
| 25 | d | Lessons. |
| 26 | e | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 10. 1. to Chap. 13. ver. 17. <i>Jer.</i> |
| 27 | f | Chap. 46. from ver. 13. to the End of the |
| 28 | g | Chapter. |
| 29 | h | |

The fifth Month of the } } The eleventh Month of
Civil Year. } } the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has Thirty Days.

SHEBET, Zech. 1. 7.

The fifth
Month.

Part of January,
and part of Fe-
bruary.

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | a | |
| 2 | b | <i>Bilgah</i> : The fifteenth Course beginneth. |
| 3 | c | Lessons. |
| 4 | d | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 13. from ver. 17. to Chap. 18. 1. |
| 5 | e | <i>Judges</i> , Chap. 4. from ver. 4. to Chap. 6. 1. |
| 6 | f | |
| 7 | g | |
| 8 | a | |
| 9 | b | <i>Immer</i> : The sixteenth Course beginneth. |
| 10 | c | Lessons. |
| 11 | d | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 18. 1. to Chap. 21. 1. <i>Isa.</i> 6. all the |
| 12 | e | Chapter. |
| 13 | f | |
| 14 | g | |
| 15 | a | |
| 16 | b | <i>Hexir</i> : The seventeenth Course beginneth. |
| 17 | c | Lessons. |
| 18 | d | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 21. 1. to Chap. 25. 1. <i>Jer.</i> Chap. 34. |
| 19 | e | from ver. 8. to the End of the Chapter. |
| 20 | f | |
| 21 | g | |
| 22 | a | |
| 23 | b | <i>Happitsets</i> : The eighteenth Course beginneth. |
| 24 | c | Lessons. |
| 25 | d | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 25. 1. to Chap. 27. 20. 1 <i>Kings</i> Ch. 5. |
| 26 | e | from ver. 12. to ver. 14. of Chap. 6. |
| 27 | f | |
| 28 | g | |
| 29 | a | |
| 30 | b | <i>Pethabiah</i> : The nineteenth Course beginneth. |
| | c | Lessons. |
| | d | <i>Exod.</i> Chap. 27. from ver. 20. to Chap. 30. |
| | e | ver. 11. |



The sixth Month of } The twelfth Month of
the Civil Year. } the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The sixth
Month.

A D A R, Ezra 6. 15.

Part of Februa-
ry, and part of
March.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | h | <i>Ezek. Chap. 43. from ver. 10. to the End of the</i> |
| 2 | c | <i>Chapter.</i> |
| 3 | d | |
| 4 | e | |
| 5 | f | |
| 6 | g | |
| 7 | h | <i>Jehezkel: The twentieth Course beginneth.</i> |
| 8 | c | <i>Lessons.</i> |
| 9 | d | <i>Exod. Chap. 30. from ver. 11. to Chap. 35. 1.</i> |
| 10 | e | <i>1 Kings 18. 1. to ver. 39.</i> |
| 11 | f | |
| 12 | g | |
| 13 | h | <i>Jachin: The one and twentieth Course begin-</i> |
| 14 | c | <i>neth.</i> |
| 15 | d | <i>Lessons.</i> |
| 16 | e | <i>Exod. Chap. 35. 1. to Chap. 38. 21. 1 Kings,</i> |
| 17 | f | <i>Chap. 7. from ver. 13. to ver. 26. The 14th</i> |
| 18 | g | <i>and 15th Days of this Month, were the Feast</i> |
| 19 | h | <i>of Purim.</i> |
| 20 | c | <i>Gamul: The two and twentieth Course begin-</i> |
| 21 | d | <i>neth.</i> |
| 22 | e | <i>Lessons.</i> |
| 23 | f | <i>Exod. Chap. 38. from 21. to the End of the</i> |
| 24 | g | <i>Book. 1 Kings, Chap 7. from ver. 50. to</i> |
| 25 | h | <i>ver. 21. of the eighth Chapter.</i> |
| 26 | c | |
| 27 | d | |
| 28 | e | <i>Delajah. The three and twentieth Course begin-</i> |
| 29 | f | <i>neth.</i> |
| | | <i>Lessons.</i> |
| | | <i>Levit. Chap. 1. 1. to Chap. 6. 1. Isa. Ch. 43. 21.</i> |
| | | <i>to ver. 24. of Chap. 44.</i> |

The seventh Month of } { The first Month of the
the Civil Year. } { Ecclesiastick Year.

It has Thirty Days.

ABIB, Exod. 12. or NISAN, Neh. 2. 1.

The first Month,
stilo novo.

Part of March,
and part of
April.

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | c | |
| 2 | d | |
| 3 | e | |
| 4 | f | |
| 5 | g | |
| 6 | h | <i>Maaziah</i> : The four and twentieth Course be-
ginneth. |
| 7 | b | |
| 8 | c | Lessons. |
| 9 | d | <i>Levit.</i> Chap. 6. 1. to Chap. 9. 1. <i>Ferem.</i> Chap. 7. |
| 10 | e | from ver. 21. to the 4th ver. of Chap. 8. |
| 11 | f | |
| 12 | g | |
| 13 | h | <i>The Preparation.</i> |
| 14 | b | <i>The Passover-Day, Exod. 12.</i> This Week there
was no distinct Course that served, but all
the Courses indifferently and together. |
| 15 | r | |
| 16 | d | Lessons. |
| 17 | e | <i>Lev.</i> Chap. 9. 1. to Ch. 12. 1. 2 <i>Sam.</i> Ch. 6. 1. |
| 18 | f | to ver. 17. of Chap. 7. |
| 19 | g | |
| 20 | h | <i>Jehoiarib</i> : The first Course beginneth the Round
again. |
| 21 | b | |
| 22 | c | Lessons. |
| 23 | d | <i>Lev.</i> 12. 1. to Chap. 14. 1. 2 <i>Kings</i> 4. from
ver. 42. to ver. 20. of Chap. 5. |
| 24 | e | |
| 25 | f | |
| 26 | g | |
| 27 | h | <i>Jedaiab</i> : The second Course. |
| 28 | b | Lessons. |
| 29 | c | <i>Lev.</i> Chap. 14. 1. to Chap. 16. 1. 2 <i>Kings</i> , |
| 30 | d | Chap. 7. from ver. 3. to the End of the
Chapter. |

Book VII.



The eighth Month of } The second Month of
the Civil Year. } the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The second
Month, *stilo*
novo.

Part of April,
and part of May.

I F A R.

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | e | |
| 2 | f | |
| 3 | g | |
| 4 | h | <i>Harim</i> : The third Course. |
| 5 | i | Lessons. |
| 6 | j | <i>Lev.</i> Chap. 16. 1. to Ch. 19. 1. <i>Ezek.</i> Chap. 22. |
| 7 | k | ver. 17. |
| 8 | l | |
| 9 | m | |
| 10 | n | |
| 11 | o | <i>Seorim</i> : The fourth Course. |
| 12 | p | Lessons. |
| 13 | q | <i>Levit.</i> Chap. 19. 1. to Chap. 21. 1. <i>Amos</i> , |
| 14 | r | Chap. 9 ver. 7. to the End of the Book ; |
| 15 | s | or <i>Ezek.</i> Chap. 20. from ver. 2. to ver. 21. |
| 16 | t | |
| 17 | u | |
| 18 | v | <i>Malchijah</i> : The fifth Course. |
| 19 | w | Lessons. |
| 20 | x | <i>Levit.</i> Chap. 21. 1. to Chap. 25. 1. <i>Ezek.</i> Ch. 44. |
| 21 | y | from ver. 15. to the End. |
| 22 | z | |
| 23 | a | |
| 24 | b | |
| 25 | c | <i>Mijamim</i> : The sixth Course. |
| 26 | d | Lessons. |
| 27 | e | <i>Levit.</i> Chap. 25. 1. to Chap. 26. 3. <i>Jer.</i> Chap. 32. |
| 28 | f | from ver. 6. to ver. 28. |
| 29 | g | |

The ninth Month of the } } The third Month of the
Civil Year. } } Ecclesiastical Year.

It has Thirty Days.

SIVAN. *Esth.* 8. 9.

The third
Month, *stilo*
novo.

Part of May, and
part June.

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | f | |
| 2 | g | |
| 3 | h | No single Course, because of <i>Pentecost</i> Week; but
all served indifferently.
Lessons. |
| 4 | i | |
| 5 | j | |
| 6 | k | <i>Lev.</i> Chap. 26. 3. to the End of the Book, <i>Jer.</i> 16. 19.
to ver. 15. of Chap. 17. |
| 7 | l | |
| 8 | m | |
| 9 | n | |
| 10 | o | <i>Hakkoz</i> : The seventh Course. |
| 11 | p | Lessons. |
| 12 | q | <i>Numb.</i> Chap. 1. 1. to Chap. 4. ver. 21. <i>Hosea</i> ,
Chap. 1. from ver. 10. to ver. 21. of Chap. 2. |
| 13 | r | |
| 14 | s | |
| 15 | t | |
| 16 | u | |
| 17 | v | <i>Abijah</i> , or <i>Abia</i> : The eight Course. |
| 18 | w | Now it was, that <i>Zacharias</i> had the Tidings of
the Birth of <i>John</i> the Baptist. |
| 19 | x | Lessons. |
| 20 | y | <i>Num.</i> Chap. 4. ver. 21. to Chap. 8. 1. <i>Judges</i> ,
Chap. 13. 2. to the End of the Chapter. |
| 21 | z | |
| 22 | a | |
| 23 | b | |
| 24 | c | <i>Jeshuah</i> : The ninth Course. |
| 25 | d | Lessons. |
| 26 | e | <i>Num.</i> Chap. 8. 1. to Ch. 13. 1. <i>Zechar.</i> Chap. 2. 10.
to Chap. 4. 8. |
| 27 | f | |
| 28 | g | |
| 29 | h | |
| 30 | i | |

The tenth Month of } The fourth Month of
the Civil Year. } the Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The fourth
Month, stilo
novo.

Part of June, and
part of July.

T A M M U Z.

| | | |
|----|----|---|
| 1 | א | Shecammiah: The tenth Course. |
| 2 | ב | Lessons. |
| 3 | ג | Num. Chap. 13. 1. to Chap. 16. 1. Joshua Chap. 2. |
| 4 | ד | all the Chapter. |
| 5 | ה | |
| 6 | ו | |
| 7 | ז | |
| 8 | ח | Eliashib: The eleventh Course. |
| 9 | ט | Lessons. |
| 10 | י | Numb. Chap. 16. 1. to Chap. 19. 1. 1 Sam. |
| 11 | יא | Chap. 11. 14. to Chap. 12. ver. 23. |
| 12 | יב | |
| 13 | יג | |
| 14 | יד | |
| 15 | טו | Jarkin: The twelfth Course. |
| 16 | טז | Lessons. |
| 17 | יז | Numb. Chap. 19. 1. to Chap. 22. 2. Judges, |
| 18 | יח | Chap. 11. 1. to ver. 34. |
| 19 | יט | |
| 20 | כ | |
| 21 | כא | |
| 22 | כב | Huppah: The thirteenth Course. |
| 23 | כג | Lessons. |
| 24 | כד | Numb. Chap. 22. 2. to Chap. 25. 10. Micah, |
| 25 | כה | Chap. 5. from ver. 7. to the 9th ver. of |
| 26 | כו | Chap. 6. |
| 27 | כז | |
| 28 | כח | |
| 29 | כט | Jeshebeah: The fourteenth Course. |
| | | Lessons. |
| | | Numb. Chap. 25. 10. to Chap. 30. 2. 1 Kings, |
| | | Chap. 18. from v. 46. to the End of Chap. 19. |

The eleventh Month of } The fifth Month of the
the Civil Year. } Ecclesiastical Year.

It has Thirty Days.

A B

The fifth Month,
stilo novo.

Part of July, and
part of August.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | b | |
| 2 | c | |
| 3 | d | |
| 4 | e | |
| 5 | f | |
| 6 | g | |
| 7 | h | <i>Bilgal</i> : The fifteenth Course. |
| 8 | b | Lessons. |
| 9 | c | <i>Numb.</i> Chap. 30. 2. to Chap. 33. 1. |
| 10 | d | תשעה באב the Fast of the fifth Month, |
| 11 | e | <i>Zech.</i> 7. 5. <i>Fer.</i> Chap. 1. from the Beginning to |
| 12 | f | Chap. 2. ver. 4. |
| 13 | g | |
| 14 | h | <i>Immer</i> : The sixteenth Course. |
| 15 | b | Lessons. |
| 16 | c | <i>Num.</i> Chap. 33. 1. to the End of the Book. |
| 17 | d | <i>Fer.</i> Chap. 2. from ver. 4. to ver. 29. |
| 18 | e | |
| 19 | f | |
| 20 | g | |
| 21 | h | <i>Hexir</i> : The seventeenth Course. |
| 22 | b | Lessons. |
| 23 | c | <i>Deut.</i> Chap. 1. 1. to Chap. 3. ver. 23. <i>Isaiab.</i> |
| 24 | d | Chap. 1. 1. to ver. 28. |
| 25 | e | |
| 26 | f | |
| 27 | g | |
| 28 | h | <i>Happitsets</i> : The eighteenth Course. |
| 29 | b | Lessons. |
| 30 | c | <i>Deut.</i> Chap. 3. from ver. 23. to Chap. 7. ver. 12. |
| | | <i>Isa.</i> Chap. 40. from ver. 1. to ver. 27. |

The

Book VII.



The twelfth Month of } { The sixth Month of the
the Civil Year. } { Ecclesiastical Year.

It has but Twenty nine Days.

The sixth Month,
Hilo novo.

Part of August,
and part of Sep-
tember.

E L U L.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | d | |
| 2 | e | |
| 3 | f | |
| 4 | g | |
| 5 | h | <i>Pethahiah</i> : The nineteenth Course. |
| 6 | b | Lessons. |
| 7 | c | <i>Dent.</i> Chap. 7. ver. 12. to Chap. 11. ver. 26. <i>Isa.</i> |
| 8 | d | Chap. 49. from ver. 14. to Chap. 51. ver. 4. |
| 9 | e | |
| 10 | f | |
| 11 | g | |
| 12 | h | <i>Jehezkel</i> : The twentieth Course. |
| 13 | b | Lessons. |
| 14 | c | <i>Dent.</i> Chap. 11. 26. to Chap. 16. 18. <i>Isa.</i> Chap. 54. |
| 15 | d | from ver. 11. to Chap. 55. ver. 4. |
| 16 | e | |
| 17 | f | |
| 18 | g | |
| 19 | h | <i>Jachin</i> : The one and twentieth Course. |
| 20 | b | Lessons. |
| 21 | c | <i>Dent.</i> Chap. 16. 18. to Chap. 21. 10. <i>Isaiah</i> , |
| 22 | d | Chap. 51. 12. to Chap. 52. 13. |
| 23 | e | |
| 24 | f | |
| 25 | g | |
| 26 | h | <i>Gamul</i> : The Two and twentieth Course. |
| 27 | b | Lessons. |
| 28 | c | <i>Dent.</i> Chap. 21. 10. to Chap. 26. 1. <i>Isaiah</i> , |
| 29 | d | Chap. 54. from the Beginning to v. 11. |

CHAP. VI.

Arithmetick, or the Way of Numbring.

Josephus relates, That when *Abraham* was in *Antiq. l. i. c. 9.*
Egypt, he communicated Arithmetick to the
Egyptians, who before were ignorant of that
 Science; but in what Manner this Study was pro-
 secuted in antient Times is difficult to determine.
 Their Method of Numbring, of old, was three Ways:
 First, By their Fingers: Secondly, By Letters: And
 Thirdly, By Cyphers. As their first Measure was
 their Hand, *Who hath measured the Waters with* *Ila. 40. 12.*
the Hollow of his Hand, and met out the Heavens
with his Span, so their first Numbring was by their
 Fingers, and *Solomon* is supposed to allude to this
 Form; *Wisdom cometh with Length of Days in her* *Prov. 3. 6.*
Right Hand. They made use of their ten Fingers,
 because no Simple Number can go beyond Nine;
 and the Tenth is the Complement of all Simple
 Numbers.

Their Way was first to Number with their Right
 Hand upon the Left, because the Right was the
 was the most proper for Action: Upon the Left
 Hand they the number'd from One to Ninety, and
 at a Hundred they began to turn to the Right. And
 so we find the Statue of *Janus*, erected at *Rome*, with *Plinius lib. 44.*
 the Number of the Days in the Year upon his
 Hands, having the Great Number upon his Right
 Hand, and the Small upon his Left.

The manner of Numbring upon the Left Hand
 was thus: When they counted One, they laid the
 Point of their Little-Finger in the Middle of their
 Palm: When they counted Two, they laid the
 Ring-Finger upon the Palm of their Hand:
 When they counted Three, they laid their Middle-
 Finger upon the Palm of their Hand: When they
 counted Four, they lifted up their Middle-Finger
 from



from the Palm of their Hand, and left the other two Fingers remaining upon the Palm: When they counted Five, they lifted up the Ring-Finger from the Palm of their Hand: And when Six, they lifted up the Middle-Finger: When Seven, they laid the Point of their Little-Finger about the Middle of their Hand. When Eight, the Ring-Finger about the Middle of their Hand: When Nine, the Middle-Finger about the Middle of their Hand: When Ten, they laid the Nail of their Fore-Finger at the Middle of the Thumb: When Twenty, they laid the Nail of the Fore-Finger betwixt the Joints of the Thumb: When Thirty, they laid the Nail of the Fore-Finger and the Nail of the Thumb together: When Forty, they laid the Thumb upon the Fore-Finger cross-ways: When Fifty, they inclined the Thumb to the Palm of the Hand: When Sixty, they laid the Top of the Fore-Finger to the Thumb: When Seventy, they laid the Nail of the Thumb to the Top of the Fore-Finger: When Eighty, they laid the Nail of the Thumb betwixt the Fore-Finger and Middle-Finger: When Ninety they laid the Nail of the Fore-Finger at the Root of the Thumb. Then they transferr'd the Numbers from their Left Hand to the Right, and they Number Hundreds upon the Right Hand, as they did the Simple Numbers upon the Left.

When they came to reckon a Thousand, they laid the Palm of their Left Hand upon their Breast with their Fingers spread: When Two Thousand, they laid the Back of their Left Hand upon their Breast with their Fingers spread: When they number'd Thirty Thousand, they laid the Palm of their Left Hand upon their Breast with their Fingers upward: When Forty Thousand, they laid the Back of their Left Hand upon their Breast, and their Fingers downwards: When Fifty Thousand, they laid the Palm of their Left Hand upon their Navel, with their Fingers upward: When Sixty Thousand, they laid the Back of their Left Hand
upon

upon their Navel with their Fingers downwards : Chap. 6.
 When Seventy Thousand, they laid the Palm of
 their Left Hand upon their Left Thigh with their
 Fingers cross-ways : When Eighty Thousand, they
 laid the Back of their Left Hand upon their Left
 Thigh with their Fingers upwards : When Ninety
 Thousand, they laid the Palm of their Left Hand
 upon their Left Thigh with their Fingers down-
 ward : When they came to One hundred Thou-
 sand, they counted with their Right Hand upon
 their Belly, Navel, and Thigh, as they did before,
 until they come to Ten Millions.

The *Hebrews*, as well as *Greeks* and *Latins*,
 counted likewise by the Letters of their Alphabet,
 with this Difference ; that the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*
 number'd by all the Letters of the Alphabet, but
 the *Latins* had only Six, by which they counted

Afterwards they number'd by Cyphers, which is
 a late Invention : The *Turks* learned it from the
Arabians ; we from the *Turks* ; and it comes from
 the *Hebrew* Word *Saphar*, to Number.


C H A P. VII.

Geometry among the Hebrews.

THAT the Antient *Hebrews* understood
 Geometry, is evident from what the *Jewish*
 Historian observes, That the Spies sent
 by *Joshua* to search the Land of *Canaan*, were
 Geometricians, and were well vers'd in that Art,
 which now is peculiar only to Philosophers.

Menochius de
 Rep. Heb. lib.7.
 c. 13.

This Knowledge they learned from the *Egyptians*,
 who were oblig'd to study the Elements of it, in
 order to lay out every Man's proper Quantity of
 Land after the *Nile* had overflowed, and cover'd
 with Mud all Distinctions and Boundaries of it :
 The Measure they made use of upon this Occasion,
 was the *Cubit*, which is computed to be about a
 Foot

Book. VII. Foot and a half and two Inches with us. And  *Moses*, when he speaks of a Cubit, must be understood to mean the same Measure with the Cubit of the *Egyptians*. For as Bishop *Cumberland* observes, the Progenitors of the *Jews* went into *Egypt*, then a flourishing Kingdom, in the Condition of a Family of about seventy Men, and were there Subjects, at the best, who must use in all Commerce the legal Measures of the Kingdom in which they dwell; and not long after were made Bondmen, who cannot be supposed to be allowed to make Laws to keep distinct Measures and Weights from the Nation which they serve. This little and low Estate they were in about two hundred Years before their Deliverance, and therefore must needs know the *Egyptians* Measures, but cannot be presumed (and Proof there is none) to have any distinct, peculiar to themselves. And certainly it was neither unlawful nor dishonourable, in any Comparison with Slavery, to use the publick Measures of a Kingdom famous for the greatest Skill in the Art thereof: On the contrary, *Moses* is celebrated for being skilful in all *Egyptian* Learning, of which *Geometry* and *Arithmetick*, both used in Measuring, are the best Parts.

Weights and
Measures. 2. Ed.
p. 27.

There is to be found in Authors an Account of four Sorts of *Cubits*: The *Common* Cubit, the same with the *Egyptian* above-mentioned, and supposed to be about the Measure from the Elbow to the Finger's End: The *Holy* Cubit contained two of the *Common* Cubits: The *King's* Cubit is three Fingers longer than the *Common* Cubit: The *Geometrical* Cubit is equivalent to six *Common* Cubits.

Other Measures of Application, as they are called, are a *Digit*, which contains the Breadth of six Barley-Corns joined together where they are thickest.

The *Palm* or *Hand's Breadth*, containing four Digits, or Fingers Breadths, and was called *Pal-mus*; but there was another called *Palma*, consisting of the Length between the Top of the Thumb and the
Top

Top of the Middle-Finger, when the Hand is stretched out; which is what we call a *Span*, and is by some called the *Great Palm*.

The *Pace* was the Distance between a Man's Feet when he walks, and which some distinguish into two Sorts: The Single, which consists of two Feet and a half; and the Double, which contains five Feet.

The *Can* was of six Cubits Length, each Cubit containing twenty four Fingers Breadths.

The *Line*, or *Rope*, of an uncertain Length. The Use of it was to measure Land and Buildings.

The *Reed*, which could not be lengthen'd or shorten'd, as the Rope might be, by Change of Weather, and therefore succeeded in the Place of it: Its Length was six Cubits and a Hand's Breadth. Ezek. 40. 1.

An *Acre* was two hundred and twenty Foot all ways in Breadth and Length: It was about the third Part of a Furlong. Isa. 5. 10.

A *Furlong* is often mention'd in the New Testament, not at all in the Old; it contained a hundred and twenty five Paces, which is the eighth Part of our Mile.

A *Mile* containeth with us a thousand Paces, but much more among the *Hebrews*; their Word *Barath* signifying a Dinner or Meal, and being apply'd to Journeys, Walks, or Ways, it contains so much Ground as usually is gone, or conveniently may be travelled in half a Day, between Meal and Meal, or Bait and Bait. A *Talmudick* Mile consisted of seven Furlongs and a half.

A *Parfa* was four Miles.

A *Diet* was thirty Miles.

It may be proper to observe upon this Occasion, that the Possessions of the *Israelites* in the Promised Land were distinguished and bounded by certain Marks; and therefore this was one of the *Levitical* Laws, *Thou shalt not remove thy Neighbour's Land-Mark, which they of old time have set in thine Inheritance.* This the *Jewish* Doctors conceive has respect peculiarly to the Holy Land, (as they call it) Deut. 19. 14. and

Book VII.

Selden de Jure,
Nat. Lib. 6. c. 3.Antiq. Lib. 4.
c. 8.See Deut. 27.
11, 12, &c.

Jer. 32. 9, 10.

and to the Terms and Bounds which were fixed by *Joshua* and the Elders in the Division of the Countrey, which no Man might remove; for that made him both guilty of Theft, and also of the Breach of this Precept, and consequently he incurr'd a double Punishment, and was whipp'd twice as much as another Offender. *Josephus* extends this Precept to the Lands of all the neighbouring Nations that were at Peace with them; for Wars and Insurrections arise from the Covetousness of Men who would thus enlarge their Territories; and they that remove the Bounds of Lands, are not very far from subverting all Laws.

It was one of the Denunciations from Mount *Ebal*, *Cursed be he that removeth his Neighbour's Land-Mark*. The Form of delivering these Curses was solemn and surprising: The Twelve Tribes, when they had passed over *Jordan*, were divided; six of them, *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Joseph*, and *Benjamin*, stood upon Mount *Gerizim*, upon which *Samaria* was afterwards built; and the other six, *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Asher*, *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Naphtali*, upon Mount *Ebal*, that was opposite; and the Tops of these Mountains were so near, that what was said upon the one, might be heard by those who were on the Tops and Sides of the other. In the Valley stood the Priests with the Ark of the Covenant, and first turning their Faces towards Mount *Gerizim*, proclaimed with a loud Voice, (for Example,) *Blessed be he that removeth not his Neighbour's Land-Mark*. Unto which, all the People that stood there, answered, *Amen*. And then turning their Faces towards Mount *Ebal*, they said thus, *Cursed be he that removeth*, &c. To which they that stood there made the same Answer.

When a Man had a mind to mortgage his Land, the Contract was executed in this Manner: The Purchaser wrote two Instruments: The one he sealed with his own Signet; the other he shew'd unclosed to the Witnesses, that they might subscribe and bear Testimony to what was written. The Witnesses subscribed

scribed upon the Back of the inclosed Instrument: And these two Writings were exactly the same; only that in the sealed Instrument, some Particulars were concealed from the Witnesses, which were the Prices of the Land, and the Time of the Redemption, (for none knew these, but the Buyer and the Seller;) for the next Kinsman, if he knew the Time of Redemption, and the Price, (the Mortgager not being able to redeem it at the Day,) might lawfully redeem it for himself. Now, these Circumstances being undiscover'd, there was an Opportunity for the poor Man to redeem his Land after the Day was past. Among the *Romans*, when they sealed their Last Will, they never discover'd the Name of the Heir, lest he should suffer an Inconvenience by being known.

C H A P. VIII.

The Art of Dialling. The Dial of Ahaz.

IT is said by *Pliny*, that the Art of Dialling was first invented by *Anaximenes*, a *Milesian*, the Scholar of *Anaximander*, and he was the first who shew'd a Dial at *Lacedæmon*: But this is a Mistake of the Historian; for that Art was among the *Hebrews* some Centuries before, (according to the best Chronologers,) as appears from the Dial of *Abaz*, upon which the Shadow went back ten Degrees in the Days of *Hezekiah*. Nat. Hist. Lib. 2.
2 Kings 20: 9;
10, &c.

I confess, I have but small Acquaintance with this Art, and therefore am not qualified to give a satisfactory Account of this Dial of *Abaz*, and that miraculous Event that was wrought upon it. There is a Learned Writer, of the *Scotish* Nation, who has been somewhat particular upon this Subject: I shall transcribe his Observations, and leave the Judicious

Book VII. to pass their Opinions upon the Truth and Certainty of them.

Weems's Explan-
ation of the
Laws of Moses,
Tom. III.
Book I.
Chap. 25.

“ The Hours, (says he,) that were set upon the
“ Dial of *Abaz* were unequal, or Planetary Hours,
“ because the Dial was made upon a Polar Ground.
“ Now, there are five Grounds upon which a Dial
“ must be made: First, Upon the Elevation of the
“ Equinoctial, whose Hours are always equal. Se-
“ condly, Vertical, and it shews only from Six to
“ Six equinoctially. Thirdly, Meridional, which
“ shews the Hours from the Rising of the Sun till
“ Mid-Day upon the East Side, and from Mid-Day
“ till Sun-set upon the West. Fourthly, Horizon-
“ tal, which has no Shadow under the Equinoctial,
“ or near the Equinoctial. And the last is, The
“ Polar Dial which follows the Zodiack; and the
“ Hours are contracted upon the South-Side of the
“ Equinoctial in the Winter, and enlarged upon
“ the North-Side in the Summer.

“ This Dial of *Abaz* could not be made upon an
“ Equinoctial Ground, because the Hours of the
“ Equinoctial Dial are equal. Secondly, It could
“ not be made Vertical, because the Vertical shews
“ only from Six to Six. Thirdly, It could not be
“ made Meridional, because the East-Side and the
“ West-Side are divided by the Meridional, and
“ it wants the Twelfth Hour. Fourthly, It
“ could not be made Horizontal, because they lay
“ so near the Equinoctial, that the Style could cast
“ no Shadow. And therefore, it must be Polar,
“ and the Hours must be unequally divided for Sum-
“ mer and Winter, or else they must have had two
“ Dials, one for Summer, and another for Winter:
“ The Form of this Dial was Hemispherical, or a
“ half Circle.

“ In this Dial we have to consider these Points:
“ First, That the Lines were but Half Hours upon
“ the Dial, and not Full Hours. Secondly, That
“ this Miracle was wrought when the Sun was in
“ the Height; for if it had been in the Declination,
“ or in the Afternoon, then it could not have gone
“ forward

“ forward ten Degrees; or if it had been soon in
 “ the Morning, it could not have gone back ten
 “ Degrees. Thirdly, This Miracle was wrought in
 “ the Summer-Time: The Day being at the longest,
 “ it could not be brought back ten Degrees in the
 “ Winter-Day; for when the Day is shortest, the
 “ Sun rises to them at Seven o’Clock: Neither could
 “ this Miracle be wrought at the Equinoctial; for
 “ then they could not have discern’d the Sun to
 “ cast a Shadow upon the Dial, because then the
 “ Shadow is so long. The Text says, the Shadow
 “ went back so many Degrees in the Dial of *Abaz*;
 “ therefore it seems to have been wrought in the
 “ Summer-Time, at the longest Day, when it was
 “ drawn back from the eleventh Hour to the sixth,
 “ which is one Hour after Sun-rising, for in the
 “ longest Day the Sun rises to them at Five o’Clock
 “ in the Morning.” So far are the Words of this
Scotish Writer.

What I have to observe upon this Subject, is,
 That there is not a Word in the History of this
 Transaction concerning the Sun’s going back, but
 only of the Shadow upon the Dial; from whence
 many modern Interpreters have concluded, that
 the Miracle was wrought upon the Dial only, and
 not upon the very Body of the Sun, which still held
 on its Courses as it used to do. It is said indeed by
Isaiah, *So the Sun return’d ten Degrees*: But this *Isa. 38. 8.*
 they conceive may be understood of the Shadow, as
 it is mentioned in the second Book of the *Kings*, and
 that God so disposed the Rays of the Sun, and or-
 dered the Light, that no Shadow should be projected,
 but where the Prophet foretold. This I thought fit
 to represent; but must add, that the antient *Jews*, and
Christians too, understood the Words of *Isaiah* to *Chap. 20. 9, 10.*
 signify, that the Sun itself went back, and not
 merely the Shadow. Primate *Ussher*, in his *Annals*,
 is of this Opinion, whose Words are these, *The Sun* *A. M. 4006.*
and all the heavenly Bodies went back, and as much
was detracted from the next Night, as was added to
this Day. This, it is supposed, was done of a sudden

Book VII. by a Divine Power, and lasted not long before all Things were restored again to their usual Place; so that no Alteration was made in the State of the heavenly Bodies. That there was some Change at the present, was observed both in the Northern Part of the World, at *Babylon*, (from whence *Merodach Baladan* sent to enquire about this Wonder,) and also in the Southern, in the Land of *Egypt*. This may be collected from a remarkable Passage in *Herodotus*, who tells us in his *Euterpe*, That the *Egyptians* had observed strange Alterations in the Motion of the Sun, which had been seen four Times out of its usual Course, it rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises; and yet no Change at all made among the *Egyptians*, neither in the Earth, nor in the River, nor in any Thing else. This is a plain Evidence, that their Neighbours (and many others, no doubt) had heard of the unusual Motions of the Sun, (though without any Alteration in the heavenly Bodies, which were seen fix'd in their former Station,) but had not a perfect Knowledge of them; for to these two, mention'd in Scripture, that in the Time of *Joshua*, and this of *Hezekiah*, the *Egyptians* added two more, and made them to have been near the same Time. What the *Talmudists* say upon this Occasion is perfectly ridiculous, That the Day on which *Abaz* died, was but two Hours long; but upon the Account of *Hezekiah*, God restored those ten Hours which were then wanting, and so brought Time even.

2 Chron. 32. 31.

Chap. 1. 42.

Cap. Chelek.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

Phyſick and Surgery.

TH E R E are many Paſſages in Scripture which prove the Uſe of *Surgery* and *Phyſick* among the old *Hebrews*. Theſe Arts they brought with them out of *Egypt*, and in Proceſs of Time made conſiderable Improvements in them. It was one of the *Levitical* Laws, that if one Man ſmote another, ſo that he kept his Bed, he that ſmote him, was to cauſe him *to be thoroughly healed*. The Holy Anointing Oil was to be made a Perfume and Confection *after the Art of the Apothecary*; which evidence that there were among them Perſons well ſkilled in Medicine and Drugs in the very Infancy of their Republick. Exod. 21. 19, 20
Chap. 30. 35.

No certain Discoveries can be made in what Manner theſe Arts were practiſed and apply'd in thoſe early Ages; only we find, that the Diſtemper of *Hezekiah* was cured by a *Poultis* of *Figs*, which is a natural Remedy, and is generally uſed in Impoſthumes; but it has not ſo quick an Effect as this had upon *Hezekiah*, of curing him in a Moment. 2 Kings 26.

It is to no Purpoſe to dwell long upon a Subject, where nothing but Conjecture is to be expected: I ſhall therefore take Occaſion to explain conciſely the Diſeaſes and Diſtempers that are mentioned in Scriptures, particularly of the Old Teſtament, and moſt of them common among the *Hebrews*, but the Methods of Cure, and the Practice of Phyſicians in thoſe Days, is, I think, impoſſible to be diſcover'd.

Barrenneſs is a Sort of Infirmary, and was formerly thought a great Reproach among the *Hebrew Women*.

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There is no Part in the human Body subject to a greater Number of Distempers than the *Eye*, the greatest of all which is the Loss of Sight, which no Art can cure; yet when a Cataract happens to be the only Cause of the Loss, Oculists can remove it, and restore the Sight.

A *Cancer* is one of the most terrible Diseases in the World; if it be not soon stopped, it makes a dreadful Progress.

There are different Ways of *Castration*: It may be done either by bruising, treading upon, cutting off, or pulling out the Parts which are appointed for the Preservation of the Species. This Practice was so rigorously forbidden, that it was unlawful to offer up a castrated Animal for Sacrifice, and it disqualified a Man for the Priesthood.

Circumcision may be reckon'd among the Diseases; because the Pain that was occasion'd by this Ceremony, brought a Distemper upon those who receiv'd it, especially if they were of an advanced Age. The third and fourth Days after Circumcision were the most painful, which happens in all Sorts of Wounds. And this made *Hippocrates* forbid the touching of them on these Days, for fear of an Inflammation. *Dinah's* Brethren were not ignorant of this; and therefore they made choice of the third Day after the *Sichemites* had been circumcised, to fall upon them, and make them an easy Conquest.

Gen. 34.

The only Observation I shall make upon the *Deaf* and *Dumb*, is, that the Tongue and Ear have so much Dependence upon each other, that they who are born deaf, are always dumb; for having never heard a Word spoken, their Tongues cannot pronounce any, Words being nothing else but an Imitation of what we hear others say.

The *Dropsy* is a known Distemper, and is of several Kinds: The most cruel, is, that which swells the Patient so terribly, that it not only gives him intolerable Pains, but makes him even hideous to the Sight.

What

What *Fevers* are, and the different sorts of them, are known to every one.

The *Gangrene*, is a Corruption which spreads itself from the corrupted to the sound Part, unless it be very speedily prevented.


The *Gonorrhea* is a Distemper peculiar to Men. It made those Unclean who were seized with it, and they were not allowed to enter into the Temple.

The *Gout* is a Distemper I here mention, because it is said in the *Chronicles*, that *Asa* fell Sick of a violent Pain in his Feet, and died of it. When this Pain seizes the Feet the *Greeks* call it *Podagra*; when the Hands, they call it *Chiragra*; so that it takes its Name from the Part affected. 2 Chron. 16. 12.

The *Hemorrhoides*, or *Piles*, are a Loss of Blood by the Veins of the *Anus*. When they have not this Effect, they cause a Swelling in it, which is often extremely painful. It is believed that this is the Distemper with which God punished the Inhabitants of *Azotus*, for having dared to detain the Ark among them. This Loss of Blood did not make the Persons afflicted with it unclean, but one of another kind, to which Women are sometimes subject, made them so as long as it continued. 1 Sam. 5.

No Distemper is more nasty and dreadful than the *Leprosy*. The Word is originally *Greek*, and may have been taken either from the Scales which a Leprosy brings upon the Body, or making the Skin rough and full of Pimples. It is so contagious, that the Breath or Touch of the Leper communicates his Distemper, and therefore it is a Species of Uncleanness under the antient Law. No Lepers were suffered to dwell within their Cities; nor did any one eat with them; and, as *Josephus* says, they were little better than People dead. They wore a particular Habit, their Clothes were rent, they went with their Heads bare, and their Faces covered; and all this by the Appointment of the *Mosaic Law*.

The Word *Lycanthropy* is not to be found in Scripture, but the Thing it signifies is: It is a Distemper

Book VII.  temper which arises from a black and burnt Choler, which spreads itself all over the Body, produces inward Cancers in it, causes very sharp Pains, is very drying, changes the Countenance, and passing from the Body to the Mind does, as it were, change a Man into a Beast. *Nebuchadnezzar* seems to have been afflicted with this Distemper. *Daniel* says, he was driven from all Commerce with Men, went into the Forests, lived there with Wild Beasts, and eat Grass. But we are not to imagine that he was turned into a Dog, or Wolf, or any other wild Creature: He only lived in Woods, and was afflicted with the Distemper here spoken of.

Daniel 4.

The *Palsy* is a Relaxation of the Nerves, arising from a cold Humour which fills them, and stops up the Passage of the Animal Spirits. The Soul governs the Body by the Nerves, and it is by them she becomes sensible of what happens to the Body. But the Palsy breaks off this Communication, and is a Privation both of Motion and Sense.

The *Phthisick*, or *Consumption*, is a Distemper which insensibly dries up the Body, and makes it thinner and thinner, and at last ends in Death. The wicked *Jehoram* was punished by God with this Distemper; he languished two Years and at last *2 Chron. 21, 15.* died: *His Bowels seem to have fallen out.* This Distemper frequently proceeds from an obstinate *Gonorrhea*.

Worms become a sort of Distemper, when the Body is eaten up by them. This was the Disease which seized upon *Herod*, who died in the midst of intolerable Pains.

If it should be asked, what the Distemper was with which *Job* was tormented, the most common Opinion is, That his Body was by the Devil reduced so very low, that he felt the same Pains which attend the most contagious Distempers. God had given the Devil this Dominion over his Servant, that his Patience might be the more signal and exemplary, in proportion to the Greatness of the Sufferings he underwent.

C H A P.

CHAP. X.

*The Knowledge of Trees, Plants,
Herbs, &c.*

AMONG the learned Accomplishments of the wise *Solomon*, it is recorded of him that he was so well versed in Natural History, so expert a Botanist, and so perfectly understood the Virtues and Properties of all Plants, that he was able to speak of Trees, from the Cedar-Tree that is in *Lebanon*, even unto the Hyssop that springeth out of the Wall. He spoke also of Beasts, and of Fowl, and of Creeping Things, and of Fishes. Of the Animals, I think sufficient, for this Design, has been said in the Chapter concerning the Creatures that were pronounced Clean or Unclean by the Law of *Moses*. Only let it be observed, that *Solomon*, it is supposed, compiled Books upon this Subject, which some *Jews* fancy were seen by *Aristotle*, who published them in his own Name in his *Historia Animalium*. *Anastasius*, Bishop of *Nice*, commenting upon the Verse above, has this Remark, That from the curious Collections of *Solomon*, no doubt, those who afterwards wrote Books of Medicine very largely borrowed: From him they understood the exact Orders and Difference of Heat and Cold, of Drought and Moisture, and what Proportion there was of these Qualities in all Herbs. And *Pineda* has very copiously, and with wonderful Nicety, treated of the Knowledge of this Prince in Physick, and concludes, that he was the most perfect Master in that Art of any that was before, or has been since his Time.

1 Kings 4. 33.

*Quæst. 39. in
Scripturam.*

*In Salomone,
l. 3. c. 22.*

The Herbs, Grain, Pulse, Trees, and Plants, that are mention'd in Scripture, may properly be explained according to the Alphabetical Order of the

Book VII. the Names that are given them in our common Bibles.



Aloes is a very bitter Herb. Some will have it to be an *Indian* Tree which is of different Colours, and is called *Santax*. What our Druggists mean by the Plant called by this Name, is well known.

Numb. 17. 8.

The *Almond-Tree* blows the soonest of any Tree: It begins as soon as ever the Rigour of Winter is past, and is in Blossom in *February*. *Aaron's* Rod which budded, and by this Miracle secured the Priesthood to him, was a Branch of an *Almond-Tree*.

Barley is the soonest Ripe of any Grain; therefore the *Jews* dedicated all the First-Fruits of their Grain to God upon the second Day of Unleavened Bread, by offering up of a Sheaf of *Barley*.

Bdellium is usually taken for a Black Tree which yields a Gum: But the Word, in the Original, signifies neither a Tree, nor Gum, but a Precious Stone.

Beans need not be explained.

Bishopswort, in the *Hebrew*, *Gith*, is used by poor People instead of Pepper.

Lev. 23. 14.

The *Vulgate* translates the *Hebrew* *Meror*, in our *English* Version *Parched Corn*, by *Bitter Lettice*; but it signifies all sorts of Bitter Herbs. The *Jews* say there are five different sorts of them, with which they used to eat the Passover.

Isaiah 30. 8.

Box is an exceeding hard Wood, and so heavy that it sinks in the Water, and what is Engraven upon it is not easily effaced. *Isaiah* was commanded to Engrave the Sins of his People upon publick Monuments; but the *Hebrew* does not say of what Matter they were to be made, but the *Vulgate* translates it, *Go, and write upon the Box*.

The *Bramble* is a Shrub whose Leaves are green, and a little sharp. It grows in desert Places.

Exod. 2. 3.

Burre-Reed has a sharp and thick Leaf, and grows by the Side of the Waters. The Banks of the *Nile* abound with it; and it was in a Place full of *Burre-Reeds*, where *Moses* was exposed.

Cane

Cane is a sort of Reed. There is a sort of it which comes from Mount *Libanus*, which tastes like *Cassia*, and has a very agreeable Smell. Chap. 10.

The *Caper-Tree* is a low and very Thorny Plant. We find the Word in *Ecclesiastes*, where *Solomon* observing old Age, says, The *Caper-Tree* shall be destroyed; which is a figurative Expression, importing that old Men's Appetites fail them so much, that nothing can recover them. Eccles. 12. 5. In English, The Desire shall fail.

The *Cedar* is one of the most beautiful Trees in Nature. It is very tall, and always green; the Leaf of it is thick and sharp, the Pith red, and it has an odoriferous Smell. The Fruit of it resembles a Pine-Apple, and the Trunk yields a Gum. It never rots; and is one of the best sorts of Wood for the Building of Ships.

The *Colocynthida* is a wild Gourd as big as an Orange; if one cuts the Flower of it with a Knife, it is intolerably Bitter. *Elisha's* Servant ignorantly put some of it into his Pot, and as soon as his Disciples had tasted it, they cried there was Poison in it. 2 Kings 4. 39.

Coriander is a Plant which bears Berries, of which they make Sugar-Plumbs.

The *Cucumber*, *Melon*, *Onion*, and *Leak*, are too well known to be explained. As we make Melon-Beds, so the *Hebrews* had Pieces of Ground sowed with Cucumber. Isaiah 1. 8.

Cummin, or *Sour Anise*, is a sort of Fennel.

The *Cypress-Tree* has a very tall and a very straight Body: Its Leaves are like those of a Pine-Tree, but not so hard, and more blunt. This is an Oily Wood, and has a very strong Smell. It is not subject to be Worm-eaten, because the Worms will not touch it.

The *Fig-Tree* is known to every Body. It has two sorts of Fruit; that of the Spring, which grows ripe; and that of Autum, which continues always green.

The *Fir-Tree* is very tall, straight, and has few Knots.

Flax

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Flax is a Plant, of which the finest Linen is made.

The *Hasel-Tree* may be understood either of the common Nut or Filberd.

Jerem. 47. 6.

Heath grows no where but in uncultivated Places; which is the Reason why *Jeremiah*, threatening the *Jews* with an entire Desolation, says, *They shall be like the Heath in the Wilderness.*

The *Holm-Oak* has a fine and thin Bark, and its Leaves are a little sharp, and pointed: Otherwise, it is like other Oaks.

John. 19. 29.

It is not certain whether the *Hyssop*, mention'd in Scripture, be the same with ours, that is, whether it be an Herb, or a Tree. Its Trunk must certainly have been longer than that of an Herb, since St. *John* says, that the Soldiers put a Sponge upon *Hyssop* to give Drink to our Saviour, whose Cross was very high.

Ivy is a weak Plant, which being unable to support itself, cleaves to Trees and Walls. It is an Ever-Green.

2 Kings 19. 5.

The *Juniper-Tree* has Prickles instead of Leaves; but they are always green. It is large in Eastern Countries; and the Scripture says, that *Elijah* lay and slept under a *Juniper-Tree*. When they are full grown, and Incisions are made into them, they will in the Summer-time produce some Rosin.

Kikaion is the Name which the Scripture gives to the Tree under which *Jonas* rested. *Pliny* distinguishes two sorts of Gourds: Some, says he, creep upon the Ground; others raise themselves up, and they make Cradles of them: So that this Plant might soon be large enough to cover the Prophet. *Bochart* thinks that the *Kikaion* of the *Hebrews*, is the same with the *Kiki* of the *Egyptians*; and, according to *Dioscorides*, it is a Shrub which the *Latins* call *Ricinus*, because its Seed resembles a little Animal, called in *Latin*, *Ricinus*, and is a sort of a little Worm. *Kimchi* says they grow fast; and that

that they planted them before their Shops, for the sake of Shade, and refreshing themselves under it.

Lentils are a small redish Grain, which is reckoned among Pulse.

The *Lilly* is of an admirable Whiteness. It was a Custom in *Palestine*, after their Corn had been beaten out, and fanned, to lay it in Heaps, and put Lillies round them. From whence *Solomon* draws one of his Comparisons in the Song of Songs, *Thy Belly is like a Heap of Wheat set about with Lillies.* Cant. 2. 7.

There are two sorts of *Mandrakes*: One of them is like Lettice, only its Leaves are straighter, and of a deeper Green. It bears a Fruit as big as a large Filberd, or Chesnut: And this is what is called the Female Mandrake. The Male is stronger, and has larger Leaves: Its Fruit is round and is like the Yolk of an Hen's Egg: It has a strong Smell, which occasions Sleep. Its Root is large, cover'd with Hair, and divided in such a manner, that it looks like Thighs. It is said the Mandrake is a Love-Potion.


Mint is a odoriferous Herb.

Millet takes its Name from the Multitude of its Seeds.

The *Mulberry-Tree* buds the latest of any Tree. It seems afraid of exposing its Leaves and Flowers to the Rigour of the Winter. Its Fruit, when ripe, is spotted with a bloody Red.

Mustard is so stinging a Seed, that it makes those weep who eat it. It is called the *least of all Seeds.* It was thought to be so in *Judea*: And indeed, its Smallness is surprising, compared with the Plant it produces. Matth. 13.

The *Myrtle-Tree*, with us, is but a ligneous Plant, but in the Hot Countries it is a little Tree. It is very agreeable, always green, and gives a Smell. The *Jews* adorned the Doors of their Houses with Myrtle-Branched on the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple; and *Isaiah*, in order to express a happy Change to the *Jews*, says, *That instead of the Brier, shall come up the Myrtle-Tree.* The *Isaiah* 55. 13.

 The *Nut-Tree* is a Name given in general to all Trees, whose Fruit is cover'd with a very thick Shell.

The *Oak* is common : There are many sorts of them.

The *Olive-Tree* is of two sorts : Manured and Wild. The first bears Olives, which, when they are ripe, turn black, and are fit for Oil. This Oil of Olives is of great Use : It strengthens the Limbs, and asswages Pain.

The *Palm-Tree* took its Name from the Resemblance its flat Head and spreading Branches bears to the Palm of the Hand. There is no Country which has more or finer Palm-Trees than *Judea*, and therefore a Palm-Tree is the Emblem of that Country. In the Medals of *Vespasian* and *Titus* there is a Palm-Tree, and a disconsolate Woman sitting under it, with these two Words, *JUD. CAP.* that is, *Judea subdued*. It is a Property of this Tree, to rise under any Pressure that may be made upon it to pull it down. Its Leaves are always green, and it never sheds them, as other Ever-Greens do, but always continues to have the same Leaves it had at first.

Papyrus is a Plant like our Reeds, or Bulrushes, which grows in the Marshes of the *Nile*. The Antients stripped off very thin Membranes from the Leaves of it, upon which they wrote, and the Name is continued down to the Paper we now use, though very different from that of the Antients. They made Sloops and Barks of this *Papyrus*; for *Isaiah* denounces, *Wo to the Land which maketh a Noise with its Wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia, which sendeth its Embassadors upon the Waters in Vessels of Papyrus*. Our English Translation has it in Vessels of Bulrushes.

The *Pine* is as well known as any Tree.

The *Plane* gives a delightful Shade, and is planted for that Purpose. Its Leaves are large, and its Branches extend a great Way. It loves to be near the Water; and therefore *Wisdom* compares

pare herself to a *Plane* planted by the Water Side. Chap. 10.



The *Pomegranate-Tree* is a sort of Apple-Tree. The Inside of a Pomegranate is full of Seeds which are of a bright red Colour: And therefore the Bridegroom compares the Vermillion of his Bride to an open Pomegranate. Cant. 4. 3.

The *Poplar* is a tall-bodied Tree, and is of two sorts: The White, whose Leaves are of a whitish Colour, and are always trembling; and the Black, which has not so beautiful a Head as the other, nor do its Leave always shake.

In the History of *Susanna*, two Trees are mention'd, whose *Greek* Names are preserved in the *Vulgate*: The one is called *Prinus*, which is a sort of an Oak; and the other *Schinus*, which is a *Mastic-Tree*. There are many of the latter in the Isle of *Cbios*; and there distills a Gum from them, which is called *Mastick*.

Pulse is a Word which signifies all those Fruits of the Earth which are easily dressed, and are very wholesome, exclusive of the Grain with which we make Bread.

The *Ramthorn*, in our *English* Translation, Judges 9. 14. Bramble, is a white Bush, which extends its Branches in straight, and not crooked Lines, as other Bushes do. It bears a little Fruit, which, when it is ripe turns black.

The *Reed* is a very weak Plant, and bends with the least Breath of Wind. It grows only in desert and watery Places.

Roses are in all our Gardens, as well as Rue.

Saffron bears a blue Flower, and has a sort of yellow Fibres in the middle of it, which gives a very strong Smell. It is good for the Heart. The Gardens of the *Spouse*, in the *Canticles*, had a great many of these Plants in them. They make a Colour of this Flower, which is partly Yellow and partly Red. Cantic. 4. 14.

Sabiunca is a Plant very like our Lavender. It is very low; and therefore the *Latin* Interpreter Isaiah 55. 13. makes

Book VII. makes use of this Name, in *Ijaiah*, to express a Word which in the Original signifies a low Plant:

Saltwort, in our Translation, *Fuller's-Soap*, is used by burning it, and making a Lye of its Ashes, which being mixed with Water, there comes off an Oil with it, which they boil, and make into a Salve. The Fullers who whiten Stuffs, often make use of it.

Malachi 3. 2.

The *Scarlet-Tree* bears a Fruit of Berries like Lentils. In which Berries are found Worms, of whose Blood the Scarlet Colour is made.

Shittim-Wood is that of which the Scripture says the Ark was made. Interpreters render the Word *Incorruptible Wood*, which is applicable to the Cypress, Cedar, Box, and several other Trees.

Spikenard is both an Herb and a Shrub, and doth produce Leaves like Ears of Corn, for which Reason it is called *Nardus*, Eared *Spicata*. Nard, or Spikenard, a Name which is also given to Lavender, of which they make the Oil of Spikenard.

The *Sycamore*, which is a sort of *Egyptian Fir-Tree*, is a large Tree. The Fruit of the *Sycamore* does not hang upon the Branches, but immediately upon the Trunk.

The *Thistle* is known to every Body. It grows in Fallow Ground, and often in that which is plowed, where it choaks the good Grain.

The *Turpentine-Tree* is very beautiful, and common in Syria and Palestine. Its Leaf resembles that of a Laurel, and its Flower like that of an Olive. Its Buds, which are at first green, afterwards grow red, and are black when they are at their Maturity. From this Tree distils the Turpentine, which has so good a Smell, and is so much esteemed.

The *Hyacinth*, or *Violet-Tree*, is a Spring Violet of a deep Violet Colour. The Word is sometimes taken for the Colour itself. *Wheat*, *Vetches*, *Vines*, and *Nettles*, are too well known to detain us.

The

The *Willows* are very quick Growers, and are usually planted by the Water-Side. It was upon these the *Jews* hung their Musical Instruments in the Time of the Captivity. Chap. 10.

CHAP. XI.

The Art of Jewelling. Of Precious Stones.

WHEN God commanded *Moses* to build the Tabernacle, to provide its Utenfils, and to make Vestments for those who minister'd in the Holy Rites, it is supposed that there were no Artists among the *Hebrews* who were able to execute this Design; for they had been long kept in Servitude by the *Egyptians*, and cannot be thought to understand much of the curious Arts of Jewelling, Engraving, Embroidery, Weaving, Neddlework, and other Accomplishments; they were worn down with hard Labour, and were acquainted with little more than making of Bricks; and therefore God was pleased to instruct several Men, particularly *Bezaleel*, in those Arts, which they had no Master to teach them, and which their natural Genius could never attain to, especially on a sudden, without Inspiration. Exod. 31. 2, 3

It is difficult, not to say impossible, to know exactly the Names of the precious Stones that are mention'd in Scripture. The *Jews* themselves confessed, and the Differences of the antient Interpreters, who have translated the *Hebrew* Names, every one according to his own Fancy manifestly shew it; and therefore it shall be sufficient in this Place to discover what those precious Stones were which were in the High Priest's Pectoral; for some few only excepted, all that are mentioned in Scripture were in this Ornament. In general it may be

Book VII. observed, that the two Things which make precious Stones so much sought after, are the Scarcity and the Matter of them; the more hard, clear, and free from Stains they are, they are the more valuable. The Stones in the Breast-plate were twelve, and they were placed in this Order.

First Rank were,

1. *Odem.* 2. *Pithab.* 3. *Bakeket.*

In the Second,

4. *Nophec.* 5. *Saphir.* 6. *Jahalon.*

In the Third,

7. *Leshem.* 8. *Schebo.* 9. *Achlama.*

In the Fourth,

10. *Tarschisch.* 11. *Schobam.* 12. *Jaspeh.*

Odem, translated *Pyropos* by the Greeks, and by the *Latins Sardius*, is what we call a *Sardonyx*. There are several sorts of them: The Male *Sardonyx*, which is of a deep Red; the Female, which is of a bright Red; and the Cornelian, which is of a pale Red. It is pretended that the *Sardonyx* took its Name from *Sardinia*, where it is found; or from its Resemblance to a Fish, called *Sardius*, which when it is salted is red, like a Salmon. But *Braunius* derives the Word from *Sered*, which, in *Hebrew*, signifies the Red Colour. And it is thought that this was the Colour of this Stone; and the Proof that is given of it, is, that it is said in the *Revelations*, that the Face of him that sat upon the Throne was like a *Sardonyx*; which the Antients explain of God in his Anger, whose Face, say they, is then like Fire.

Revel. 4. 3.

Pithab, is the *Topaz*, which the Antients say was Green, and much of a Pearl Colour; or, as others, of

of a Glafs Colour, which is a fort of Green. Chap. II.
There is in *Arabia* an Island, formerly called *Chitis*,
which is now called the Isle of *Topaz*, either on
account of the great Quantity of these Precious
Stones, which are brought from thence, or perhaps,
the Island might give the *Topaz* its Name. Our
Topazes are different from those of the Antients,
for ours are all of a gold Colour.

Bakeket, the Emerald. One of the Properties
of this Stone, according to *Pliny*, is, that it
gives a Fire which neither *Flambeaux*, nor the
Sun itself, can put out. And that the Name
which *Moses* gives it, signifies to sparkle, or to
glitter. The Emerald is green, but there are se-
veral sorts of them.

Nophec, is, according to both the *Greeks* and *La-
tins*, a Carbuncle. It has the Brightness and Co-
lour of a flaming Coal, which has given its Name
in the *Greek* Language, as well as the *Latin*. The
most beautiful of them must, according to *Pliny*,
have pretty much of the *Amethyst*, which is of a
Violet Colour.

The *Saphir* has preserved its Name in all Lan-
guages. It is of a blue Colour, according to *Pliny*,
and the Scriptures agree with him in it, as appears
from that Passage in *Exodus*; *And they saw the* Exodus 24. 10.
*God of Israel, and there was under his Feet, as it
were, a paved Work of Saphir-Stone, and, as it
were, the Body of Heaven in his Clearness.* There
is a sort of these Stones which has Sparkles of
Gold intermixed with the Colour of them; but
they are not so bright as the others, and cannot be
cut.

Jahalon, *Josephus* will have to be the *Saphir*;
but the *Seventy*, and the *Vulgate*, take it for the
Jasper; and *Braunius* explains it of the *Diamond*.

Leshem, is the Name of a precious Stone, which
we no where find but in the Discription of the
Pectoral. Some think it is *Amber*; and the *Latins*
call it *Ligurinus*, because they thought it grew in *Li-
guria*: But *Braunius* will have the *Leshem* to be

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the Jacynth, which derives its Name from a Flower, of whose Colour it is. There are of them of several Colours : The most common ones are of a Gold Colour, very like that of Amber.

Schebo, is no where mentioned but in *Exodus*. Interpreters translate it, the Agate. They are very common Stones, in which Nature seems to divert herself with the different Things she imprints upon them. *Brannius* thinks the *Schebo* is the Beryl, which is green ; but there are some of them which incline to the Gold Colour, and are not so bright as the others. They are always cut with six Angles, to give them the greater Life.

Achlama, is taken for the Amethyst. *Pliny* says it is a Violet, inclining to a Vine Colour. The *Greeks* call it Amethyst, from a pretended Quality they attribute to it, of guarding against Drunkenness.

Tarschisch, is translated by the Seventy the Chrysolite, when they speak of the Pectoral ; but in other Places they render it the Carbuncle. From whence it appears, that these Interpreters were not very sure of having the true Names of these Stones. It was of a Gold Colour.

Schobam, is a Term which the Seventy vary much in translating. In *Genesis* they translate it Topaz, which is of a Wart Colour : In *Exodus* they render it sometimes Emerald, sometimes Beryl, and sometimes Sardonyx. In *Job* the Word is by them render'd Onyx ; and in *Ezekiel* Sapphire : But the Vulgate always translates it Onyx. It is a precious Stone, which is of a whitish Colour, like that of a Man's Nails, from whence it takes its Name.

Jaspek, is in the Septuagint, the Onyx, and in the Vulgate the Beryl. The Beryl, according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, has a great deal of Relation to the Emerald. There are some of them that are Blue and Violet Colour.

Prov. 25. 12.

The antient Versions of the *Old Testament* make no mention of Pearls ; and the Vulgate does but once, and that improperly : But they are spoken of
in

in the New Testament; and it may seem surprising either that the Prophets should not have known them, or that they should not have spoken of them. But *Bochart* observes, That they are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, though they have been otherwise render'd by Translators: In *Genesis*, particularly, the Land of *Havilah* is described by the Quantity of *Bedolach* it abounds with. This Interpreters have translated *Bdellium*, which signifies a certain Black Tree, which yields an odoriferous Gum; and others have taken it for Chrystal: But there is no room to doubt, but that *Bedolach* signifies Pearls, since the Countrey of *Avila*, or *Havilah*, is the Place which most abounds with them of any Place in the World. For the *Red Sea*, by which I understand not the *Arabian Gulph* only, but also the *Persian Sea*, is so fruitful in Pearls, that they were called by the Antients, *The Precious Stones of the Red Sea*.

CHAP. XII.

Of Engraving, and the Art of the Lapidary.

NOTwithstanding the strict Prohibition in the second Precept of the Decalogue against the Engraving and Carving of Images; yet this Art was allowed and practised by the *Hebrews*, so far as to engrave the Images and Figures of Inanimate Things, which had no Temptation in them to seduce them to Idolatrous Worship. *Moses* made Lillies about the Tabernacle, and Pomegranates upon the Border of the Pontifical Vestment; and *Solomon* had curious Embossed-Work of Palm-Trees, and other Devices in the Temple: But the Images of Angels or Men, or the Figures of Beasts, if they

Book. VII. were richly adorn'd, and set up, and fix'd in an open conspicuous Place, as if they demanded Veneration from those who saw them, were prohibited, lest the People should be drawn into Idolatry, to which they were exceedingly prone. No Image of the Sun and Moon, and Stars, called, *The Host of Heaven*, was suffer'd for the same Reason, nor any Representation of the Deity was permitted, lest the stupid Populace should conceive that God was a Corporeal Being, and framing upon that Account a contemptible Notion of his Divinity, should by degrees withdraw their Obedience from him. No Image or Statue was allowed to be erected only in Memory of a Person deceased, lest it should attract Devotion, and be worshipp'd as an Idol; for

Wisd. 14. 15. says the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, *A Father afflicted with untimely Mourning, when he hath made an Image of his Child, soon taken away, now honour'd him as a God, which was then a dead Man, and deliver'd to those that were under him Ceremonies and Sacrifices.* The Cherubims that were placed in the Holy of Holies had no Right to Divine Worship, because they stood there as Servants and Attendants upon the Propitiatory; nor were the People in danger of being corrupted from the true Worship by the Images of the Oxen under the *Brazen Sea*, because they appeared there in a State of Servitude, having the Weight of that great Vessel upon their Backs, and had not the least Symptom of Grandeur or Majesty about them.

The Art of Engraving or Cutting upon Jewels and precious Stones, was well known to the antient *Hebrews*; for the Names of the Tribes were curiously graved upon the Stones in the High-Priest's Pectoral: Nor were they ignorant of that fine Part of Sculptures, called *Basso. Relievo* by the *Italians*. They were excellent in carving upon Ivory; for *Josephus*, describing the Grandeur and Magnificence of *Solomon's* Palace, relates, that the Building was made of white Marble, of Cedar, of Gold, and of Silver; the Floors and Walls were figured with

Diversity

Diversity of Flowers, and of precious Stones in-
chased in Gold, after the Manner of the Temple
of God, which shined with such-like Ornaments.
There was likewise erected a most mighty Throne,
made in Form of a Tribunal, with six Steps of pure
Ivory. On each Side of which there stood two
Ramping Lions, and the same Number were placed
above. The Stage of the Throne was after the
Form of Hands that laid hold on the King, and he
sat upon a Half Ox, looking backwards.

Chap. 12.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Painting.

WHEN *Antiochus Epiphanes* publish'd a Decree
to suppress the *Jewish* Religion, one prin-
cipal Instruction given his Agents, was, to
collect and destroy the Books of *Moses*; and accord-
ingly Orders were issued out, commanding all that
had any Copies of the Law, to deliver them up; and
the Punishment of Death was severely inflicted upon
all who were afterwards found to retain any of
them. By this Means the Persecutors got into their
Hands all the Copies of the Law which were in the
Land, except such as those who fled into the De-
sarts, carried thither along with them. When these
Books came into their Hands, some they destroy'd,
and others, which they thought fit to preserve, they
polluted, by painting in them the Pictures of their
Idolatrous Gods, that so they might never be again
used by the true *Israelites*.

1 Macc. 3. 48.

It is certain, that Pictures were forbidden by the
Law of *Moses*, as much as Images; and to have ei-
ther of them was equally esteem'd an Abomination
among that People: For whereas it is said in the
Levitical Law, according to our Translation, *Ye*
shall not set up any Image of Stone in your Land,
the *Hebrew* Original is, any Stone of Picture; and

Levit. 26. 1.

Selden. de Dis.

Syr. Syntag. 2.

c. 1.

Book VII. so it noted in the Margin at that Place; by which the *Jews* understood Stones painted with Pictures. These were not allowed to be erected, though it were without the Temple, and it was no more permitted to a Profelyte than to an *Israelite*; and if any Man presumed to make such Statues, he was beaten. Such Images as these were common among the *Egyptians* in after Times, which were not Representations of their Gods, but were full of Symbols and Hieroglyphicks, expressing some of the principal Perfections and Attributes of their Deities. The *Hebrews* were exceedingly rigid, with regard to the Precepts concerning Images and Pictures, insomuch that *Origen* against *Celsus* gives them this Character:

Orig. 1. 4. “ Among them, there was no other Deity admitted
 “ but God, the Governor of the Universal World,
 “ all Makers of Images being driven from among
 “ them; for no Painter or Statuary was allowed to
 “ live in their City, their Laws being very severe a-
 “ gainst Workmen of this Kind, lest the ignorant Peo-
 “ ple should be drawn away, and tempted from the
 “ Worship of the true God.”

Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. c. 7. *Vitellius*, the *Syrian* Prefect, going to make War against the *Arabians*, was met by the Principal Nobility of the *Jews*, and desired that he would not pass through their Countrey, because it was a Custom among them, not to see any Images carry'd, such as he had of many Colours in his Army. The Governor condescended, and marched another Way. And *Josephus*, in his own Life, relates, That he was sent Ambassador to *Tiberias*, to persuade the People to deface the Palace erected by *Herod* the Tetrarch, wherein divers Figures of living Creatures were painted, which were expressly forbidden by the *Levitical Law*.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Architecture.

THE Publick Structures among the *Hebrews*, if we consider either the Magnificence of the Temple, or the Stateliness of their Buildings in *Jerusalem*, and other Cities, are undeniable Testimonies of their Skill in Architecture above other Nations; but though they soon left off the Simplicity that was among them in the Beginning of their Republick, yet in all their Fabricks they retained so much of the old Form, as was positively enjoin'd them by the Command of *Moses*.

The Law is expressed in this Manner: *When thou buildest a new House, then thou shalt make a Battlement for thy Roof.* The *Jews* are very curious in their Comments; for they set a Mark upon the Word *thy*, fancying, that the Law does not simply say *the* Roof, but *thy* Roof, on purpose to except the Temple, the Synagogues, and the Schools from this Rule; which were the Property of no private Man, but belonged to the whole Congregation. They say, indeed, the Temple had Battlements, not for Necessity, but for Ornament, because the Roof of the Temple was not flat, as the Roof of another House was; for no body walked upon the Temple, as they did upon their own Houses, to take the Air, and discourse together, or to meditate and pray, (in little Closets they had there,) which made it necessary to have these Battlements of three Foot and a half high, (as the *Jews* say,) to prevent any Man's falling down, when he did not attend, or was thinking upon something else.

Deut. 22. 8.
L'Empereur. in
Cod. Middoth.

That the Roofs of their Houses were flat, which was the Ground of this Precept, we have many
Proofs

Book VII.

Joh. 2. 6.

1 Sam. 9. 25.

2 Sam. 11. 2.

and 16. 22.

Proofs in the Scripture; for hither *Rahab brought the Spies, and cover'd them with the Stalks of Flax which she laid upon them.* Here Samuel communed with Saul upon the Top of the House. David also was walking upon the Roof of his Palace, when he saw Bethsheba washing her self; and, in the same Place, Absalom caused a Tent to be spread, that he might go into his Father's Concubines in the Sight of all Israel. Nor was it the Manner of the Hebrews only, but of the Greeks and Romans also, to make the Roofs of their Houses, so that they might walk upon them; and stand there to see Publick Shews, or to take the Air; but the Roman Houses wanted these Battlements, which Moses prescribed in his Law.

If a Man fell from a House for want of these Defences, and lost his Life, he is said to bring Blood upon the House; the Owner was guilty before God of his Blood, and liable to be punish'd by the Judges for neglecting the Observance of this Institution. This Law is extended by the Jews to a studious Care about every Thing that might bring a Man's Life in danger: For Example, they might not keep a mad Dog, nor set up a broken Ladder in their House, and many more Particulars, of no Importance to mention in this Place. The Jews had not the Art of making Glass Windows, but made use of Lattices, or Curtains. Neither had they the Invention of Chimneys; they made their Fires either in the open Air, or in the Middle of their Chambers. The Modern Jews leave about a Cubit square of Wall unplaster'd, in some Part or other of their Houses, to set before their Eyes the Destruction of the Temple. They formerly would not suffer any Beams of a Floor to jet out into the Streets of Jerusalem, lest if there should be any Person dead upon that Floor, they who walked under those Beams should be polluted without knowing it. The Owner dwells in the Lower Part of the House, but the Upper Part is frequently let out. The Way to the Upper Rooms, how high soever, was by a Ladder



Ladder reared against the Outside of the House. It was a Tradition among the *Jews*, that no Houses were ever let to hire in *Jerusalem*. As the People came thither from all Parts three Times in a Year, in order to celebrate the Festivals, the Houses were open to Strangers. They chose for themselves of such as they found empty according to their Liking, and the Inhabitants took Care to furnish them with Beds; for which Reason say the *Jews*, though the City stood in both the Tribes, both of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, yet it belonged to no particular Tribe.

The *Hebrews* were commanded by *Moses* to write the Law upon the Posts of their Houses, and upon their Gates: The *Jews* are very scrupulous about the Words they are enjoined to write, and upon what Part of the Gates and Posts they were to place them. This Writing they call *Mesufah*, and it was generally fix'd upon the Right-Side of their Gates. Some write it upon little Rolls, which they fasten to all their Gates; but others inclose them in a Case, which they fasten to the Door-Post, or put into a Hole in the Wall; but before they are fix'd, they say, *Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, and King of the World, who hast sanctified us by thy Precepts, and hast commanded us to fasten the Mesufah to our Door-Posts*. All who pretend to Religion among them, whenever they go out, or come in, lay their Hands upon this Place, and say, *The Lord preserve my Going out, and my Coming in*. It must be observed, that other Nations (as the Learned *Huetius* notes) used to write their Laws upon their Gates; which it is probable they did in Imitation of the *Jews*, who, to this Day, have written in a Parchment a Part of the Sixth of *Deuteronomy*, from the 4th to the 10th Verse; and of the Eleventh, from the 13th to Verse the 20th, which they roll up, and writing on it the Word *Shaddai*, which is one of the Names of God, put it into a Piece of Cane, or other hollow Wood, and fasten it to the Doors of their Houses, and of each particular Room in them; and as often as they go in and out,

Deut. 22. 9.

Leusd. Phil.
Heb. Mixt.
Dissert. 17.

Demonstrat. Evangel. p. 58.

Leo of Mod.
Hist. of the
Jews, Part 1.
c. 2.

Book VII. out, they make it a Part of their Devotion to touch this Parchment, and to kiss it. *Maimonides* observes, That they were forbidden to make their Houses in the Form of the Temple, or to have any Thing in their Houses like the Things in the Temple, as the Table, or the Candlestick. If any one built a Synagogue, he was obliged to build it finer than his own House.

CHAP. XV.

The Origin of Trade and Commerce among the Hebrews.

IT is supposed that Convenience, more than Necessity, first introduced Trade and Commerce among Mankind. Nature always furnishes every Animal with its proper Subsistence in those Places which give them Birth ; and we have many Instances of wild People living upon the most barren Lands without Trade, or the least Communication with Strangers. Nevertheless, as Men are sociable in their Nature, even these Savage People, who found themselves separated from other Men, were not altogether without the Practice of some Sort of Trade among themselves: The Huntsman gave part of his Game to the Fisherman, who also freely returned him a Share of his Fish. There was also among them a kind of Commerce of Work and Industry: The Husbandman would help to build the House of the Artificer, who had assisted him in making his Plough.

This Sort of Commerce between Man and Man, is as antient as the World itself; and even when we read in Holy Writ, that *Cain* was a Tiller of the Ground, and *Abel* a Shepherd, we may conclude, that *Cain* supply'd *Abel* with Fruit and Grain of the Earth for his Nourishment, and *Abel* in return would furnish



furnish *Cain* with Skins and Wool for Raiment and Covering. Such were the Rudiments of Trade; which Use, the Parent of Arts, in the Course of Time has increased, and brought to Perfection: Hence some built Cities; others chose rather to live in Tents, wandring at Pleasure, without any certain Settlement. Arts were discover'd, and various Professions, Exercises, and Trades, were establish'd, some out of meer Necessity, and others for Pleasure. But all this could not either be begun or maintain'd without a mutual Correspondence among Men, and by a reciprocal Communication of their Goods, and of their Industry; nay, to facilitate this Correspondence, they form'd themselves into different Societies.

What (says the Learned *Huet*, in his Treatise of *Navigation*) would *Tubal Cain* have done? (who was a Blacksmith, as the Scripture reports, and who has given Birth to the Fable of Vulcan.) What would he have done with those famous Works in Brass and Iron of his, if he had not traded with them among his Neighbours? But a Mixture of Cheats and Tricks soon began to run through all these Occupations: The Wares were alter'd; they sold with false Weights, and false Measures; Justice and Plain-Dealing were banish'd from Trade; Virtue and Good-Manners began to be corrupted: In a word, the Malice of Men broke forth in that unbounded Manner, that Heaven was provoked to destroy almost the whole Race by the Deluge. However, it is certain that Trade had greatly advanced before the Flood; and this will appear, by considering the Fabrick, and wonderful Structure of the Ark; how many Materials were employ'd! how many Tools, how many Workmen! what Machines, and what Industry! Can we believe, that *Noah* had in his own Warehouse, or in his Family, all that was convenient or necessary for the Execution of a Design so great? So that, without doubt, there must at that Time have been some Commerce among Men, who drove a Trade by the Help of Beasts

Book VII. Beasts of Burden, as Horses, Camels, Asses, and Elephants ; and by some Machines for Carriage, as Carts, Waggon, and Sledges. And we may believe, that Men in those Days were not without some Knowledge of the Use of Rivers, small Gulphs, and the Coasts of the Sea, whether by the Means of Floats of Rushes, Wood, or any other Materials, which could swim upon the Water ; and it may be also, they had some Knowledge of the Quality of the Air, whether in Bladders, or other Inventions, capable of sustaining their Burdens upon the Water : But it is improbable, that their Industry reached to the Building of Ships, either great or small ; for, if Navigation had already been found out, how many would have avoided the Rage of the Deluge, which God caused to be universal, excepting only *Noah* and his Family ?

CHAP. XVI.


Of Commerce after the Deluge by Land and Sea.

THE Confusion of Languages follow'd the Flood ; as did also the Dispersion of the People. Trade then became more difficult, but much more necessary : People then, upon leaving their native Country to inhabit others, soon found the Want of many Conveniencies which they had in their first Station, and met with many others unknown to them and their Fellows. Thus they made use of what they had now discover'd, and supply'd their Wants from abroad. This was first begun between Neighbour and Neighbour, and so spread itself by Degrees to Countries more remote, and at last even to the End of the Earth. The Sea was at first the chief Obstacle, but in Progress of Time it was turned to the greatest Use by the Invention

vention of Navigation, which may be ascribed to *Noah*, as the first Author in his Fabrick of the Ark. We may easily believe, that this curious Structure, which had been so beneficial, had been imitated with the greatest Care, and contributed largely towards the Dispersion of Nations, which happen'd soon after the Deluge : And by this Means were introduced two sorts of Commerce, that by Land, and that by Sea.

The Plains and Desarts were the Right of the first Possessors, who held them for a long Time without making any Division, and the more powerful among them kept Possession of some particular Places. These new Proprietors establish'd their Dwellings, and cultivated those Lands which they enjoy'd, leaving the rest to the Liberty of those who followed the Feeding of Cattle, living in Tents, and often changing their Habitation, and seeking the best Pastures for their Flocks.

Such was the State of the Land of *Canaan*, when *Abraham* was brought thither by God's Command ; and during the Residence of his first Descendants, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and his twelve Children, he led, for the most part, the Life of a Wanderer, such as is practis'd at this Day among the *Arabians* of *Nomadia*, who are Borderers upon those Parts ; and we don't find that *Abraham* paid any Homage to the Lords of the Countrey to obtain the Liberty of Pasturage. And when he parted from his Nephew *Lot*, to avoid the Differences which began among the Shepherds, he let him chuse that Part of the Countrey which suited him best, without having regard to any Proprietor. But when *Isaac* began to apply himself to the Tillage of the Land of *Gerar*, where, by the Blessing of God he reaped a hundred-fold, it appears that it was by Permission of *Abimelech*. And when *Hamor* gave Invitation to *Jacob* and his Children, to establish themselves in his Countrey, and incorporate themselves with his People, he propos'd to him at the same time, and permitted him to cultivate the Ground. And to persuade his
own

Book VII.  own People to consent to this Treaty, he set forth the vast Extent of their Lands, which were very capable of receiving of those new Inhabitants. And some give another Reason, That they wanted People to Till the Ground.

We cannot observe, that *Abraham* possessed as Proprietor any one Parcel of Land among the *Canaanites*, before the Purchase that he made with Ready Money of the Field of *Ephron*, for the Burial of his Wife *Sarah*. We find also, that *Jacob*, at his return from *Mesopotamia*, made a Purchase of a Field from the Children of *Hamor*, for the Price of a hundred Lambs. From which Observations it is easy to observe, That when Colonies were first planted, the Men of the greatest Power possessed and cultivated such Lands as were the most proper for their Use, leaving the others to the Occupation of those whose Riches consisted in Cattle. But these Countries, where so many Lands yet remained in common thro' the Fault of the Inhabitants, did not continue always in the same uncultivated State; for when the *Israelites* were returned from their Captivity in *Egypt*, and came to take Possession of these Lands, the Spies which *Moses* sent out to survey, and give an Account of the Countrey, were filled with Wonder at the Largeness of the Cities, and the Number and Power of the Inhabitants.

The Holy Scripture does not afford us any Example of Trade, more antient than those Caravans of *Ismaelites* and *Midianites*, to whom *Joseph* was sold by his Brethren. These Men were on their Return from *Gilead*, with their Camels laden with Spices, and other rich Merchandizes of that Countrey, to be carry'd into *Egypt*, where they produced a great Return, by the Use that was made of them there, for the embalming of the dead Bodies of Men. The Purchase which they made of *Joseph*, and their Selling of him to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* Steward, informs us, That their Trade was not confined only to the Merchandizes of *Gilead*, their Country lying between *Gilead* and *Egypt*, which were King-

doms

doms abounding in many different sorts of Commodities, the Inhabitants of these Countries communicated to each other what they thought most proper, by constant Returns, with such Care as became Men who designed to gain by their Profession. We must observe nevertheless, that when *Jacob* sent his Children the second Time into *Egypt* to buy Corn, he supply'd them with the most valuable Merchandizes of the Country, as a Present to *Joseph*, the better to recommend them to him. These Commodities were much the same with those which were traded for by the *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, and what I have before mentioned to be carry'd from *Gilead* into *Egypt*.

The same *Joseph* soon undertook a Commerce of much greater Importance; for having discover'd by Dreams, that not only *Egypt* and *Canaan*, but also the whole Earth would be sorely afflicted with a Famine of seven Years, he providently improved the seven preceding Years of Plenty, and laid up in the Granaries of *Pharaoh* so great a Quantity of Corn, that he had not only enough to exchange for all the Money and Cattle of the *Egyptians*, but also to purchase for the King's Use even all the Lands of the Kingdom, and to purchase the neighbouring Countries. These Examples of Trade by Land are the first that History has deliver'd to us. It is evident, from what has been said, that Commerce did not consist only in the Exchange of Merchandizes, but was also carry'd on with Money; the Children of *Jacob* sold their Brother for Ready Money, and by the same Means they purchased Corn from the *Egyptians*; and *Joseph* is said to have filled the Treasury of *Pharaoh* with the Money which he received for his Corn.

Sacred History does not furnish us with the least Notice, by which we can discover any Commerce by Sea before the Navigation which is mentioned in *Solomon's* Time. It is nevertheless very true, that the *Hebrews* were acquainted both with the Knowledge and the Practice of it before the Reign

Book VII. of that King; but it is probable they made no great
 Advantages in it, in comparifon of their Neigh-
 bours. History gives no Account of any more
 antient Navigators than the *Egyptians* and *Phœni-*
cians; but thofe People, it is certain, were not the
 Inventers of Navigation. *Noah* had built his Veffel
 long before thefe Nations pretended to Trade; and
 when the Earth came to be divided among his Chil-
 dren, and the Iflands and the *Peninfula's* were made
 the Portion of *Japhet* and his Descendants, as
Mofes fignifies, they could not take Poffeffion of
 them without a competent Knowledge in the Art
 of Navigation.

Gen. 10. 5.

It is fupposed, that the Voyages made by *Solomon's*
 Fleets to *Ophir* and *Tarfhifh*, were not the firft
 Trials that were made by the *Hebrews* in the Sea-
 Commerce. They had lived too long among the
Egyptians to be ignorant of their Trade by the *Red*
Sea to all the known Parts of the *East*; and when
 they were eftablifhed in the Land of *Canaan*, they
 had a nearer View of the Induftry and Application
 of the *Phœnicians* to the Sea-Trade, and of the im-
 mense Treafures which they gain'd by that Practice.
 This was fully explained to them by the Refiftance
 they met with from the numerous Armies of the
Phœnicians. Can we imagine, that thefe Tribes, who
 were placed fo near the Sea, that the Tribe of *Za-*
bulon, for Example, which was extended even to
 the Shore and the Gates of *Sidon*, could behold the
 Inhabitants of this great City, fo famous for its Na-
 vigation, bring home from Time to Time fuch
 abundance of Riches, without being tempted to
 take part with them, or, at leaft, to affociate
 themfelves with them, as *Solomon* did afterwards
 with the *Syrians*. When, therefore, *Joſephus* tells
 us, That *Judea* is not fituated on the Sea; and that
 the People of that Countrey did not drive any
 Trade, but that their whole Thoughts were turn'd
 to Agriculture, we muft underftand the Historian
 of *Judea* in general; that there was but a little
 Part, comparatively, which was fituated upon the
 Sea,

Contra Appion.

Sea; and that the *Jews* did not exercise any Trade or Commerce directly of themselves; neither did they make Merchandize their principal Aim, as did the People of *Phœnicia*. Chap. 16.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Navigation. The Ark of Noah.

THE antient *Hebrews*, in the Infancy of their Republick, had small Concern with Navigation, their Time being employ'd chiefly in Tillage and a Pastoral Life; but yet the most notable Vessel that ever floated upon the Waters, was built by *Noah*, one of their renowned Ancestors, and therefore may properly be consider'd and explained among the Antiquities of that Nation.

This Vessel was built by the Command and Direction of the Great Architect of the Universe, who gave express Orders of what Materials, and after what Form and Model it should be made. It was framed in the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*, round about which was a great Quantity of Cypress-Trees, called Gopher-Wood in the Scripture, which were used by *Noah* for this Purpose, and it was pitched with Bitumen, of which there was Plenty thereabouts, not only within, to give a wholesome Scent among so many Beasts, but without, to make the Ark more Glib and Slippery in the Water. Its Form was not like that of our modern Ships, or Boats; for it was not made sharp forward, to cut the Waves, but broad like a Chest, and therefore had a flat Bottom with a Cover, or Roof, that was made shelving, that the Rain might slide of. We do not find it had any Rudder, being steered, as is supposed, by Angels; and because it might have been injured, if it had lain upon the Earth so long as it was in building, which was a hundred Years, it was probable set upon Feet, both to preserve it,

Gen. 6. 14. 15.
16, &c.

Book VII. and to give the Water the more Room to get under it, and to bear it up. The Length of it was three hundred Cubits, the Breadth of it fifty, and the Height of it thirty. It had a Door in one of the Sides conjectured to be the Eastern, and a Window to let Light into the several Apartments; and it was three Stories high.

Eliezer in Pirke,
c. 23.

A Jewish Rabbi places *Noah* and his Family in the uppermost Story, the Birds in the middle, and the Beasts in the lowest; but he forgets to leave a Place for their Provision. And therefore they make a better Distribution, who think the Beasts were bestowed in the lower Story, and that the third served for the Birds with *Noah* and his Family, the second, between both, being left for the Stores that were to be laid in of Meat and Drink for them all. The creeping Things, some think, might well live in the Space between the lower Story and the Bottom of the Ark. Besides *Noah* and his Family, there were contained in the Ark (as I understand it) two of every Species of unclean Animals, and seven of every Species of clean Creatures, and Provisions for them all for the Time they were confined there, which was a whole Year. A pair of Unclean Beasts were sufficient to preserve the Species; and seven of the Clean were preserved, that there might be some for Sacrifice when they came out of the Ark, and, if there were occasion, for Food, if other Provisions did not hold out. The Distinction of Beasts, Clean and Unclean, being made by the Law of *Moses*, has given some a Colour to say, That he wrote this History of *Noah* after the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, and received the Law, which made him deliver himself in this Style. But it may be answered to this, that though, with respect to Men's Food, the Distinction of Clean and Unclean Creatures was not before the Law, yet some were accounted fit for Sacrifice, and others not fit, from the Beginning; and then Clean Beasts, in the Case before us, are such as are not rapacious, which were not to be offered unto God.

God. In short, the Rite of Sacrificing being before the Flood, this Difference of Beasts was also before it. The only Question is, How Men came to make this Difference? Some imagine that they consider'd the Nature of Beasts, and by common Reason determined, that ravenous Creatures were unfit for Sacrifice. But it is more probable, that they had Directions from God for this, as they had for sacrificing; which though they be not upon Record, yet, I think, are rather to be supposed, than to conceive Men were left in such Matters to their own Discretion. *Abarbinel* indeed remarks, That *Noah*, out of his profound Wisdom, discerned the Clean from the Unclean; and if he had stopped here, and not added, that he discerned the Difference from their Natures, he had said the Truth; for he being a Prophet may be thought to have had Instructions from Above about such Matters, though others, who first were taught to sacrifice, had them before him. Gen. 7. 2.

There is another Difficulty; How *Noah* could bring together all these Creatures into the Ark? The Answer is, That they came by the Care of God, who had made them, and moved them to it. I know a Rabbi among the Jews is commonly censured, for saying the Angels that govern every Species of Creatures brought them thither. But (setting aside the Opinion of Angels peculiarly presiding over every Kind of Creature) I see no Incongruity in affirming, that God, by the Ministry of his Angels, brought them to the Ark: It is rather agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which represent the Divine Majesty employing the Service of these Celestial Spirits in most of the Affairs of this lower World. Eliezer in Pirke,
c. 13.

This Description, given by *Moses* of *Noah's* Ark, has given occasion to some *Hereticks* of old, and to *Atheistical* Scoffers in these latter Times to raise Objections, such as they think unanswerable, against the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures. The Dimensions of it are set down to

Wilkin's Real
Character.
Part 2. c. 5.

Book VII. be three hundred Cubits in Length, fifty in Breadth, and thirty in Height; which being compared with the Things it was to contain, it seemed to them, upon a general View, (and they confidently affirmed accordingly,) that it was utterly impossible for this Ark to hold so vast a Multitude of Animals, with a whole Year's Provision of proper Food for each of them.

This Objection seemed so considerable both to some of the antient Fathers, and of our later Divines, who were otherwise learned and judicious Men, but less versed in Philosophy and Mathematicks, that they have been put to miserable Shifts for the solving of it. *Origen* and *St. Austin*, and several other considerable Authors, do, for the avoiding of this Difficulty, affirm, that *Moses* being skilled in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, doth by the Measure of Cubits, here applied to the Ark, understand the *Egyptian* Geometrical Cubit, each of which, say they, did contain six of the Vulgar Cubits, namely, nine Foot. But this does upon several Accounts seem very unreasonable, because it does not appear that there was any such Measure amongst the *Egyptians*, or *Jews*, stiled the *Geometrical Cubit*. And if there were, yet there is no particular Reason, why this Sense should be applied to the Word *Cubit* here, rather than in other Places. It is said of *Goliath*, that his Height was six Cubits and a Span; which being understood of the Geometrical Cubit, will make him fifty four Foot high, and consequently his Head must be about nine Foot in the Height or Diameter of it, which must needs be too heavy for *David* to carry.

1 Sam. 17. 4.

Others, not satisfied with this Solution, think they have found a better Answer, by asserting, that the Stature of Mankind being considerably larger in the first Ages of the World, therefore the Measure of the Cubit must be larger likewise, and perhaps double to now what it is, which will much enlarge the Capacity of the Ark. But neither

ther will this afford any reasonable Satisfaction : Chap. 17.
 For if they will suppose Men to be of a much bigger
 Stature then, it is but reasonable that the like
 should be supposed of other Animals also : In which
 Case, this Answer amounts to nothing.

Others will have the *Sacred Cubit* to be here in- Ezek. 43. 15.
 tended, which is said to be a Hand's Breadth longer
 than the *Civil Cubit* ; but there is not any Reason
 or Necessity for this. And 'tis generally be-
 lieved, that the *Sacred Cubit* was used only in the
 Measure of Sacred Structures, as the Tabernacle and
 Temple.

This seeming Difficulty is much better solved
 by *John Bateo*, in the Tract *de Arca Noe* ; where,
 in supposing the Cubit to be the same with what
 we now call a Foot and a half, he proves mathema-
 tically, that there was a sufficient Capacity in the
 Ark for the containing all those Things it was de-
 signed for. But because there are some Things liable
 to Exception in the Philosophical Part of that Dis-
 course, particularly in his Enumeration of the
 Species of Animals, several of which are fabulous,
 some not distinct Species, others, that are true
 Species, being left out, therefore I conceive it may
 not be improper in this Place, to offer another
 Account of those Things.

It is plain in the Description which *Moses* gives
 of the Ark, that it was divided into three Stories,
 each of them of ten Cubits, or fifteen Foot high, be-
 sides one Cubit allowed for the Declivity of the
 Roof in the upper Story. And it is agreed upon,
 as most probable, that the lower Story was assigned
 to contain all the Species of Beasts ; the middle
 Story for their Food ; and the upper Story, in one
 Part of it for the Birds and their Food, and the
 other Part for *Noah*, his Family, and Utensils.
 Now it may clearly be made out, that each of
 these Stories was of a sufficient Capacity for the
 containing all those Things to which they are as-
 signed.

Book VII.

For the more distinct clearing up of this, I shall first lay down several Tables of the divers Species of Beasts that were to be received into the Ark, according to the different kinds of Food wherewith they are usually nourished, containing both the Number appointed for each of them, namely, the Clean by Sevens, and the Unclean by Pairs, together with a Conjecture for the greater Facility of the Calculation, what Proportion each of them may bear either to a Beef, a Sheep, or a Wolf; and then what kind of Room may be allotted to the making of sufficient Stalls for their Reception.



BEASTS

| BEASTS <i>feeding on Hay.</i> | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Num. | Name. | Proport. to
Beeves. | Breadth of
Stalls. |
| | | | Feet. |
| 2 | Horse | 3 | 20 |
| 2 | Ass | 2 | 12 |
| 2 | Camel | 4 | 20 |
| 2 | Elephant | 8 | 36 |
| 7 | Bull | 7 | 40 |
| 7 | Urus | 7 | 40 |
| 7 | Bifons | 7 | 40 |
| 7 | Bonafus | 7 | 40 |
| 7 | Buffalo | 7 | 40 |
| 7 | Sheep | 1 | } |
| 7 | Stepciferos | 1 | |
| 7 | Broad-Tail | 1 | |
| 7 | Goat | 1 | } |
| 7 | Stone-Buck | 1 | |
| 7 | Shamois | 1 | |
| 7 | Antilope | 1 | } |
| 7 | Elke | 7 | |
| 7 | Hart | 4 | |
| 7 | Buck | 3 | 20 |
| 7 | Rein-Deer | 3 | 20 |
| 7 | Roe | 2 | } |
| 2 | Rhinocerot | 8 | |
| 2 | Cameleopard | 6 | |
| 2 | Hare | 2 Sheep | } |
| 2 | Rabbet | | |
| 2 | Marmotto | | |
| | | 92 | 514 |

BEASTS feeding on Fruits, Roots, and Insects.

| Num. | Name. | Proport. to
Sheep. | Breadth of
Stalls.
Feet. |
|------|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 2 | Hog | 4 | 20 |
| 2 | Baboon | 2 | |
| 2 | Ape | 2 | |
| 2 | Monkey | 7 | |
| 2 | Sloth | | |
| 2 | Porcupine | | |
| 2 | Hedge-Hog | | |
| 2 | Squirrel | | |
| 2 | Guinea-Pig | | |
| 2 | Ant-Bear | 2 | |
| 2 | Armadilla | 2 | |
| 2 | Tortoife | 2 | |
| | | 21 | 20 |



CARNIVOROUS



CARNIVOROUS BEASTS.

| Num. | Names. | Proport. to Wolves. | Breadth of Stalls. |
|------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | | | Feet. |
| 2 | Lion | 4 | 10 |
| 2 | Bear | 4 | 10 |
| 2 | Tyger | 3 | 8 |
| 2 | Pard | 3 | 8 |
| 2 | Ounce | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Cat | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Civet-Cat | | |
| 2 | Ferret | 3 | 6 |
| 2 | Pole-Cat | | |
| 2 | Martin | | |
| 2 | Stoat | | |
| 2 | Weasel | | |
| 2 | Castor | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Otter | | |
| 2 | Dog | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Wolf | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Fox | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | Badger | | |
| 2 | Jackall | | |
| 2 | Caraguya | | |
| | | 27 | 72 |



Book VII.



In this Enumeration, I do not mention the Mule, because it is a mungrel Production, and not to be reckoned as a distinct Species. And though it be most probable, that the several Varieties of Beeves, namely, that which is stiled *Urus*, *Bisons*, *Bonafus*, and *Buffalo*, and those other Varieties reckoned under Sheep and Goats, be not distinct Species from Bull, Sheep, and Goat, there being much less Difference betwixt these, than there is betwixt several Dogs; and it being known by Experience, what various Changes are frequently occasioned in the same Species by several Countries, Diets, and other Accidents, yet I have, *ex abundante*, to prevent all Cavilling, allowed them to be distinct Species, and each of them to be clean Beasts, and consequently, such as were to be received in by Sevens. As for the Morse, Seal, Turtle, or Sea-Tortoise, Crocodile, Senembi, these are usually described to be such kind of Animals as can abide in the Water, and therefore I have not taken them into the Ark, though, if that were necessary, there would be room enough for them, as will shortly appear. The Serpentine Kind, Snake, Viper, Slow-Worm, Lizard, Frog, Toad, might have sufficient Space for their Reception, and for their Nourishment, in the Drain or Sink of the Ark, which was probably three or four Foot under the Floor for the Standings of the Beasts. As for those lesser Beasts, Rat, Mouse, Mole, as likewise for the several Species of Insects, there can be no Reason to question but that they may find sufficient room in several Parts of the Ark, without any particular Stalls appointed for them.

Though it seems most probable, that before the Flood, both Men, Beasts, and Birds, did feed only upon Vegetables, as may appear from that Place of Scripture, *And God said, Behold, I have given you every Herb, bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree, yielding Seed, to you it shall be for Meat. And to every Beast of the Earth,*
and

Gen. 4. 29, 30.

and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life, I have given every green Herb for Meat, compared with the ninth Chapter, and the third Verse; where, after [the Flood, when the Productions of the Earth were become of less Efficacy and Vigour, and consequently less fit for Nourishment, God saith to Noah, *Every moving Thing that liveth, shall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb, have I given you all Things.* Yet becausethis Proof is not so very cogent to convince a captious Adversary, but that he may still be apt to question whether the rapacious Kinds of Beasts and Birds, who, in the Natural Frame of their Parts, are peculiarly fitted for the catching and devouring of their Prey, did ever feed upon Herbs and Fruits; therefore to prevent such Cavils, I shall be content to suppose, that those Animals, which are now prædatory, were so from the Beginning: Upon which it will be necessary to enquire what kind of Food might be proper and sufficient for them, during their Abode in the Ark. Now 'tis commonly known, that the ruminant Kind are usually the Prey for the most rapacious Kind of Beasts.

It appears by the foregoing Tables, that the Beasts of the rapacious Carnivorous Kinds, to be brought into the Ark by Pairs, were but forty in all, or twenty Pairs; which upon a fair Calculation are supposed equivalent, as to the Bulk of their Bodies and their Food, unto twenty seven Wolves. But for greater certainty, let them be supposed equal to thirty Wolves; and let it be farther supposed, that six Wolves will every Day devour a whole Sheep, which all Men will readily grant to be more than sufficient for their necessary Sustainance. According to this Computation, five must be allotted to be devoured for Food each Day of the Year, which amounts in the whole to one thousand eight hundred twenty five.

Upon these Suppositions, there must be convenient Room in the lower Story of the Ark to contain

The Antiquities of the

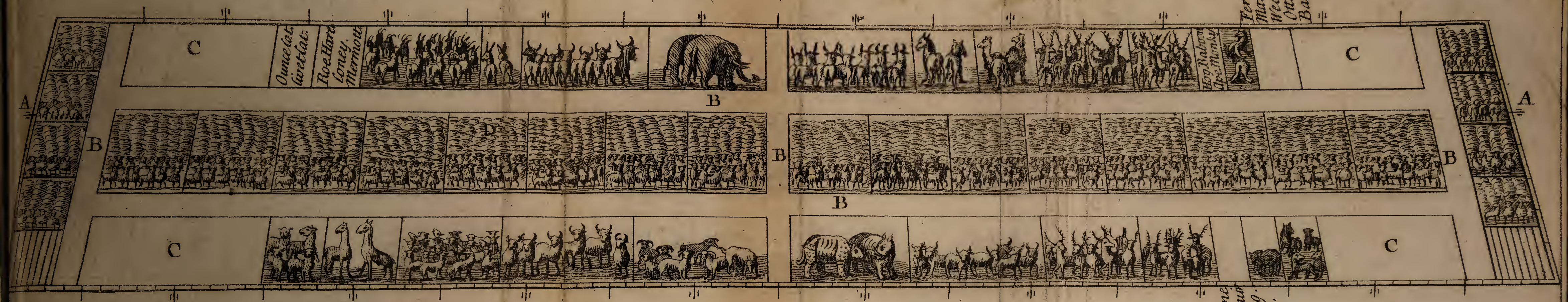
tain the fore-mentioned Sorts of Beasts, which were to be preserved for the propogating of their Kinds, besides one thousand eight hundred twenty five Sheep, which were to be taken in as Food for the rapacious Beasts.

And though there might seem no just Ground of Exception, if these Beasts should be stowed close together, as is now usual in Ships, when they are to be transported for any long Voyage, yet I shall not take any such Advantage, but afford them such fair Stalls, or Cabins, as may be abundantly sufficient for them in any kind of Posture, either standing, or lying, or turning themselves, as likewise to receive all the Dung that should proceed from them for a whole Year.

And that the Ark was of a sufficient Capacity for these Purposes, will appear from the following Diagram: In which there is a Partition at each End of the Ark, marked A A, of fifteen Foot wide; and the Breadth of the Ark being seventy five Foot, these Partitions must contain in them, five Areas of fifteen Foot square; and an Area of five Foot square being sufficient to contain four Sheep, therefore one of fifteen Foot square must be capable of thirty six Sheep: Allowing one of these Areas at each End for Stairs, there will eight of them remain (*viz.* four at each End) to be reckoned upon for the containing of Sheep, which eight will be capable of receiving two hundred eighty eight Sheep.

Besides these Partitions, at the End there are five several Passages, mark'd B B, of seven Foot wide, for the more convenient Access to the several Stalls: The four Areas on the Side, marked C C, designed for Stalls, are each of them eighteen Foot wide, and about two hundred Foot long. And the two Middle Areas, marked D D, are each of them twenty five Foot wide, and about two hundred Foot long.

Supposing the two Middle Areas to be designed for Sheep; an Area of twenty five Foot square must be capable of a hundred; and there being sixteen



Ounce lat.
Sivet lat.
Roe Hart
Loney.
Mermoth

Perret. Pole lat.
Martin. coat.
Weeze. lastar.
Otter. Fox.
Badger. Jackal

Sluth. Porcupine
Hedgehog. Squid.
Hedgehog. Pig.
Armadillo.
Tortoise.



teen of these, they must be capable of sixteen hundred Sheep; which being added to the former Number of two hundred eighty eight, will make one thousand eight hundred eighty eight, somewhat more than one thousand eight hundred twenty five, the Number assigned for those that were to be taken in for Food.

The four Side-Areas, marked CC, being each of them eighteen Foot wide, and two hundred Foot long, will be more than sufficient to contain the several Beasts which were to be preserved for the propagating of their Kind; for which, in the foregoing Tables, there is allotted to the Length of their Stalls only six hundred and six Foot, besides the Largeness of the Stalls allotted to each of them. So that there will be near upon two hundred Foot overplus, for the Reception of any other Beasts, not yet enumerated or discover'd.

As for that Fashion of the Keel of Ships now in Use, whereby they are fitted for Passage through the Waters, and to endure the Motion of the Waves, this would not have been convenient for the Business here designed, the Ark being intended only for a kind of Float, to swim above Water, the Flatness of its Bottom did render it much more capacious for the Reception of those many living Creatures, which were to be contained in it. And though towards the End of the Flood, when it began to abate, God is said, *to make a Wind to pass over the Earth, whereby the Waters were asswaged*, yet 'tis not likely, that in the Time of the Deluge, when the whole Earth was overflowed, that there should be any such rough and boisterous Winds as might endanger a Vessel of this Figure, such Winds usually proceeding from dry Land.

Gen. 8. 1

From hence it may be evident, that there was sufficient Room in the lower Story, for the convenient Reception of all sorts of Beasts that are yet known, and probably for those other Kinds that are yet unknown to these Parts of the World.

The



The next Thing to be cleared up, is the Capacity of the second Story, for containing a Year's Provision of Food. In order to which, it is to be observed, that the several Beasts feeding on Hay were before, upon a fair Calculation, equal to Ninety two Beeves: But to prevent all kind of Cavils which may be made at the proportioning of them, let them be as a hundred, besides the one thousand eight hundred twenty five Sheep taken in for Food: But now, because these are to be devoured by five *per Diem*, and therefore the Year's Provision, to be made for them, is to be reckon'd but as for half that Number, *viz.* nine hundred and twelve. These being divided by seven, to bring them unto a Proportion with the Beeves, will amount to one hundred and eighty; which added to the former Number, make two hundred and eighty, suppose three hundred. So then, according to this Supposition, there must be sufficient Provision of Hay in the second Story to sustain three hundred Beeves for a whole Year.

Now 'tis observed (saith *Buteo*) by *Columella*, who was very well versed in the Experiments of Husbandry, that thirty or forty Pounds of Hay is ordinarily sufficient for an Ox for one Day, reckoning twelve Ounces in the Pound; but we will suppose forty of our Pounds. And 'tis asserted by *Buteo*, upon his own Trial and Experience, that a solid Cubit of dry'd Hay, compressed as it was to be, when it hath lain any considerable Time in Mows or Reeks, doth weigh about forty Pounds. So that for three hundred Beeves for a whole Year, there must be one hundred nine thousand and five hundred such Cubits of Hay, that is, three hundred sixty five multiply'd by three hundred. Now, the second Story being ten Cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, must contain one hundred and fifty thousand solid Cubits, which is more by forty thousand five hundred, than what is necessary for so much compressed Hay, and will allow Space enough both for any kind of Beams and Pillars

Pillars necessary for the Fabrick, as likewise for other Repositories for such Fruits, Roots, Grain, or Seed, as may be proper for the Nourishment of any of the other Animals : And likewise, for such convenient Passages and Apertures in the Floor, as might be necessary for the putting down of the Hay to the Stalls in the Lower Story. From which it is manifest, that the Second Story was sufficiently capacious of all those Things designed for it.

And then, as for the Third Story, there can be no Colour of doubt, but that one Half of it will be abundantly sufficient for all the Species of Birds, though they should be twice as many as are generally enumerated, together with Food sufficient for their Sustenance; because they are generally but of small Bulk, and may easily be kept in several Partitions or Cages over one another. Nor is there any Reason to question, but that the other Half would afford Space enough both for *Noah's* Family and Utensils.

Upon the whole Matter, it doth, of the two, appear more difficult to assign a sufficient Number and Bulk of necessary Things to answer the Capacity of the Ark, rather than to find sufficient Room for those several Species of Animals already known. But because it may be reasonably presumed, that there are several other Species of Beasts and Birds, especially in the undiscover'd Parts of the World, besides those generally enumerated, therefore 'tis but reasonable to suppose the Ark to be of a bigger Capacity than what may be sufficient for the Things already known; and upon this Account it may be asserted, that if such Persons, who are most expert in Philosophy and Mathematicks, were now to assign the Proportion of a Vessel, that might be suitable to the End here proposed, they could not (all Things consider'd) find out any more accommodate to those Purposes, than those here mentioned.

From what has been said it may appear, that the Measure and Capacity of the Ark, which some

Book VII. atheistical irreligious Men make use of as an Argument against the Scripture, ought rather to be esteemed a most rational Confirmation of the Truth and Divine Authority of it, especially if it be well consider'd, that in those first and ruder Ages of the World, when Men were less versed in Arts and Philosophy, and therefore probably more obnoxious to vulgar Prejudices than now they are, yet the Capacity and Proportions of the Ark are so well adjusted to the Things it was to contain; whereas, if it had been a meer human Invention, 'tis most probable that it would have been contrived according to those wild Apprehensions, which (as I said before) do naturally arise from a more confused and general View of Things, as much too big, as now such Men are apt to think it too little for those Ends and Purposes to which it was design'd.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Trade to Ophir and Tarshish.

Prideaux's Connect. Part I.
Book I.

THE first Account to be found in History, Sacred or Profane, of the *Hebrews* using the Sea in a mercantile Way, was in the Reign of *David*, a valiant and enterprising Prince, who not only by many Victories enlarged the Bounds of his Empire, but having subdued the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it into a Province, became Master of two Sea-Port Towns upon the *Red-Sea*, *Elat* and *Esfiongeber*, which then belonged to that Kingdom; and observing the Advantage that might be made of the Situation of these two Places, he wisely made use of the Opportunity, and there began to establish a Trade. There are two Places mentioned in Scripture, to which from these Ports a Trade was carry'd on, that is, *Ophir* and *Tarshish*: From the former of these, *David*, in his Time, made great Advantage; for the three thousand Talents

1 Chron. 29. 4.

Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he gave to the Temple, seem to be of that Gold of *Ophir*, which his Fleets in several Voyages had brought him from thence; for what he had reserved for this Work out of the Spoils of War, the Tributes of the Conquer'd Nations, and the Publick Revenues of his Kingdom, is before-mention'd in the History, and amounted to a prodigious Sum. The three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, *and out of his own proper Goods*, or private Estate, which he had besides what belong'd to him as King: And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any other Way be accounted for, than from the great Returns which arose from this Traffick. For the Gold alone amounted to above one and twenty Millions of our Money, besides the seven thousand Talents of Refined Silver, which were included in the same Gift. 1 Chron. 24. 14.

After the Death of *David*, *Solomon* carry'd on the same Trade to *Ophir*, and brought from thence in one Voyage four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold, which amounted to three Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds of our Sterling Money. This Prince mightily improved this Trade, not only by his greater Wisdom, but also by his greater Application to all the Business and Purposes of it: For not being perplexed with the Fatigues of War, as his Father *David* was, he had greater Opportunities to attend to it: And therefore, for the better Establishment of it, he went in Person to *Eloth* and *Esfiongeber*, and there took care by his own Inspection for the Building of his Ships, the Fortifying of both those Ports, and the Settling of all Advantages which might tend to the successful carrying on of this Traffick, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other Parts, where the Sea, on which those Ports lay, open'd a Passage. But his principal Care was to plant those two Towns with such Inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this Design; 2 Chron. 18. 17.

Book VII. sign; for which Purpose he brought thither, from the Sea-Coasts of *Palestine*, as many as he could procure of those who had there apply'd themselves to the Sea, especially of the *Syrians*, whom his Friend and Alley, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furnish'd him with in great Numbers; and these were the most useful to him in this Design.

1 Kings 9. 27.

The *Syrians* were in those Days, and for many Ages after, the most skilful of all others in Maritime Affairs, and therefore were the best able to navigate his Ships, and conduct his Fleet through long Voyages: But the Use of the Compass being then unknown, the Way of Navigation was, in those Times, only by Coasting, which often made a Voyage to be of three Years, which now may be finish'd almost in three Months. However, this Trade succeeded so far, and was so much improved under the wise Management of *Solomon*, that from thence he drew to these two Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem* all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, which was the chief Fountain of those immense Riches which he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his Time, as much as he did by his Wisdom; so that he made Silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the Stones of the Street, by reason of the great Plenty with which it there abounded during his Reign.

2 Kings 10. 23.

1 Kings 10. 27.

After the Division of the Kingdom, *Edom* being of that Part which remained to the House of *David*, they still continued to carry on this Trade from those two Ports, especially from *Esfiongeber*, which they chiefly made use of till the Time of *Jehosaphat*: But that Prince having lost his Fleet there, which he had prepared to sail from thence to *Ophir* in Partnership with *Adaziah*, King of *Israel*, this spoiled the Credit of that Harbour. There lay near the Mouth of it a Ridge of Rocks, resembling the Backbone of a Man, (which gave it the Name of *Esfiongeber*;) and as this Fleet was passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden Gust of Wind, sent purposely by God for the Punishment of this Confederacy,

Chron. 9. 27.

Kings 22. 48.

Confederacy, driven upon those Rocks, where they were all broken to pieces, and lost : For the avoiding therefore the like Mischief for the future, the Station of the King's Ships was afterwards removed to *Eloth*, from whence *Jehosaphat*, the next Year after, sent out another Fleet for the same Place. For whereas it is said, That he lost the first Fleet for confederating with the Idolatrous King of *Israel*, and we are told in another Place of his sending out a Fleet for *Ophir*, in which he would not permit *Abaziah* to have any Partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two Fleets by *Jehosaphat* ; the first in Partnership with *Abaziah*, and the other without it. And thus this Affair was carry'd on from the Time of *David*, till the Death of *Jehosaphat* ; for till then, the Land of *Edom* was all in the Hands of the Kings of *Judah*, and was wholly governed by a Deputy, or Viceroy, there placed by them.


1 Kings 22. 49.

But when *Jehoram* succeeded *Jehosaphat*, and God, for the Punishment of the exceeding great Wickedness of that Prince, had withdrawn his Protection from him, *Esaü*, according to the Prophecy of *Isaac*, did break the Yoke of *Jacob* from off his Neck, after having served him (as foretold by that Prophecy) for several Generations, that is, from the Reign of *David* till that Time ; for on *Jehoram*'s Revolt from God, the *Edomites* revolted from him, and having expelled his Viceroy, chose them a King of their own, and under his Conduct recover'd their antient Liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the Kings of *Judah*.

Gen. 27. 40.

From this Time the *Jewish* Traffick through the *Red Sea* had an Interruption till the Reign of *Uzziah* : But he, in the very Beginning of his Reign, having recover'd *Eloth* again to *Judah*, fortified it a-new, and having driven out the *Edomites*, planted it again with his own People, and there renewed their old Traffick, which was from thence carry'd on, and continued till the Reign of *Abaz*. But then *Rezin*, King of *Damascus*, having, in Con-

junction

Book VII.  junction with *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, oppress'd and weaken'd *Judah*, he took the Advantage of it to seize *Elatb*, and driving out the *Jews* from thence, planted it with *Syrians*, designing to draw to himself the whole Profit of that Traffick to the Southern Seas, which the Kings of *Judah* had hitherto reaped by having that Port. But the next Year after, *Tiglath-Pileser* having conquer'd *Rezin*, and subdued the Kingdom of *Damascus*, he seized with it *Elatb*, as then belonging to his new Conquest, and without having any regard to his Friend and Alley King *Abaz*, or the just Claim he had to it, kept it ever after, and by that Means put an End to all that great Advantage which the *Jews* till then had rais'd from this Traffick, and transferred it to the *Syrians*; for though they did not always carry it on with the same Benefit and Success, as in the Time of King *Solomon*, yet, as long as they had it in their Hands, they sensibly felt the Importance of it. It included all the Trade of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which was carry'd on through the *Red Sea*; but after *Rezin* had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it restored to their Possession again. From that Time all the Merchandize that came that Way, instead of being brought to *Jerusalem*, was carry'd elsewhere; but at what Place the *Syrians* fixed their principal Mart for it, is difficult to find out.

Many and great are the Disputes among Learned Men concerning the Situation of *Ophir* and *Tarshish* in the Eastern Part of the World. Some contend, that *Ophir* was the Island of *Zocatora*, which lies on the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, a little without the Straights of *Babelmandel*. Others will have it to have been the Island antiently called *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*: And for its being an Island, they produce the Authority of *Eupolemus*, (an old Author, quoted by *Eusebius* :) For speaking of *David*, he says of him,

Præp. Evang. 1.9. “ That he built Ships at *Elatb*, a City of *Arabia*,
 “ and from thence sent Metal-Men to the Island of
 “ *Urphe*, (or *Ophir*,) situated in the *Red Sea*, which
 “ was fruitful in yielding abundance of Gold, and
 “ the

“ the Metal-Men brought it from thence to *Judea*.” Chap. 18.

But this being a Question no way to be decided, but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence, is, First, That from *Elatb* to *Tarshish* was a Voyage of three Years going and coming : But in what Time the Voyage to *Ophir* was compleated is not said ; and that therefore *Tarshish* might be some where in the *East-Indies*, but *Ophir* might be nearer home, within the Reach of those Seas. Secondly, That the Commodities brought from *Tarshish*, were Gold, and Silver, and Ivory, and Apes, and Peacocks ; and those of *Ophir*, were Gold, and Almug-Trees, and Precious Stones : And therefore, any Place in the Southern, or Great-*Indian* Sea, at the Distance of a then three Years Voyage from *Elatb*, which can best furnish the Merchants with Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks, may be guessed to be the *Tarshish* of the Holy Scriptures ; and any Place within the Compass of the same Southern Sea, that can furnish them with Gold, Almug-Trees, and Precious Stones, and in that Quantity of Gold, as *Solomon* brought home in one Voyage, may be guessed to be *Ophir*. Only thus much may be said justly, That if the Southern Part of *Arabia* did furnish the World in those Times with the best Gold, and in the greatest Quantity, (as good Authors say,) they that would have the *Ophir* of the Holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best Foundation for their Conjecture ; but more than Conjecture, no one can have in this Matter. As to what *Eupolemus* asserts, That *Ophir* was an Island in the *Red Sea*, it is to be observed, that he does not mean the *Arabian* Gulph, which lies between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and is now commonly called the *Red Sea*, but the great Southern Ocean, which, extending itself between *India* and *Africa*, washes up to the Coast of *Arabia* and *Persia* ; where it appearing of a reddish Colour, by reason of the Fierceness of the Sun-Beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot Climate, it was therefore called the *Red Sea* ; and

Book VII. this alone was that which was truly and properly called so by the Antients.

Deut. 33. 19.

These were the principal Instances, in which the old *Hebrews* were concerned in Affairs of Traffick and Navigation, which, indeed, seemed to have been predicted by *Moses* many Ages before, when he foretold (particularly of the Tribe of *Zebulon*,) that they should *sack of the Abundance of the Seas, and of Treasure hid in the Sand*; which, no doubt, implies the Importation of many sorts of Merchandize, particularly of Gold, and Silver, and Precious Stones, which are digged out of the Bowels of the Earth.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Poetry among the Hebrews.

Antiquities Sa-
cred and Pro-
phanetranslated,
Disc. 1.

ALL the Eastern Nations (says Father *Calmet*, a Benedictine, in one of his Dissertations) were naturally of a refined Temper, and lively Passions; and as they were the People of the World the first Civilized, so were they the first who cultivated and improved by Art an innate Inclination to Musick and Poetry. Of all the antient Oriental Writings, none but those of the *Hebrews* have reached our Times: The Remains, therefore, we have of the *Hebrew* Poetry, are in the Holy Scripture; where we find that the *Hebrews* likewise made use of this Att in their religious Worship.

All the Poetical Works in the Scriptures, are either Psalms and Hymns, to express the various Affections of the Mind; or Collections of Moral Sentences, to instruct Men in their Duty. The largest, and most antient of these Works, is the Book of *Job*, composed of both the fore-mentioned Particulars; for as the main Hope and Design of it, is this great and important Point of Morality,
That

That God sometimes afflicts good Men, not to punish them, but to exercise and brighten their Virtues; so likewise the Sentiments and Maxims that relate to the Justice of God, and the Methods of his Providence, to the Reward of Virtue and Punishment of Vice, to an entire Resignation to the Divine Will, and the Peace and Security of a good Conscience, are fully handled: And moreover, the Affliction of *Job*, and the Indignation of his Three Friends, are drawn to the Life.

The *Proverbs* are nothing else, but so many Rules of Moral Duty, as are several of the *Psalms*: But these Last, for the most part, as well as all the *Songs* and *Hymns*, that are dispersed up and down the Scriptures, express the Affections of the Mind towards God, or towards Man. Those that are addressed to God, are either to adore, laud, and magnify his Holy Name, or to return Thanks for his Benefits, or to ask Pardon for past Offences, or to implore some future temporal or spiritual Blessing. These are the Subjects of the greatest Part of the Sacred Hymns; the rest are employed in expressing the Passions of Grief, Joy, Indignation, Hatred, and the like, whose Object is either the Person speaking, or other Men represented generally under the Character of the Righteous or Wicked.

Poetry, so full of moving and affecting Circumstances, must of course, as to its Figures and Expressions, be very noble and sublime; if it be true, that the Energy or Force of Figures, and the true Sublimity of Style, are the natural Effects of the Passions. Accordingly, we find this to be the great and distinguishing Beauty of the *Hebrew* Poetry; in this Point, no Poetry excels, if any equals it. All is figurative and the Figures are frequently and suddenly changed and not only the Figures, but the Persons also, who are speaking, often and insensibly vary.

Book VII.



One while it is the Prophet, another while it is God himself; now again it is the righteous Man, or the Sinner, that speaks: Sometimes a Voice and Utterance are given even to inanimate Things, as Rocks, and Mountains, and Rivers, and the like. The Majesty of God is display'd under strong and lively Images: He is represented as sitting upon the Cherubims, and riding upon the Wings of the Wind: At his Wrath the Earth shakes and trembles; at his Rebuke the Foundations of the World are discovered. The Similies and Allusions are thick sown, and are all taken from Things obvious and familiar to those for whom they were written: For the Palm-Trees and Cedars, the Lions and Eagles, so frequently alluded to, were Things well known to the Inhabitants of *Palestine*. For this Reason, we must not, from our Notions of Things, judge of the other Comparisons which appear to us less noble and beautiful; neither are we to imagine, that every Word and Circumstance of a Similitude are to be applied; the Resemblance generally falls upon some one single Circumstance, and the rest are added, not as Parts of the Comparison, but to give some agreeable and natural Image of the Thing from whence the Comparison is taken.

As for the Poetick Style, it is so different from the Prose, that it is in a manner quite another Language. This Difference arises from the many Words and Phrases that are not the same with those in the Prose; from the Tropes and Figures that are very frequent and bold; from the Construction which is very irregular, and supposes abundance of Words to be understood. This Style likewise abounds with Repetitions, and the same Thoughts are expressed twice over in different Terms.

Each Song and each Psalm is a compleat Piece, whose Parts follow one another in a natural Order: Sometimes there is a Connection for several whole Psalms together; and some Pieces have no necessary Connection, and are composed after the

Acrostick

Acrostick Manner, according to the Order of the Letters of the Alphabet, that they might, in all likelihood, be the less burdensome to the Memory: Of this Kind are the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah, several *Psalms*, as the Thirty fourth, the Hundred and nineteenth, and *Solomon's* Description of a Virtuous Wife with which he concludes his *Proverbs*. It is observable of the Book of *Proverbs*, of great Part of *Job*, and of several of the *Psalms*, whose Subjects are purely moral Matters, that the want of tender and moving Sentiments is amply compensated by beautiful Paintings, fine Metaphors, and noble Comparisons, from whence is derived the Name of Parables or Proverbs. The Obscurity of the Style is no greater than what is necessary to exercise the Mind in an agreeable Manner, whilst the important Truths, convey'd under such natural and lively Images, make deep Impressions on the Heart; and therefore, as *Moses's* Poetry is the more strong and masculine, that of *Solomon* seems to be the more refined and polite.

All then that we can know of the *Hebrew* Poetry, is, the Design, the Thoughts, the Figures, and the Language. The Knowledge of this last, is, indeed, confined to those who are Masters of the *Hebrew* Tongue; others must be content to behold its Beauties through the Veil of a Translation, which deprives them of all their Lustre. Besides these, there many more considerable Charms and Graces that are entirely unknown to us, and even to those *Jews* themselves that are best skilled in the *Hebrew* Language; for the antient Pronunciation of this, as well as of all the other dead Tongues, being entirely lost, we can have no Notion of the Harmony of the Words, and Quantity of the Syllables, wherein the whole Beauty of Verses consists.

The *Hebrews* never had, as we know of, any Comedies, Tragedies, Epic Poems, or any of that kind of Poetry *Plato* calls Poetry of Imitation, or that imitates the Manners of Men. The *Song*
of

Book VII. of *Solomon* is so far a Dramatick Poem, as that different Persons are introduced speaking. The same may be observed in the Psalms, and all the other Poetical Works in Scripture, there being no Poetry without it; but as *Solomon's Song* consists only of Sentiments, it wants what seems absolutely necessary to Dramatick and Heroick Poems, a continued Scene of Action. We have only in Scripture, Hymns, Psalms, Odes, or, as we call them, Songs, that is to say, that kind of Poetry which *Plato* affirms to be alone the most antient.

The *Psalter* is a Collection of a hundred and fifty Psalms, composed upon different Subjects, and by different Hands. When one reads them at first in a cursory Manner, they seem to be nothing else but Repetitions of the same Thing over and over; but the more one considers them, the more full one finds them of different Thoughts, and of always new and surprising Figures. Among others the Hundered thirty ninth Psalm is an instance sublime and elevated, as well as of exquisitely fine and delicate Sentiments; *O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me: Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising: Thou knowest all my outward Actions; and what is more, Thou understandest my Thoughts long before. Thou art about my Path, and about my Bed, and spiest out all my Ways; For, lo! there is not a Word in my Tongue, but thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether. And no wonder, for thou hast fashioned me behind and before, and laid thy Hand upon to me to preserve and guide me; such Knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me, I cannot attain unto it.* Then varying the Figure, he breaks out on a sudden into this Exclamation, *Whether shall I go then from thy Spirit? or whether shall I fly from thy Presence?* He takes in the whole Extent of the Universe, consider'd in all its Demensions; *If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there; if I go down to Hell, thou art there also:* And again, in a more noble Figure; *If I take the Wings of the Morning, and remain in the*

the uttermost Parts of the Sea : To this he does not coldly say, *It would be all in vain*, or, as he said in the foregoing Verse, *Thou art there*, but makes use of a much more fine and elaborate Thought, as of a Man that accused himself of extreme Folly, in endeavouring to conceal himself from God ; So far shall I be from flying from thy Presence, that *even there also shall thy Hand lead me, and thy Right Hand shall hold me* : What chimerical Notions soever I may frame to myself, I can never think of subsisting one Moment without thee, *Though I could fly (as I said) on the Wings of the Morning, it would be thy Hand that would guide me, and thy Right-Hand that would support me*. Here he seems to have quite exhausted his Imagination : But observe a new and more studied Means of hiding himself from the All-seeing Eye of God ; *If I say, Peradventure, the Darkness shall cover me, then shall my Night be turned into Day* : Still this is all mere Folly and Extravagance ; *The Darkness is no Darkness with thee, but the Night is as clear as the Day ; the Darkness and Light to thee are both alike*. Let our modern Wits, after this, look upon the honest Shepherds of *Palestine*, as a Company of rude and unpolished Clowns ; let them, if they can, produce from profane Authors Thoughts that are more sublime, more delicate, or better turned, not to mention the profound Divinity and solid Piety couched under these Expressions.

By the Light of this, and other Examples, we may discover an infinite Number of the like Beauties ; for the Psalms every where abound with them ; and not only the Psalms, but *Job*, where the Poetry is generally more bold and sublime, and all the other Poetical Works of the Scripture. Read, for Instance, the Song of *Moses* at the End of *Deuteronomy*, and the Song of *Barak* and *Deborah*. But after all, to say nothing of the Difference between our Customs and Manners, how very imperfect is our Knowledge of the Beauties of these Works ? It is certain, as has been observed, that
all

Chap. 19.

Book. VII. all we know of the *Hebrew* Poetry, is confined to the Design, the Thoughts, and the Figures. As for the Language, none but those that are skilled in the *Hebrew* can judge of it; and where is the Man that can boast he is a perfect Master of that Tongue? But for the Beauties, I mean, the Harmony of the Words, the Measure of the Verses, and the Airs or Tunes of the Hymns and Songs, perhaps, there is not a Man upon Earth that knows any thing of the Matter; and every one knows how essential all these Graces and Ornaments are to Poetry.

We are ignorant, likewise, of the Manner of the Singing and Dancing that accompany'd the Divine Hymns. We are sure, indeed, that they were sung, and that they were composed for that Purpose, from their being styled *Sir*, or Hymns, and *Mizmor*, or Psalm, and from several express Declarations of Scripture, as at the Passage thro' the *Red Sea*, and from the Inscription over the Psalms, where frequent mention is made of the Masters in Musick. Their Singing, we find, was accompany'd with Dancing; for *Choirs*, the Scriptures so often speaks of, are Companies of Dancing-Men and Dancing-Women. Mention is made of Dancings at the Time of publick Rejoycings for Victories, and at the Celebration of some Religious Ceremonies; as at the Procession made by *David*, when he brought back the Ark of the Covenant to *Sion*, and at the Dedication of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, in the Time of *Nehemiah*, where the two *Choirs*, who had begun singing on the Walls, came and made an End together in the Temple. Our Notions then of these Sacred Songs, must needs be very imperfect, since we have nothing left us but the naked Letter, stripp'd of all its external Ornaments: They were, doubtless, other guess Things in the Mouth of the Musician, set off with all the Splendor and Magnificence of the Festivals they were designed for: And therefore, to form a tolerable Idea of their Beauty, we must imagine ourselves placed in the Temple of *Solomon*, amidst innume-
rable

rablẽ Multitudes crowding the Courts and Galleries, and beholding there the Altar loaded with Victims, and surrounded with the Priests, all cloathed with white Garments, and the *Levites* at a Distance disposed into Companies, some playing on Instruments, others singing and dancing in a grave and solemn Manner.

The most Antient and Learned Authors that have written upon the Nature of the *Hebrew* Poetry, are *Josephus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerome*, whose great Name and Reputation have drawn in, for the most part, those who have since treated upon this Subject, to embrace their Sentiments: They had been informed, that the Songs of *Moses* were writ in Verse; and *Josephus* does not scruple to assure us in several Places, that they were writ in Heroic Verse. *Origen* and *Eusebius* are of the same Opinion, and *St. Jerome* very much improves the Notion, and tells us, that the *Psalter* was composed of *Iambic*, *Alcaic*, and *Saphic* Verses, like *Pindar* and *Horace*; and that the Songs in *Deuteronomy* and *Isaiah*, the Books of *Job* and *Solomon*, are written in *Hexameters* and *Pentameters*. He says, that the Song in *Deuteronomy*, consists of *Iambic* Verses of four Feet, just as the Hundred and nineteenth and the Hundred and forty fifth *Psalms*; whereas the Hundred and eleventh, and the Hundred and twelfth *Psalms*, consist likewise of *Iambic* Verses, but of three Feet only. He observes, in the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, a Sort of *Saphic* Verses, and others of three Measures; and, in his *Preface* to the Book of *Job*, he remarks, that from these Words, *Let the Day perish wherein I was born*; that the Verses are *Hexameters*, composed of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, intermixed here and there with other Feet of the same Measure, tho' not of the same Number of Syllables, because of the great Variety of that Language. Sometimes there is no Regard to the Quantity of Syllables, and we find only a bare Rhyme, or an agreeable Cadence, which is discernable by those only who are instructed in the

Antiq. l. 2. c. ult.
l. 4 c. ult.
Præp. l. 11. c. 3.
Præf. in Chronic.
Euseb. Deut. 22.

Book VII. the Rules of Poetry. In a word, he speaks of the Book of *Psalms* in several Places, as of a Work consisting of *Lyric* Verses, like those of *Pindar*, *Alcæus*, *Horace*, *Catullus*, and *Serenus*.

In Chronic. Euseb.

But with great Deference to the Opinion of this Father, it must be own'd, that many of our Learned Criticks in the *Hebrew* Tongue, cannot observe in the *Psalms*, and the other Poetical Works of Scripture the same Feet and Measures that St. *Jerome* saw there. The great *Scaliger* could not perceive the least Signs of any Feet in the Verses of the ancient *Hebrews*; on the contrary, he asserts, that their Language, as well as that of the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Abyssenes*, is incapable of being confined to Feet and Measures. *Augustinus d'Eugubio*, is no less warm for this Opinion: He says, that the *Hebrews* have neither *Heroic* nor *Iambic* Verses, nor any Measures like those of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, but only some faint Resemblances of them, such as are to be met with in the Songs of the *Barbarians*. One finds in their Poetry certain Cadences, which gives the Style a different Turn from Prose; one observes a Manner of Expression, and certain Figures, which make the Language deviate from the common Forms of Speech. This Kind of Poetry is more simple, more natural, more majestick, and more becoming the Greatness of God, than a Poetry ty'd down to Method and Rules, in which it is extremely difficult to express, in a natural Manner, the Sentiments of the Spirit of God, without injuring at the same time the Sublimity of the Sense, and the Loftiness of the Thoughts.

Part 3. sect. 69. A Writer of some Note, *Gomarus*, hath taken great Pains, in his Treatise, called *Lyra Davidis*, to find out what sort of Numbers the Songs in Scripture consist of; but he has given no Satisfaction to Learned Men, who think (as *Capellus* does, in his *Animadversions* upon that Book) that all the Bible may be made Verse, according to his Method, nay, by his Way of resolving Sentences, all the Orations of *Tully* and *Demosthenes* may be turned into Verse of

of some Sort or other. The Author of *Sepher Chap. 19.*
Cofri seems to deal ingenuously, who, when the King of *Cofri* objects, That the Songs of the Bible are not artificially composed, according to Numbers and Quantities of Feet and Syllables, makes the *Jew* answer, That the Scripture Poetry was of a nobler Sort, not formed to tickle the Ear, but to affect the Heart, by the great Height and Elevation of the Sense, together with lofty Expressions, whereby Men were moved to attend to it, and keep it in Mind. And so much *Abarbinel* acknowledges, That no such Verses, consisting in the Number and Quantity of Syllables, are to be found either in the *Bible*, or in the *Talmud*; either in the *Mischna*, or the *Gemara*; but are of later Invention among the *Jews*, in Imitation of the *Arabians*, and other Nations, among whom they dwell in this long Captivity: Yet, in the Scripture-Poetry, there is a certain Disposition of Words, which make them melodious, and fit to be sung to Musical Instruments, and so sententious, that they might be more easily remember'd than simple Narrations, though now, after so many Ages, they cannot reduce this Poetry to Rules. In Exod. 15.

When *Moses* writ, there was then no Poetry reduced to the Rules of Art in any Part of the World, that we know of: Had the *Hebrew* Poetry been then, or afterwards, subjected to Rules, would these Rules be entirely unknown, now that the Oriental Languages are so thoroughly and successfully study'd? Besides, the Manner in which the Songs or Hymns of Scripture were composed, affords another Proof against their Opinion, who hold that they were made according to Art, and the Rules of a methodical Poesy. These Songs were, for the most part, extemporary Productions, and the sudden Effect of a Divine and Supernatural Impulse. Now, a Piece of Artificial Poetry is incapable of being produced thus on a sudden, without any Premeditation; and the Divine Impulse or Inspiration, allows no Time to reflect on the Rules of Art. *Moses* immediately,

Book VII. upon the Passage through the *Red Sea*, breaks out into a Song; and *David* compos'd several of his *Psalms* in the midst of the greatest Straights and Difficulties, and in Circumstances wherein it would have been a very hard Matter for him to have been Master of so much Presence of Mind, as the Attention to the Rules of an artificial Poetry requires. The Hymns and Songs in the Scripture were many Times compos'd by Women, or illiterate Men, whose Tongues were made use of but as meer Instruments, or Organs, by the Spirit of God. Will any one say, that such Persons commenc'd Poets on a sudden, and utter'd Poems in Rhyme, made according to the Rules of the Art of Poetry? As for the Style, and those enlivened, surprisng, figurative, and sublime Expressions to be frequently met with, it is no difficult Matter for Persons, without any previous Study or Art, but transported with a Divine Impulse, to break out into Poetical Forms of Speech.

So that the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews* consisted in the Grandeur, Nobleness, and Sublimity of the Thoughts and Style; in the Daringness of the Figures; in lively and pathetick Expressions; in a brief and concise Manner of Discourse; in a Turn more florid, more enlivened, more expressive, more proper to paint and display the Images of Things before our Eyes, than the common Forms of Speech: Their Poems were the Productions of a happy Genius animated and inspir'd by the Spirit of God, which being carry'd by the Divine Impulse above the Restraint of the Rules of a methodical Poetry, express'd its Thoughts and Sentiments in a sublime and poetical Manner.

C H A P. XX.

Of Musick.

IT is remarkable, that *Moses*, throughout the whole Law, says not a Word concerning any Musick, which was to accompany the Sacrifices and religious Feasts; only towards the End of the Journeying through the Wilderness, he order'd Trumpets to be made, which were to be sounded at the Time of the solemn Sacrifices, and upon Festival-Days, to give Notice of the Year of Jubilee, the Sabbatical Year, and the Beginning of the Months, and, in Time of War, to inspire the Soldiers with Courage. This is all we find in the Writings of *Moses* concerning Musick, with regard to Religion. The Levites had nothing enjoin'd them in this Matter; their Business was only to serve in the Tabernacle under the Direction of the Priests: They were not permitted so much as to blow the Trumpets, a Privilege reserv'd for the Priests alone. Things remain'd in this State till the Time of *David*. Numb. 10. 12.

This Religious Prince had a great Genius for Musick, and was a perfect Master of all the Instruments, and therefore resolv'd to introduce the Use of Musick into the Tabernacle: He believ'd it would contribute to the Pomp and Majesty of the Choir-Worship, and be a Means to soften the stiff and rugged Temper of the People. Besides, the Number of Levites being now become exceeding great, it was the Part of a prudent Prince to find them Employment suitable to the Design of their Original Institution. To this End, he compos'd Hymns, or Songs, which were put into the Hands of the Levites, with Orders to study and sing the *Airs* the Songs were set to, before the Lord in the Tabernacle, and at the Celebration of Religious

Book VII. Ceremonies. When the Temple was built, the Affair of Musick was carry'd on with more Order, and greater Magnificence; and after the *Babylonish* Captivity it was again established, and continued in Use, till the utter Destruction of the *Jewish* Commonwealth by the Armies of the *Romans*.

The Singers were always very numerous in the Temple; even they, whose Business it was to keep the Doors, did, upon certain Occasions, bear their Part in the Musick: For instance, those of the Family of *Kore*, who were Door-Keepers in the House of the Lord, not only sung, but composed several *Psalms*, which go under their Name in the *Psalter*. We find likewise the *Korbites* among the Singers in the Reign of *Jehosaphat*. There were four thousand Door-Keepers, four thousand Singers, besides four and twenty thousand Levites, appointed for the several Offices of the Temple: All these, except the Chief of the Musicians and Door-Keepers, serv'd by Turns. There were four and twenty Courses, both of Priests and of Levites, who constantly attended upon the Service of the Temple: Over each Course were set twelve Chiefs, so that the Chiefs of the Priests, of the Singers, of the Door-Keepers, and other Officers of the Temple, were, in all, two hundred and eighty eight.

Asaph, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, were the Princes or Presidents of all the Temple-Musick in the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. *Asaph* had four Sons, *Jeduthun* six, and *Heman* fourteen: These four and twenty Levites, Sons to the three Grand Presidents of the Musick, were set over four and twenty Bands or Companies of Musicians. Each of them had under him eleven Officers of an inferior Rank, who presided over the other Singers, and instructed them in their Art. These several Companies seem to have been distinguished from one another, by the Instruments on which they play'd, and by their Places in the Temple. Those of the Family of *Kobath* stood in the Middle, those of *Merari* on the Left, and those of *Gershon* on the Right Hand. The Sons

1 Chron. 25. 1,
3, 5, 6.

1 Chron. 6. 33,
34, 39.

Sons of *Jeduthun* play'd on the *Kinnor*, the Sons of *Asaph* on the *Nabal* or *Psalterium*, and the Sons of *Heman* on the *Metsilothaim*, which were apparently a kind of small Tinkling-Bells. By laying out thus their whole Time and Pains upon one single Instrument, they render'd themselves more expert and dextrous in their Business; and as they exercised the same Art successively from Father to Son, in the Temple, before the whole Nation, who assembled themselves three Times every Year, it was almost impossible they should fail of becoming excellent Artists.

I am apt to believe, tho' contrary to the Opinion of the Rabbins, That there were usually in the Temple, upon great and solemn Occasions, Women who sung and play'd; and that they had their Chiefs or Presidents, who first struck up, and tuned the Psalm or Hymn: These were commonly the Levites Daughters. All this was done with great Decency and Reservedness: They were not suffer'd to mix with the Men, but made separate and distinct Companies by themselves. Tho' this Opinion differs from the generally-received Notion, yet it is sufficiently grounded in Holy Scripture. In numbring the Children of *Heman*, one of the three Grand Presidents of the Temple-Musick, there are reckon'd, in all, twelve Sons and three Daughters. Now, for what other Reason are the Daughters mention'd in this Place, contrary to the constant Custom of the Scriptures, but only because they were of the same Business with their Brothers, and employ'd like them in singing the Divine Praises? In the Ceremony of Bringing the Ark from *Karjath-Beerim* to *Jerusalem*, we find Chorus's of young Damsels led by the Presidents of Musick. *Ezra*, in his List of those he brought back with him from the *Babylonish* Captivity, counts two hundred Singing-Men and Singing-Women; both the one and the other were doubtless designed for the Service of the Temple. The *Chaldean* Paraphrast, upon *Ecclesiastes*, says, in express Terms, *That Solomon introduced into the*

Chap. 20.

1 Chron. 25. 5.

Psal. 68. 26.

Ezra 3. 65.

Neh. 7. 67.

Eccles. 15. 8.

Book VII. *Temple Singing-Men and Singing-Women.* And the Ninth *Psalms* is address'd to *Ben*, or *Banaïas*, one of the Masters in Musick, of the Band of young Damsels.

Besides the Temple-Musick there was likewise a
 2 Sam. 19. 35. Body of Musicians belonging to the Court ; *I am this Day fourscore Years old.---Can I hear any more the Voice of Singing-Men and Singing-Women?* says *Barzillai* to *David*, when invited to go along with him to Court. *Solomon*, who deny'd himself nothing his Soul desired, was not unmindful of Musick : *I got me*, says he, *Men-Singers and Women-Singers.* I take *Asaph* to have been President of the King's Musick in the Reign of *David*: He is said,
 Eccles. 2. 8. in Scripture to prophecy according to the Order of the King.
 1 Chron. 25. 2.

I don't find in Scripture, that the *Hebrews* had any Musick adapted to Theatrical and Dramatick Performances : These were Diversions they had no Knowledge of. But they had Poetry, and consequently Musick of all other Kinds : We meet in Scripture with Songs for Victories, Invectives, Thanksgivings, Epithalamiums, Songs of Joy and Grief, instructive and moral *Psalms*, Prayers, and Praises. The *Song of Songs* is a sort of Dramatick Piece, tho' not of the Nature of those that are acted on the Stage, any more than the *Psalms* wherein we observe Dialogues between God and the *Psalmist*, or the righteous Person. The Book of *Jasher*, cited sometimes in *Joshua* and *Samuel*, seems to have been a History in Verse, writ in that sort of antient Poetry ; some Remains whereof we have in the *Sayings* of the old Philosophers. The Scriptures mention also Songs at the Time of Vintage, and Drinking Catches. *The Drunkards* (says the *Psalmist*) *make Songs upon me.* *Woe unto them*, (says *Isaiab*) *that rise up early in the Morning, that they may follow Strong-Drink; and the Harp, and the Viol, the Tabret and Pipe are in their Feasts: That sing* (as *Amos* expressees it) *to the Sound of the Viol, and invent to themselves Instruments of Musick like David.*

Poetry,

Laert. lib. 1.

Psal. 63. 12.

Isa. 5. 11, 12.

Amos 6. 5, 6.

Poetry, Musick, even Playing on Instruments, Chap. 20. were made use of also by the *Hebrews* at their Funerals. These Funeral Odes were sung, by way of Ceremony, by the Relations and Friends of the Deceased, or by Mourners who were hired for that Purpose. Whoever chanced to meet with a Funeral Pomp, was obliged, out of Respect, to join the Company, and condole with them.

There are many Examples in Scripture, of the wonderful Effects of Musick among the *Hebrews*. *Saul*, when he was filled with a black and gloomy Melancholy, infused by the Devil, to disturb his Soul, found immediate Ease by *David's* playing upon the Harp in his Presence; and when the same Prince met a Company of Prophets with Musical Instruments in their Hands, he felt himself immediately inspir'd, and fell to Singing and Prophecy among them.

An Event, still more extraordinary, happened in the Army of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, *Jehosaphat* King of *Judah*, and the King of *Edom*. These three Princes were in a terrible Consternation, when, after having marched seven Days through the Wilderness of *Moab*, they and their whole Army were like to perish inevitably for want of Water. *Jehosaphat*, who had more Religion than the other two, enquired whether there was not in the Army a Prophet of the Lord; and being told, that *Elisha* was there, all the three Kings went to him. *Elisha*, as soon as he saw the King of *Israel*, cried out, *What have I to do with thee? Go, and consult the Prophets of thy Father, and of thy Mother.* *Jehoram* made Answer, *Hath the Lord brought hither three Kings, to deliver them into the Hand of the King of Moab? As the Lord of Hosts liveth, before whom I stand, (says Elisha,) were it not that I regard the Presence of Jehosaphat, King of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee; but now let a Musician be sent for.* Accordingly the Musician came; and whilst he was playing on his Instrument, the Hand of the Lord came upon *Elisha*, and


Book VII. he began to prophecy. The Sight of the King of *Israel*, and the Discourse he had with him, raised an Emotion in the Soul of the Prophet: The Sound of the Musick calmed his Passion, and render'd him of a due Temper to receive the Impressions of the Spirit of God.

Though we cannot have a very distinct Notion of the Form and Nature of all the Musical Instruments of the Temple, yet their Number alone, is a sufficient Argument of the great Variety of their Musick; and this could not well be otherwise, considering how different the Subjects of the Psalms, or Hymns, still extant among us, are, and how various the Objects or Ends of their solemn Assemblies. At the Feast of the Passover, they render'd God Thanks for their Deliverance out of *Egypt*: At Pentecost, they celebrated the Memory of the Law, given at Mount *Sinai*: At the Solemn Expiation, they begg'd Pardon of God, with Fasting and Humiliation: At the Feast of Tabernacles, they called to Remembrance their Journeying through the Wilderness; and gave God Thanks for the Blessings he had bestowed upon his People in the past Harvest.

CHAP. XXI.


The Musical Instruments used by the Hebrews.

THE Musical Instruments of the *Hebrews* I shall distinguish into three Classes: Stringed-Instruments; Wind-Instruments; or the several Species of Flutes, and the different sorts of Drums, *Tympana*, and *Crepitacula*. The String'd-Instruments were the *Nable*, or *Nebhel*, and the *Kinnor*: These have been already explained in a former Part of this Work. In this Place, it may only be observed, that *Josephus* says the *Nebhels*, belong

belonging to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, were made of *Electrum*, a very precious sort of Metal; which, perhaps, might be true of *Those* in his Time; but we read expressly in the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, that *Solomon* made them of the Wood of *Almugim*. Chap. 21.

1 Kings 10. 12.
2 Chron. 9. 11.

The Wind-Instruments were Trumpets and Flutes: *Shaphar* is the general Name, made use of by the *Hebrews*, to express their Trumpets by. They had two Sorts: The one called *Chazozeroth*, and the other *Horns*, because made of that Matter, or from their Shape or Form. *Moses*, when he describes the Thunderings and the Lightnings at the Promulgation of the Law from Mount *Sinai*, says, *The Voice of the Shaphar, or Trumpet, sounded long, and waxed louder and louder.* Exod. 19. 19. He called the Instrument which served to give Notice of the Year of Jubilee, by the same Name. Exod. 20. 28. The Privilege of Sounding the *Shaphar* in Religious Assemblies, was reserved to the Priests alone. In the Time of War, it was the General's Business to blow the Trumpet, in order to assemble the Troops, to Charge the Enemy, or to Sound a Retreat. Nothing is more common than the mention of this Instrument throughout the Scriptures, in Time of War, in the Solemn Assemblies, upon Festival-Days in the Temple, in Treaties and Alliances; but we don't find one Word concerning its Form, or the Matter it was made of.

Chazozeroth, is the Name of those Trumpets Numb. 10. 2, 8, *Moses* caused to be made in the Wilderness. 9. 10. There were two of Silver, and some others of Copper. They were sounded to call the People together, when *Moses* had any Thing to impart to them from God. They were used likewise in War, and upon great and solemn Days; as Days of publick Rejoicing, and when they offered their Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings. They are frequently made use of in the Scripture, especially in the Temple. We do not find whether they were Straight or Crooked; the Scriptures say nothing about it; and the Trumpets belonging to other Nations,

Book VII.  tions, which we find described in their Writers, afford us no Light in this Matter, neither are they uniform. I imagine that the *Chazozeroth* were long and straight, in order to distinguish them from the Horns, which are crooked and bent.

Isaiah 5. 22.

Daniel 3. 5.

The *Hebrews* had several sorts of Flutes: Some of a simple, and others of a more compounded Nature. The first were called *Halil*, as much as to say, Bored, or Dancers; for the Root whence *Halil* comes, signifies *to Bore*, or *to Dance*. *Mas-rokithe* is another sort of Flute, and is derived from a Root which signifies *to Whistle*. *Salma-sius* upon *Solinus* observes, That the antient Flutes had not above one or two Holes; for which Reason they generally play'd upon two Flutes at the same Time, the one on the Right, and the other on the Left Side of the Mouth. The Flute on the Right-Side had but one Hole, and render'd the gravest Sound: That on the Left Side had two Holes, and its Sound was more shrill. And the playing in this Manner, if the Flutes were not alike, was called *Tibiis Imparibus*; but when the Flutes were both the same, *Tibiis Paribus*: If they had each but one Hole, it was termed *Modus Dorius*, which was the gravest of all; but when the Flutes had two Holes a-piece, it was called, *Modus Phrygius*.

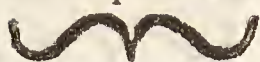
Hugab, is generally taken by Interpreters to signify the Organ; but we must not suppose it was like that sort of Instrument made among us. It consisted of several Pipes or Flutes joined together, on which they play'd, by applying the several Pipes, one after another, to the Under Lip.

Athenæus, lib. 4.
chap. 25.

Minnim and *Mnanaim*, are two sorts of Instruments of a very uncertain Signification: Some take them for Stringed-Instruments; others for Wind-Instruments, or Flutes; but they both may intend the same Thing, and signify the *Magadis* of the *Greeks*, or rather the *Syrians*. This Instrument is to be met with every where in Antiquity. There were two sorts; the one a Flute, the other

other a Stringed-Instrument: The Sound of the first was grave and shrill; the other was an Instrument, to which *Anacreon* gives no less than twenty Strings. After all, it is difficult to form a determinate Idea of the Nature and Shape of these Instruments.

Chap. 21.



The *Hebrew* Name for Drums, or Tymbrels, in general, is *Tuph*, from whence the *Greek* and *Latin*, *Tympanum*. This Instrument is of great Antiquity: It is mention'd in *Genesis*, where *Laban* says to *Jacob*, *Wherefore, didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me, and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with Mirth, and with Songs, with Tabret, (Tuph,) and with Harp.* This Instrument has a Place in all the great and solemn Ceremonies of Religion, and most commonly in the Hands of Women, or young Damsels, but never used in War, or the like Occasions; which makes me think it was very different from our Drums, and that it was an Instrument of Mirth and Joy, used upon Festival-Days, at publick Dancings, and religious Processions. It had some Resemblance with our Tabors. It was made of Wood, with a Skin stretched only on one Side, after the Manner of a Sieve.

Gen. 31. 27.

The *Tseltsel*, or Cymbal, was an Instrument of a very shrill and piercing Sound, made in Copper, of the Form of a Skull-Cap. They took one in each Hand, and struck them one against another. They held them by a small Ring, which went round the Thumb, or by a larger one, which came over the back Part of the Hand, or only by a plain Handle erected on the Top. The *Shaleshim*, is another sort of Instrument, which the Seventy have render'd by *Cymbala*. It is mentioned but once in Scripture, and that is in the Discription of *David's* Triumph, after the Victory over *Goliath*: *The Women came out to meet Saul and David, Singing and Dancing, with Tabrets, and with Shaleshim.* This Term is derived from a Root, which signifies *Three*, and therefore our Marginal Translation calls it an Instrument

1 Sam. 18. 6.

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Instrument of three Strings. Those who played upon the Cymbal were formerly to accompany it with the Sound of a Triangular Instrument, made of a small Rod of Steel, on which were put five Rings, that were moved up and down the Sides of the Triangle, by means of an Iron Rod, which they had in their Left-Hand, whilst they held up the Instrument in their Right by a Ring, to give it a free Motion.

Isaiah 18. 1.

The *Sistrum*, generally supposed to be what *Isaiah* calls the *Winged Zalzel*, is an Instrument very common in *Egypt*. It was of an oval Figure, or like a Semicircle, lengthened out in the Form of a Belt: Several Brass-Rods went across, which were loose in the Holes, from whence they were kept from falling out by their Hands. They play'd upon them by striking the *Sistrum*, by which means the Rods made a shrill and piercing Sound.

Metfilothaim is the last Instrument I have to speak of: They were a sort of Basons, or Tinkling-Bells, that were heard a great Way off. This is all I have to observe upon this Subject: And I must own, there is but little Certainty to be had of these Matters; but it must be remember'd that there are some Subjects, where we ought to rest satisfied with what is probable, and be contented with plausible Conjectures.

CHAP. XXII.

*The Method of Writing, Sealing, &c.
among the Hebrews.*


THE most antient Manner of Writing, we have any Knowledge of, is that of engraving Figures or Letters upon Wood or Stone. The oldest Monuments of the *Chaldeans*, Antiquities, lib. 1. and *Egyptians* were of this kind. *Josephus* observes, cap. 3. that this Way of Writing was before the Flood. The Way of Writing with Characters or Letters, was first invented by the *Phœnicians*.

*Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem formare figuris.*

*Lucan. Pharsal.
lib. 3. cap. 5.*

And this the *Greeks*, the vainest People of all the World, and who arrogate to themselves the Invention of all the Arts, are forced to acknowledge. Lib. 5. *Herodotus* confesses, that it was *Cadmus* that brought Letters into *Greece*; and the *Greek* Alphabet itself, is an evident Proof that their Letters owe their Origin to the *Syrians*. *Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta*, are manifestly derived from the *Hebrew Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth*. *Diodorus Siculus* acknowledges L. 1. Bibliothec. the same Thing: “ These *Phœnicians*, says he, “ who did receive these Letters from the *Muses*, “ and afterwards communicated them to the “ *Greeks*, are the same who came into *Europe* “ with *Cadmus* : ” And this is reasonable to believe: For Mankind being created and multiplied first of all in the Eastern Countries, it is plain that the Letters, Sciences, Arts, Religions, and the Gods, were transplanted thence with the Inhabitants.

The

 The *Egyptians*, before the Invention of Writing with Characters, engraved upon Stones the Figures of Animals; which Custom began in the Time of the second King of *Memphis*. Now *Menes*, who is supposed to be the same with *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, was the first King of that Kingdom; he was Succeeded by *Thoyth*, or *Taautus*, called by the *Greeks* the first *Mercurius*. Another *Thoyth*, or the second *Mercurius*, explained all the Hieroglyphical Writings he could meet with, and expressed in Letters what the first *Thoyth* had writ in Hieroglyphicks, concerning Physick. History does not inform us how the second *Mercurius* came by the Knowledge of Letters; but we do not find they were ever made use of by any in *Egypt* before him, unless by *Moses*, who lived, according to *Marsham*, in the Age preceding that of the second *Mercurius*. And it is probable, that the *Phœnicians* had found out this Way of Writing long before either of them; for this Invention seems to have been no new Thing in the Time of *Moses*. The Antients made use likewise of Tables, or Plates of Copper and of Lead; and it is said, that *Hesiod's* Works were Engraven at first only upon thin Plates of Lead, which were kept with great Care in the Temple of the Muses in *Bœotia*. The Tables of Copper were generally used for recording Alliances, Treaties, and Laws.

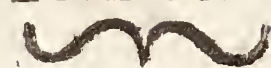
The *Chaldeans*, in old Time, engraved upon Brick their Astronomical Observations. When *Solon* digested his Laws, he engraved some upon Tables of Wood, and some of Stone. Those upon Wood contained private and particular Laws; and those upon Stone, were the more general Laws, and the Ordinances relating to the Sacrifices. The Tables of Stone were triangular, and called *Kyrbeis*; and those of Wood, stiled *Axes*, or *Axones*, were square. Both sorts were writ upon after the Manner the *Greeks* call *Boustrophedon*, that is, one Line went from the Left Hand to the Right; and the next on the contrary, from

from the Right Hand to the Left, just as Furrows are made in Plowing. The Laws of the Twelve Tables, among the *Romans*, were engraven upon Tables of Oak, if we may believe *Scaliger*, or upon Ivory ones, if we follow the Opinion of *Pomponius the Civilian*. The Tables were generally cover'd over with Wax, upon which they writ with a Bodkin, or Style made of Iron, Copper, or Bone, pointed at one End to engrave the Letters, and broad at the other, to blot them out.

These Tables when joined and fasted together made a Book, called *Caudex*, or *Codex*, that is, a Trunk of a Tree, because of its Resemblance to the Body of a Tree sawed into thin Boards. The Letters, or Epistles, sent by private Persons to one another, were commonly written upon these Tables, which they tied up with a Flaxen Thread, and afterwards sealed the Knot with a sort of Wax they had from *Asia*. To these Tables succeeded first the Leaves of the Palm-Tree; and after that, the finest and thinnest Barks of Trees, such as the Linden-Tree, the Ash, the Maple-Tree, the Beach-Tree, the white Poplar, the Elm. Hence, the Word *Liber*, (a Book,) a Name given to all sorts of Writings, because the Bark of a Tree is so called in *Latin*; and as these Barks were rolled up in order to carry them with the greater Ease from one Place to another, these Rolls were termed *Volumes*, as were likewise the Rolls of Parchment and Paper that were invented afterwards.

Papyrus (whence the Word *Paper*) is a sort of Bulrush, growing on the Banks of the *Nile*. The Body of it is made up of several Flims, or Leaves, one within another: These Leaves are taken apart and separated by the Help of a Needle, and then stretched upon a wet Table, to the Breadth the Sheet of Paper is designed. The Leaves, thus extended, are cover'd over with a very fine Paste, or with some of the muddy Water of the *Nile*, fitted and prepared for that Purpose, upon which other Leaves are spread, and then the whole is set in the Sun to dry. Several
 Sheets

Book VII.



Sheets of Paper were rolled up together to make what we call a Quire of Paper. These Rolls, in the Time of *Pliny*, consisted of twenty Sheets, but were afterwards reduced to ten. When these Sheets were made use of for large Works, they pasted them together at the Ends, in proportion to the Length of the Work, and wrote only upon one Side, unless in Accounts and Minutes, and the like Writings, which were not designed to be kept. The Books were kept in Libraries, rolled round a Stick, adorned at both Ends with Ivory, or some curious Wood. The Stick was placed at the End of the Book or Roll; whence this Expression among the *Romans*, *Ad umbilicum perducere*, to finish a Book, or any other Work. They laid up the Books in certain Chests, or Presses, so as that one End of the Stick appeared in Sight, on which was written the Title of the Book.

Ptolomy Philadelphus, King of *Egypt*, having erected a prodigious Library, the Kings of *Pergamus* had a Mind to follow his Example; but the Kings of *Egypt*, jealous of being out done, prohibited the Exportation of Paper out of their Kingdom, which put the Kings of *Pergamus* upon inventing Vellum, or Parchment, called *Pergamentum*, from the City of *Pergamus*, or *Membrana*, because made of the Skins which cover the Members of Animals. The Books that were made of this Vellum were of two sorts: Some were like those of Paper, consisting of several Skins pasted together long-ways, which made a longer or shorter Roll, according to the Length of the Writing it contained. Others were made of several Skins cut Square, and bound up together as our Books are. The Rolls, *Volumina*, were written but on one Side, and consequently took up more room than the square and bound Books, that were written on both Sides. That Side of the Roll, or Volume, which was writ upon, was called *Pagina*, or Page; and what we call the Pages of a Book, written on both Sides, they termed *Tabula*, or *Tabella*.
The



These Observations upon the old Way of Writing will be of Use in explaining the Matter and Form of the Books of the antient *Hebrews*. *Moses* makes frequent mention of Books, but describes none, except the two Tables on which God wrote the Ten Commandments. These, he tells us, were of polished Stone, engraven on both Sides, says Father *Calmet*; and it is probable that *Moses* would not have observed to us these two Particulars so often as he does, were it not to distinguish them from other Books, which were made of Tables, not of Stone, but of Wood, and curiously engraven, but on one Side only. The Way of Writing upon Tables of Stone and Wood, is the most antient that we know of. There is not an Expression in the Writings of *Moses* concerning Books, but what may be understood of these Tables; and there is not one Word to be met with, that so much as intimates to us the Use of Rolls of *Papyrus*, or Barks of Trees, much less of Parchment. We have, therefore, Reason to believe, that by the Term Book, he always means Table-Books, made of small thin Boards. Indeed the Word *Volumen*, or *Volume*, frequently occurs in the *Pentateuch* in the *Vulgate* Bible, but it is no where to be found in the original *Hebrew*, except only in *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Ezra*, the Thirty ninth Psalm, and *Zachariah*. There are, indeed, some of the Rabbins and Commentators, who assert that *Moses* made use of Rolls of Parchment, or *Egyptian* Paper; but this Opinion will gain but little Credit with those who know that neither Paper nor Vellum were found out in the Time of *Moses*.

When, therefore, the Law-Giver of the *Hebrews*, speaks of the Book of the Covenant; the Book of the Law; the Book of Divorce; the Book wherein were written the Curses, that were afterwards scrap'd off into the Bitter Water, and given to the Woman suspected of Adultery to drink, for the Trial of her Innocence; and the Book the Levites were commanded to put in the Side of the

VOL. IV. K Ark;

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Ark ; in these, and the like Places, he must be understood to mean nothing more than the Table-Books whereon the Laws were engraven, or small Wooden Plates, or Boards, on which the other Things, he mentions, were written. The Seventy always express the *Hebrew Sepher*, by the Word *Axones* : Now these *Axones* were Tables on which Laws were engraven, as I have before shewn. The Author of the Book of *Job*, plainly alludes to this Way of Writing upon Tablets ; *Oh that my Words were now written ! Oh that they were printed (engraven) in a Book ! That they were graven with an Iron Pen and Lead, in the Rock for ever !* Here is express mention of Writing on Wood, on Lead, and Stone. *Solomon* is no less clear for the Use of Tablets, when he says, *Let not Mercy and Truth forsake thee, write them upon the Table of thine Heart.* *Jeremiah* expresses the same Thing in a strong and lively Manner ; *The Sin of Judah is graven upon the Tables of their Hearts with a Pen of Iron, and with the Point of a Diamond.* In the Second Book of *Kings*, according to the *Latin Translation*, God threatens to destroy *Jerusalem*, and blot out the Memory of it, as a Man blots out his Writing with the flat End of his Style ; *Delens vertam & ducam crebrius Stylum super faciem ejus.* God commands *Isaiah* to write his Threatnings against the *Jews* on Tables of Box. *Ezekiel* was order'd to take a Stick, or Writing-Table, and write upon it for *Judah*, and to do the like for *Joseph* and *Ephraim*, and then to join them altogether into one Stick, or Book. God told *Habakkuk*, *Write the Vision, and make it plain upon Tables, that he may run that readeth it.* The Letter *David* sent to *Joab*, to order him to cause *Uriah* to be slain, and that which *Jezebel* wrote in the Name of *Ahab* to have *Naboth* put to death, are called in Scripture, *Sepher*, a Term by which Table-Books are expressed : Which makes it reasonable to believe, that these Letters were actually writ upon Tables, and sealed like the Letters of

of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the Manner before described. Chap. 22.

The Edicts, as well as Letters of Princes, were written upon Tablets, and sent into all their Provinces, sealed with their Signets. *He wrote Letters in the King's Name, and sealed them with the King's Ring, and sent them by Posts on Horseback.* Esther 9. 10.

The Custom of Sealing up Letters, Edicts, and the Tablets on which the Prophets writ their Visions, is plainly alluded to in Scripture. *Isaiah* tells the *Jews*, that his Prophecies should be to them as a Sealed Book or Letter; *And the Vision of all is become unto you as the Words of a Book that is sealed, which Men deliver to one that is Learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed.* God orders the same Prophet, in another Place, to tie up with a Thread, and seal the Tables whereon his Predictions were written; *Bind up the Testimony, seal the Law among my Disciples.* God bids *Daniel* also to seal up his Prophecies till such a Time; *But thou, O Daniel, shut up the Words, and seal the Book, even to the Time of the End.* The Predictions of the Prophets were as so many Letters from God to his People, which he would not have opened till such Time as he was pleased to order it; *Go thy Way, Daniel, for the Words are closed up and sealed.* Such was the Book, sealed with seven Seals, that *St. John* saw in the *Revelations*. This Book, although written on both Sides, within and without, could be read by no Body, because it was bound all over with the Thread, and sealed up with seven Seals. *Isaiah* 29. 11. *Isaiah* 8. 16, 17. *Daniel* 12. 4. *Ibid* 12. 9.

The Practice of Writing upon Rolls made of the Barks of Trees, is very antient: It is alluded to in the Book of *Job*, *O, that mine Adversary had written a Book; surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me!* The Letter *Rabshakeh* brought to *Hezekiah* from *Sennecherib*, was also writ upon those Rolls. *And Hezekiah*

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Jerem. 36.

received the Letter from the Hand of the Messengers, and read it; and Hezekiah went up into the House of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord. There is mention made of Rolls in more express Terms in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zachariah: Jeremiah being in Prison, and by that Means prevented from speaking to the People, himself dictated a Discourse to Baruch his Scribe, and bid him go and read it in the Ears of all the People, at the the Entry of the new Gate of the Lord's House: The King, when he heard this, sent Jehudi his Secretary, to bring him the Roll; and after he had read in the Presence of the King three or four Pages, (or according to the Hebrew Text, three Doors or Entrances of the Volume,) the King ordered it to be burnt: The Secretary cut it with his Penknife and cast it into the Fire. Jeremiah was commanded by the Lord to dictate another Volume; which he did. The Scripture, throughout this whole Account, makes Use of the Term, Megillath, a Volume; and the mention of the Scribe's, or Secretary's Penknife, is a plain Proof of their Writing in those Days with Reeds and Ink, as they do at this very Time all over the Eastern Countries. The best Canes, or Reeds, grow towards Aurac, along the Persian Gulph: They are gathered in March, and laid in small Bundles in a Dunghill six Months, where they grow hard and firm, and acquire that shining and beautiful Varnish, they are covered with, of Yellow and Black. We read in Jeremiah, that Baruch made use of Ink, and wrote with Ink in the Book. The Scriptures no where name the Instrument with which they writ upon Rolls, but make frequent mention of the Styles for Tables; the Form and Nature of which, I have already taken Notice of. They carried these Styles, and Tablets at their Girdles, and in Cases called by the Hebrews Kefet, and by the Greeks Graphiarium.

The Rolls, or Volumes, generally speaking, were writ but upon one Side only. This is intimated by Ezekiel, who observes, That he saw
one

one of an extraordinary Form written on both Sides : *And when I looked, behold, an Hand was sent unto me; and lo! a Roll of a Book was therein; and he spread it before me, and it was written within and without.* *Zachariah* informs us in some Measure, what was the Form of those antient Volumes, or Rolls, where he says, *He saw the Vision of a flying Roll twenty Cubits long, and ten Cubits broad:* Not that the common Books were of this Size, but only they were made, as to their Dimensions, in the same Proportion with this extraordinary Roll. In the Time of our Saviour, the *Jews* had in their Synagogues, as they still continue to have at this Day, large Volumes, or Rolls, on which the Law and the Prophets were written. *St. Paul* plainly distinguishes the Books written upon the *Egyptian Papyrus*, from those on Vellum; *Bring with thee the Books, but especially the Parchments.* This is the only Place that makes express mention of Parchment, or Vellum. The Use of Tablets, or Writing-Tables, is evident from those *Zacharias*, the Father of *St. John Baptist*, ask'd for, to write down the Name of his Son.

Chap. 22.

Ezek. 2. 9.

Zach. 5. 1, 2.

Luke, 4. 17, 20.

2 Tim. 4. 13.

Luke, 1. 63.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Way of Writing Manuscripts. Of the Hebrew Text of the Bible.

HAVING given some Account of the Form of the *Jewish* Books, it may be proper to say something of the Manuscript Copies of the *Hebrew* Text, and the Difference of Manuscripts used in the Synagogues, and those used only by private Persons. The *Jews* have two sorts of Manuscript Copies of the Bible; one of which, serving for the ordinary Use of the Synagogue, is

Book VII. writ in certain Scrolls, or Parchments, with great Exactness. The other, which particular Persons copy out for their own Use, differs not from our Manuscripts. The first contains only the five Books of the Law, and some little Volumes which are read in the Synagogues, and are writ in separate Scrolls. The other contains the whole Text of the Scripture, which is divided into four and twenty Books. There is some Difference in the Writing of these two Copies; and there is more Care taken in the Writing of the first, than of that which is only for private Persons. Nevertheless, most of the Precautions used are superstitious, and the Invention of the Rabbins; and therefore, I shall not mark all of them particularly, for fear of being tedious; it will be sufficient to touch upon some of the principal ones, without observing the others.

First, The Characters of these Manuscripts which are used in the Synagogues, are not altogether the same with those which are in the common Copies. There are certain Letters in these Manuscripts of the Synagogue, which, besides the Figure, have Points, or Horns, which serve for Ornament, and these Horns are called *Thagin*, that is to say, Crowns. The Rabbins affirm, that God gave them *Moses* upon Mount *Sinia*, and that he taught him how to make them. Rabbi *Seem Tob*, has writ a Treatise of these Crowns; where he observes, they have been neglected by most of the Grammarians, who have not been sufficiently instructed in the Mysteries which he pretends to have had from the *Talmud*. For Example: He makes seven Points, or Crowns, to belong to the Letter *Aleph*, five of which are on the Top of the Letter, three on the Left Hand, and two on the Right, and two others at the Bottom at the End of the Left Hand. The Law has seven *Alephs* after this Manner. The *Beth* is writ with three of these Crowns, two of which are on the Top, which go up with a sharp Point, and another, which is likewise on the Top of the Letter, but the Point inclines

inclines a little toward the Bottom; and there are in the Law four of this sort of *Beths*. The *Ghimel* has four Crowns on the Top; and there are but three of these *Ghimels* in the Law. It is unnecessary to give an Account of the other Letters, or to spend more Time about this vain Superstition, which is far from adding any Correctness to the *Hebrew* Copies.

Secondly, There are a great many Ceremonies in the Writing of these Manuscripts, because this Nation, who looks upon itself holy and separate from all others, does nothing without some Particularities or other. The *Jews* are not permitted to write the Books appointed for the Service of the Synagogue upon the Skin of any Animal, but only upon that of clean Beasts, otherwise the Books would be prophane, and could not be read. It is necessary that this Skin be prepared after a certain Manner by a *Jew*, who is neither an Apostate, nor an Heretick, and who prepares it with an Intention for the Law to be written in it. Every sort of Ink likewise is not to be used; and there are certain Ingredients required in the making of this Ink; and, among other Things, there is to be no *Copperas*.

Thirdly, The Skin upon which it is writ, ought to have a certain Proportion, as well in its Length as Breadth, and ought to be ruled before the Writing, it not being permitted to write more than three Words in a Place not ruled, which makes the Lines strait, and one Letter is not larger than another. Care is likewise to be taken, that neither the Letters nor Words join one to another, and therefore there is left the Space of a Thred or Hair between each Letter, and between the Words the Space of a little Letter: The Length of a Line is to be of thirty Letters, and betwixt each Line is to be the Space of a Line. As they have divided the Pentateuch into certain Sections, some of which they call close, and others open, it has likewise been necessary for that very Reason to leave void Spaces. Three Letters are left for the close Sections, and nine for the

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open ones. Besides these Sections, there are yet greater, for which greater void Spaces are left; and the Letters are not to be pressed, for the adjusting of them to the Proportion of the Spaces, or the Length of the Lines; but they are to be writ in so distinct a Manner, that a Child may read them without mistaking, those which are alike, one for the other.

Fourthly, These Books are to be taken from other faithful and authentick Copies; and the Kings heretofore took their Copy from the Original preserved in the Sanctuary. After these Books are writ, they are to be examined, whether they are true Copies, and to be corrected by an authentick Copy. If nevertheless, in the Reading many Faults appear, as for Example, four in every Page, or Side, they are to be look'd upon as prophane, and others to be writ. There as many other Niceties of too small Importance to be mentioned.

Lastly, The Copies used in the Synagogues are all writ without Points for Vowels and Accents, because there have been Innovations made in the Copies writ for the Use of private Persons. The Points seem to have been invented for the better fixing of the Reading of the Text, and the making of it easy to unskilful Persons: And as for the Accents, there are two Sorts of them; one of which distinguishes the Parts of Discourse, as our Points and Comma's do; and the other serves for Pricks in Musick. These Accents were invented by some *Jewish* Doctors, who would distinguish the Texts of the Bible by Points and Comma's, as the *Greek* and *Latin* Grammarians have done in their Books; the other, being almost the same with the Notes we use in Musick, were, without doubt, invented by their Doctors, to shew more exactly how one ought to sing in the Reading of the Law.

As for the other Manuscripts of the Bible, not dedicated to the Use of the Synagogues, there is not so much Care taken in the writing of them, and therefore there are very few good ones, because it is hard to find learned and faithful Transcribers;

and

and besides, the *Jews* study more the *Talmud* and their Traditions, than their Tongue and the Holy Scripture. They much neglect both Grammar and Criticism; so that most of the *Jews* understand not the *Massoret*, which is a Criticism of the *Hebrew* Text. The *Spaniards* only have refined the *Hebrew* Tongue, and have been curious in procuring good Manuscripts. Next to the *Spaniards* are the *Jews* of *France* and *Italy*; and the next Manuscripts, are those which come from *Germany*. One may easily distinguish one from the other, by the Make of the Characters, which are much greater in the Books which come from *Germany*, than in those writ either by the *French* or *Spaniards*. The *Spanish* Character is wholly square, and comely; the *French* and *Italian* is a little rounder, and not so graceful: But we no where find so good Manuscripts of the Bible as at *Constantinople*, *Salonica*, and some other Places of the *Levant*, whither the *Spanish Jews* fled when they were driven out of *Spain*.

Chap. 23.

C H A P. XXIV.

*The Origin and Division of Languages;
and of the Hebrew Language in
particular.*

WHEN God had formed all the Beasts of the Field, and the Birds of the Air, he made them to pass before *Adam*, that he might give them Names: And as the Scripture relates, he did so; and the Name which he gave to each was its Name. The same Scripture informs us, That God made use of a Voice to forbid our Parents the Eating of the Tree of Knowledge, of Good and Evil. It also represents to us, the Devil tempting the Woman by his Discourse; the Woman answering him, and seducing her Husband; God speaking

Book. VII. speaking to *Adam*, and upbraiding him; and *Adam* and *Eve* endeavouring to excuse themselves. All this supposes, that *Adam* and *Eve* were created with a Language; for *Adam* gave Names to the Creatures immediately after his Creation, and before the Woman was made. If he had been dumb, if he had not then known any Language, how could he immediately give Names to the Creatures, and such Names too as have continued with them? How could *Adam* and *Eve*, when newly created, have understood what God said to them by articulate Sounds, understand one another mutually, and converse together as soon as placed in a terrestrial Paradise? There must be Time to agree upon Signs by which we express our Thoughts, Time to retain those Signs, and to adapt them to all the Things that we speak about. All this could not be done of a sudden, but gradually, and demands a considerable Time; but that which we have observed happen'd soon after the Creation: So that it seems more reasonable to believe, that *Adam* and *Eve* had the Gift of Speech by Infusion from the Moment of their Creation, than to imagine that they were only created with Organs proper to form Words, and that in Time they formed a Language to themselves.

This being supposed, there is no great Difficulty in explaining how the Posterity of *Adam* and *Eve* learned and preserved that Language: Daily Experience shews us how Infants learn to speak from their Parents, Nurses, and those about them: Nor is it any great Wonder, that all Mankind inhabiting still one Corner of the World having Commerce together, and living also many Ages, that this Language should be preserved among them without any considerable Change till the Deluge. But granting there had been any other, all Men being destroy'd by the Deluge, except *Noah* and his Family, the Language of that Patriarch was the only Language that subsisted, and easily preserved itself among his Descendants, so long as they continued together in
that



that same Country: But when, before their Dispersion, they undertook the Building of a City and Tower, it pleased God to put a Stop to that rash Enterprize, and to confound them by a Change in their Language; so that not understanding one another, they could not continue that great Work, and were obliged to separate before they had finish'd it.

It will be difficult to find into how many Languages Men were divided. The Rabbins count seventy, because the *Hebrew* Text reckons so many of *Noah's* Descendants, that is, fourteen from *Japhet*, thirty from *Ham*, and twenty six from *Shem*, of whom it is said, *These are the Heads of the People of the Nations who divided the Earth after the Flood.* According to the *Greek* Text, we must add two Persons, and, by consequence, two Languages to the Number: But we cannot infer from the Number of *Noah's* Posterity, contain'd in that Genealogy, the Number of different Languages; for divers of those mentioned in that Catalogue might have preserved the same Language, as 'tis certain in the Children of *Canaan*, who make several of the Heads enumerated in that Genealogy, whose Posterity nevertheless had only one Language, that is, the *Canaanitish* Tongue, which was common to all the Inhabitants of *Palestine*, before the *Israelites* were possessed of it.

It is not necessary to think, that this Diversity of Tongues was as great first, as it was afterward; and that the different People had Languages altogether differing, so that they had nothing wherein they agreed in common; or that the antient Language was entirely abolish'd; and that God inspired Men with Languages altogether new. It is much more reasonable to believe, that God divided and diversified the same Tongue into different Dialects, but so, however, that they could not easily understand one another. This is what is properly meant by those Terms of Scripture, *Let us confound their Language.* In this Place God confounded the Language of all the Earth: These Expressions signify no more

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more than the Change of the same Language into different Dialects. It is probable therefore, that there was much less Difference amongst the People in the World at the Beginning, than there is at present, since Process of Time does necessarily occasion a Change in all Languages. Besides, we see the most antient Languages of the Eastern People, which are nearest the Tower of *Babel*, *Hebrews*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabs*, and *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, have still more Conformity to one another than others; and that they are nothing almost but the Dialects of the same Language. However, we may rest assured, that at the Beginning there was not so great a Difference in the Language of *Noah's* Descendants, who divided themselves into different Colonies to people the Earth.

Learned Men have been long and sufficiently divided in their Opinions concerning the first Language in the World: The *Jews*, and some *Christians*, have easily persuaded themselves, that it was the *Hebrew*; others give the Preference to the *Chaldee*. The first say, that the Language which *Noah* received from *Adam*, was preserved without Change in the Family of *Shem* and *Heber*, from whom they believe it derived its Name; that *Abraham* received it from his Father *Tharah*, or *Terah*, the Descendant of *Heber*; and that it was convey'd from them to the *Israelites*, called *Hebrews*, because they spoke the same Language with *Heber*. Others say, the most antient Language, was that spoken in *Mesopotamia*, beyond the *Euphrates*, that is to say, the *Chaldee* spoken by *Abraham*, who was bred in the City of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and spent part of his Days in *Mesopotamia*; that having afterwards changed his Habitation, and crossed the *Euphrates*, to enter into the Land of *Canaan*, he was called *Hebraeus* by those People, a Term derived from *Heber*, which signifies *from beyond*, because he came from beyond the *Euphrates*; that here he learned the *Canaanitish* Language, which was that of his Son *Isaac*,

Isaac, his Grandson *Jacob*, and his Posterity, that is to say, the *Hebrew* Tongue. Chap. 24.

Though the Name of *Hebrew* be very antient, we do not find that the Language of the *Jews* was properly called the *Hebrew* Tongue. It is called *Jewish*, in the second Book of *Chronicles*; and it is likewise said, that those who spoke the common Language of the Country, spoke the *Jew's* Language: It is only since the Captivity, that the *Hellenists* or *Jews*, who spoke *Greek* to distinguish themselves from those who spoke the antient Language of the *Jews*, called their Tongue *Hebrew*. Thus the Translator of the Book of *Esther* observes, That the Urn in which they cast Lots, is called *Phur* in *Hebrew*: The Author of the Prologue to *Ecclesiasticus* makes use of the same Term: And this Name was so common in our Saviour's Time, that when the *Evangelists* give us Names in the *Jewish* Tongue, they tell us, that in *Hebrew* it is called so and so, as *Gabbatha* and *Golgotha*; and in the same Place it is said, that the Inscription upon the Cross was in *Hebrew*, and *Greek*, and *Latin*. But that which deserves to be remark'd is, that the *Evangelists* give the Name of *Hebrew* to the *Syriac*, or *Chaldaick*, which was become the common Language of the *Jews*. It carried then the Name of the *Hebrew* Tongue, as well as the antient *Hebrew*, as the *Arabian* and *Vulgar Greek* carried the Name of *Arabian* and *Greek*, tho' differing much from the antient *Greek* and *Arabick*. But since that Time, the Name of the *Hebrew* Tongue has been restrained to the old Language of the *Jews*, in which the Books of *Moses*, and the other Books of the Old Testament, were written.

Abraham, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, spoke this Language in the Land of *Canaan*. The latter and his Children being obliged to go into *Egypt*, their Posterity multiply'd there prodigiously, and stay'd in that Country two hundred Years; but neither chang'd their Religion, Customs, nor Language, because they lived separate from the *Egyptians* in the Land of

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of *Goshen*. The *Egyptian* Tongue differed very much from the *Hebrew*; for *Joseph* convers'd with his Brethren by an Interpreter, and the *Egyptians* understood them not when they spoke together. Therefore the Author of the Eighteenth Psalm, speaking of the Time when the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*, says, *They heard a Language they did not understand*. Some of them, no doubt, learned the *Egyptian* Tongue, and spoke both Languages, but the Bulk of the People preserved the Language of their Ancestors.

The *Israelites* then came out of *Egypt*, speaking the Language of their Fathers, that is, the same Language which *Jacob* and his Children brought from the Land of *Canaan*, and preserved it without any remarkable Change till the *Babylonish* Captivity, as the Books written from the Time of *Moses*, till the Destruction of the first Temple, give us ground to believe; for they are almost uniform in the Language, and no considerable Change is to be found in them, which is particularly occasioned by the *Jews* living separate from other People, not mixing with them, taking no Wives but those of their own Nation, venturing no Commerce with Strangers; and therefore we have no Reason to wonder that they preserved their Language so long without Mixture or Change.

It was not the same during the *Babylonish* Captivity. The *Jews* did not then live in a particular Place, as when they were in *Egypt*, but being dispers'd, and mixed among the *Chaldeans* were obliged to learn their Language, which by degrees became common among them. We read that *Daniel* and his Companions were obliged to learn the *Chaldee*, and that the Wisemen whom *Nebuchadnezzar* sent for to explain his Dream, spoke to him in the *Aramick* Tongue, which the *Greek* Interpreters have translated *Syriack*. This *Aramick* Tongue was the Language of the *Assyrians*, or *Syrians*, descended from *Aram* the Son of *Shem*, as appears by this, that *Rabshakeh*, the *Assyrian* General, was intreated

Daniel i. 4.


2 Kings 18. 26.

intreated by King *Hezekiah's* Deputies, to speak in Chap. 24.
the *Aramick* Tongue, which the *Greek* and *Latin* 
Interpreters have again render'd *Syriack*. Now we
cannot doubt, but the *Aramick*; *Syrian*, or *Assyrian*
Language was the *Chaldee*, since *Daniel* himself,
when relating, in their own Terms, the Discourse
which the *Chaldeans* had with *Nebuchadnezzar*, and
all that passed afterwards between himself, his
Companions, and the King, writes all these Things
in the *Chaldaick* Tongue. It is not then to be doubt-
ed, but that the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* Tongue were
originally the same Language, and was spoken at
Babylon, where the *Hebrew* Tongue was not un-
derstood, infomuch, that none of the *Chaldeans*
could read or understand the *Hebrew* Words which
were wrote upon the Wall at *Belshazzar's* Feast,
which *Daniel*, who understood both Languages,
very easily explained.

The *Chaldee* by degrees became common among
the *Jews*; but we must not imagine, with some of
the Rabbins, that they intirely forgot their antient
Language during the Captivity, and that the Priests
only spoke and understood it before their Return.
It is much more likely, that this Change did not
happen all of a sudden, but gradually, as all
Changes in Language do. We must suppose, that
at the Beginning of the Captivity, the *Jews* spoke
Hebrew, and did not understand the *Chaldee*, as is
evident, because *Daniel* was obliged to learn it;
that a little Time after, the Commerce they were
oblig'd to entertain with the Inhabitants of the
Country, made that Language more common
amongst them; and that they began to understand
it, to speak it, and to teach it their Children. But
it is almost impossible that in seventy Years, the
Time of the Captivity, they could intirely forget
the Use and Knowledge of their antient Language.
There must of necessity, have been a Time where-
in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* were common among
the *Jews*; but by degrees, the *Chaldee* got the As-
cendant, and became the only Language spoke
among

Book VII. among the *Jews* after their Return from the Captivity, but so, however, as there was a Mixture of *Hebrew* Words. This is the Language that was commonly spoke in *Judea* in our Saviour's Time, which is called *Hebrew* throughout the New Testament. In the mean Time, the Sacred Books continued, always written in the antient *Hebrew* Tongue, and in that Language the *Jews* read them in their Synagogues : But this not being the common Tongue, and beginning to be not understood by all the *Jews*, the *Hebrew* Original was explained in the Vulgar Language in their Synagogues ; and perhaps, that was the Origin of the *Chaldee* Paraphrases, of which we shall speak in another Place.

We cannot certainly say when it was that the old *Hebrew* Tongue ceased to be understood by the *Jewish* Commonalty ; but there are many Circumstances to prove, that it was not for some Years after their Return from the Captivity : For if the *Hebrew* had not been understood by the *Jews* after their Return, why should *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, have written in *Hebrew* Things which they designed should be understood by the common People, especially, since those Writers were not ignorant of the *Chaldee*, but made use of it in writing Things that related to the *Assyrians*. But it is so far from being true, that the *Chaldee* Tongue was the only Language in use among the *Jews* immediately after the Captivity, that on the contrary, it is observed by *Nehemiah* as an extraordinary Thing, that the Children of the *Jews*, who had married Strangers, spoke the Language of *Ashdod*, and not the Language of the *Jews*. We have already observed, that to speak in the *Jews* Language, is to speak in *Hebrew*, and that the *Jewish* Tongue is the antient *Hebrew* Language. This Tongue then was common among the *Jews* ; but nothing proves more invincibly that the *Hebrew* was still understood by the common People even after the Captivity, than

than what is said in *Nehemiah*, that the Law was Chap. 24.
read in *Hebrew* before all the People, and that they 
all understood it. *All the People*, says he, gather- Nehem. 8. .
ed themselves together as one Man, into the Street

that was before the Water-Gate, and they spoke
unto Ezra the Scribe to bring the Book of the Law of
Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel.

And Ezra the Priest brought the Law before the
Congregation, both of Men and Women, and all
that could hear with Understanding, upon the first
Day of the seventh Month; and he read therein, in
the Street that was before the Water-Gate, from the
Morning until Midday, before the Men and Women,
and those that could understand; and the Ears of
all the People were attentive unto the Book of the
Law. Can we reasonably think, that *Ezra* read

to the People for many Hours in a Language they
did not understand? Is it probable that the People
would have list'ned attentively to it for so confi-
derable a Time, that they could be so affected
as to melt into Tears at the Reading of it? Per-
haps, it may be said, that they did not under-
stand the Book, but that *Esdras* translated it into
Chaldee; and this is offered to be proved by what
is said, That the *Levites* caused the People to un-
derstand the Law; and that they read the Book of
the Law distinctly, and gave the Sense, and caused
them to understand the Reading. But if *Ezra* had

repeated the Law, Word for Word, in another
Language, and that the People had understood no-
thing of it in *Hebrew*, to what Purpose was it read?
Neither does the cited Passage say any such Thing;
for either it signifies only that the *Levites* caused the
People to keep Silence, and give Attention to the Ver. 7, 8.
Law, which was read with a distinct and intelligible
Voice, or it supposes that *Ezra*, and those that
were with him, explained the Law. But that does
not say that they render'd the Text, Word for
Word, in another Tongue, but that they explained
the difficult Places, by a Discourse more at large,
and better suited to the Capacity of the People. In

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Neh. 9. 2, 3.

short, it is said, That the Children of *Israel* being separated from the Strangers, *confessed their Sins, and the Sins of their Fathers; and standing up in their Places, read the Book of the Law of the Lord their God one fourth Part of the Day; and another fourth Part they confessed, and worshipped the Lord their God:* And that afterwards the *Levites* made a long Discourse to the People, which is contained in that Chapter, to exhort them to praise God, and to give Thanks for his Favours. The People read the Law in *Hebrew*: This Discourse was in *Hebrew*, and therefore that Language must have been perfectly understood.

C H A P. XXV.

The Hebrew Characters. The Vowel Points. When they were invented, and brought in Use.

IT is to no Purpose to inquire what was the Figure of the Characters in Use before and immediately after the Deluge, because we have no Monuments left us of those Times, and that no credible Writer makes any mention of them: But it is a famous Question among the Criticks, What the Characters were, which were used by the antient *Hebrews*? Some pretend that they were the same as now; but the more common Opinion among the Antients and Moderns, is, That the old *Hebrew* Characters, made use of by *Moses* and others, before the Captivity, are those which the *Samaritans* preserved; and that those now in use, came in after the *Babylonish* Captivity. The *Hebrew* Tongue being the same with the *Canaanitish*, or *Phœnician*, we must allow that the *Hebrew* Characters of that Language were the same; which appear by the antient *Ionian* or *Greek* Let-



Letters, which are altogether like them, as may be seen by the antient Monuments. That we may understand how they were preserved among the *Samaritans*, and how they were lost by the *Jews*;
 “ We must know (says *Du Pin*, contrary to the
 “ Opinion of Father *Simon* mention’d, in another
 “ Place,) that the Kingdom of *Israel* being divided
 “ in the Reign of *Rehoboham*, the ten Tribes pre-
 “ served the *Pentateuch*, in the same Manner that
 “ they received it from *Moses*; but being carried away
 “ Captive from *Samaria* by *Salmanassar* King of
 “ *Assyria*, that City was repeopled with Inhabi-
 “ tants called *Chutæans*, and afterwards *Samari-*
 “ *tans*: The latter being molested with wild Beasts,
 “ for not Adoring the true God, sent for some
 “ *Israelites*, who gave them Copies of the Books of
 “ the Law, which they always preserved as they
 “ had received them.” The Tribes of *Judah*
 and *Benjamin* did also retain the same Characters
 till the *Babylonish* Captivity; but the *Jews* being
 transported to that City, they insensibly accus-
 tomed themselves to write like the *Chaldeans*; and
 therefore, after their Return, *Ezra*, having col-
 lected the Books of the Bible, made use of the
Chaldee Characters, (which were better known to
 the *Jews* than the antient Characters,) of which
 they have constantly made use since that Time.
 But a convincing Proof that they were not in use
 before, is this, That there were many antient Shekels
 found of the *Jewish* Money before the Captivity,
 whose Inscriptions are written in *Samaritan* Cha-
 racters, and on the Reverse are found these Words,
Jerusalem Kodeska, the *Holy Jerusalem*. Which
 proves that it was the *Jews*, and not the *Samari-*
tans, among whom the Money was current; for the
 latter (nay, nor the *Israelites* themselves,) did not, af-
 ter their Division, acknowledge *Jerusalem* as a Ho-
 ly City, and would not have called it by that Title
 in their Moneys, since they were declared Enemies
 of that City and Temple.



The *Hebrew* Alphabet is composed of twenty two Letter, as well as those of the *Samaritans*, *Chaldeans*, and *Syrians*; but besides those Letters, none of which is at present a Vowel, and by consequence they cannot determine the Pronunciation, the *Hebrews* have invented Points, which being put under the Letters, serve instead of Vowels. Those Points are of use, not only to fix the Pronunciation, but also the Signification of a Word, because many times the Word being differently pointed and pronounced, signifies Things wholly different. Not but that the *Hebrew* Language had real Vowels at first, as other Languages, *to wit*, the *Aleph*, which is the A, the *Jod*, which is the I, and the *Van*, which answers to the O and U, and it may be the *Hajin* for the E. Those Letters which at present are Consonants, when they are not pronounced, were originally true Vowels. But as there are abundance of *Hebrew* Words, where several Consonants are found successively, without any of those Letters, they were supplied by them for pronouncing those Words whose true Pronunciation was learned by Custom.

Great have been the Contests of learned Men, concerning the Antiquity of these Points in the *Hebrew* Text: Some have pretended that they are as antient as the *Hebrew* Tongue; and that *Abraham* made use of them: Others make *Moses* the Author of them. But the more common Opinion among the *Jews*, is, That *Moses* having learned from God the true Pronunciation of *Hebrew* Words, this Science was preserved in the Synagogue by Oral Tradition until the Time of *Esdra*s, who invented the Points and Accents, to preserve it. *Elias Levita*, a *German Jew*, and very learned in the *Hebrew Grammar*, has rejected this Opinion, and maintained, that the Invention of these Points was much later. He ascribes it to the *Jews* of *Tiberias*, about five hundred Years after Christ; and alledges, that this Art was not perfected till about the Year one thousand and forty, by two famous

famous Massorets, *Ben Ascher* and *Ben Naph-
tali*. These Massorets were a Set of Men whose
Profession it was to write out Copies of the *He-
brew* Scriptures, to criticise upon them, and to
preserve and teach the true Reading of them. *Aben-
Ezra*, speaking of the Punctuation of a Word,
says, " That such is the Custom of the Sages of *In Lib. Tzachut.*
" *Tiberias*, which ought to serve as a Foundation
" and Rule, because it is they who are the Mas-
" forets, from whom we have received the Punc-
" tuation of the Law. "

It may be observed in the general, that the Points
and Accents of a Language are not much in use,
whilst the Tongue is living: They were not invented
in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, till after they
ceased to be commonly spoken. The Oriental
Tongues, as the *Chaldee*, *Samaritan*, and *Syriack*,
have none: The *Arabick* had none at first; nor is
there any Appearance that the *Hebrew* Tongue is
different, in that Respect, from the other Oriental
Languages. The Number of its Vowels, which
are fourteen or fifteen, without reckoning the
Raphe, the *Dagesch*, and *Mappick*, and an infinite
Number of Accents, now in use among the *Hebrews*,
make it plain enough, how far those Things are
from the natural Simplicity of a Language com-
monly spoken: These are the Niceties and Subtil-
ties of the Grammarians upon a dead Language,
rather than the Custom of a living. In short,
the Time of inventing the Points will appear evi-
dently, by considering the Origin of Grammar
among the *Jews*. The first of their Grammarians
was Rabbi *Judas Ching*, an *Arabian*, who lived in
the tenth Century: Since then they have had di-
vers. Now there are two Things we may lay
down as Matter of Fact: First, That it is almost
impossible to know the Rules and Use of the Points
without Grammar: And Secondly, That the *He-
brew* Grammar is chiefly founded upon the Know-
ledge of the Points. Which makes it evident that
those two Things must have been invented near

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upon the same Time. It is no Fable that the *Hebrews* had their Vowel Points from the *Arabs*, and that they were the first Inventors of them: History informs us that the *Arabians*, or *Saracens*, becoming Masters of a great Part of *Asia* and *Africa*, and of *Sicily* and *Spain* in *Europe*, in the seventh and eighth Age their Language, as usual, spread with their Dominions, and became common in all the Countries under their Obedience. Then it was, that to fix the Pronunciation of that Tongue among so many different People, they invented the Points, and set up Grammarians, to compose Rules for their Language. The *Jews*, as well as other Eastern Nations, did commonly write in *Arabick*. Their first Grammarians wrote in that Language, and followed the Method and Rules of the *Arabian* Grammar. The *Massorets*, whose natural Tongue was the *Arabick*, instituted the Custom, and followed the Example of the *Arabs* in pointing the Letters of the *Hebrew* Text, to fix the Pronunciation of it. As the *Arabians* changed their antient Vowels into Consonants, they did the like, and followed their Distinction into those that are pronounced by the Throat, Lips, Roof of the Mouth, Teeth, and Tongue. They called the primitive Words *Roots*, as they did; and the Vowel Points they called *Movements*. In the same Manner they admitted useless Letters, which they call *Quiescent*, and do not pronounce. From them they had the *Dagesch Lene*, and the *Dagesch Forte*; the former directing to pronounce the *Aspirates* softly, and the latter teaching to double them. This Conformity in Grammar and Punctuation, shews that the *Jews* received both from the *Arabians*.

These Vowel Points were, for many Ages, only of private Use among the *Massorets*, by which they preserved to themselves the true Readings of the Holy Scriptures, and taught them to their Scholars; but they were not received into the Divinity Schools till the making of the *Talmud*: For there
were

were two sorts of Schools antiently among the *Jews*, the Schools of the *Massorets*, and the Schools of the Rabbins. The former taught only the *Hebrew* Language, and to Read the Scriptures in it; the others to understand the Scriptures, and all the Interpretations of them; and were the great Doctors of Divinity among them; to whom the *Massorets* were as much inferior, as the Teachers of the Grammar-Schools, among us, are to the Professors of Divinity in our Universities. And therefore, as long as those Vowel-Points went no higher than the Schools of these *Massorets*, they were of no Regard among their Learned Men, nor taken any Notice of by them. But sometime after the making of the *Talmud*, in what Year, or Age, is uncertain, the Punctuation of the *Massorets* having been judged by the *Jewish* Doctors to be as useful and necessary a Way for the preserving the traditionary Readings of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, as the *Mishnah* and *Gemara* had been then found to be for the preserving the traditional Rites, Ceremonies, and Doctrines of their Religion, it was taken into their Divinity Schools; and it having been there received and corrected by the most Learned of their Rabbins, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those Authentick Readings which they held to have been delivered down to them, by Tradition, from *Moses*, and the People who were the first Penmen of them, ever since that Time the Points in *Hebrew* Scriptures have been held by the *Jews* to be of the same Authority for the Reading of them, as the *Mishnah* and *Gemara* for the interpreting of them, and consequently, as unalterable as the Letters themselves: For they reckon them both of Divine Original, only with this Difference, That the Letters, they say, were written by the Holy Penmen themselves, but the Readings, as now marked by the Points, were delivered down from them by Tradition only. However, they have never received them into their Synagogues, but have there

Book VII. still continued the Use of the Holy Scriptures in unpointed Copies, and so do to this Day, because they so received them from the first Holy Penmen of them.

As for the Accents, which are at present in the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible, we ought to judge of them as of the Points: They were also invented by the *Massorets*, or *Jewish* Criticks, who added them to the Text, as Points and *Comma's* have been been put into the *Greek* and *Latin* Books, for the distinguishing the different Parts of Discourse. The *Jews*, who go beyond all other Nations in Subtleties and Niceties, invented not only Accents, to mark out Divisions, but have added others, to denote the Continuation of the Discourse, as if one knew not sufficiently it ought to be continued, when there is nothing set down to stop it. These Accents which are added by the *Massorets* are very irregular; and if they are exactly followed, as they are set down in several Places, we should make a great Confusion in the *Hebrew* Text. It has been already observed, that these same Accents serve for Pricks in Singing; and therefore they accompany them with some Gestures of the Head. But they have been long disused, and are wholly insignificant for this Purpose.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Distinction of Verses in the Hebrew Text.

BESIDES the Accents which distinguish the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible, as Points and Comma's distinguish Discourse in *Greek* and *Latin*, and other *European* Languages, the *Hebrews* have another sort of Accent, which wholly cuts off the Sense of the Text, and divides it into so many several Verses. The *Jewish* Grammarians have called this Accent *Soph Pasuc*, *End of the Verse*; and they mark it with two Points, one upon the other. The whole Law was formerly but one Verse, as one may say, or, in a manner, but one Word; because in those Times there were no Distinction of Verses in the Books of *Moses*, or in the other Books of the Bible. The Scripture agrees in this with all the *Greek* and *Latin* Books, which were also writ without any Distinction before the Points and Comma's were invented by Grammarians. Originally every Book of the *Hebrew* Bible was writ without any Distinction of Sections, Chapters, Verses, or Words; but when the publick Reading of the Law was brought into Use among the *Jews*, and some Part of it read every Sabbath in their Synagogues, it became necessary to divide the Whole into fifty four Sections, that it might thereby be known what Part was to be read on each Sabbath, and so the Whole gone over every Year. And when that Disuse of the *Hebrew* Language made it necessary that it should not only be read to them in the Original *Hebrew*, but also interpreted in the *Chaldee*, which was then become their vulgar Tongue, there was also a Necessity of dividing the Sections into Verses, that they might be a Direction

Book VII. rection both to the Reader, and to the Interpreter, where to make their Stop at every alternative Reading and Interpreting, till they had, Verse by Verse, gone through the whole Section. If *Ezra* himself was not the Author of this Division, it was introduced not long after him, for it is certainly very antient.

In Bava Bathra,
fol. 16.

Some are of Opinion, That the Distinction of Verses in the sacred Books of the Synagogue was discernable only by Lines. *Maimonides*, out of the *Talmud*, says, “ That the Parchments on which
“ those Books were written, were to be of six
“ Hands Breadth, and of as many in Length ; and
“ the Writing of them to be in six Columns, each
“ Column being of a Hand’s Breadth ; and that each
“ Line in these Columns was to contain thirty of
“ their Letters.” Now, by this Method the Verses could no otherwise be distinguished, then by ending the last Line of a Verse in a Break. But it must be observed, that such Breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the Verse might be run out to the End of the last Line, and so leave no Space at all for a Break ; and then there could be no Distinction made this Way between that Verse and the next. Besides, those who held this Opinion, that the Verses were to be reckon’d by Lines, allow only two of the Lines above-mention’d to a Verse ; but there are many Verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those Lines. It is most probable, that antiently the Writing of those Books was in long Lines from one Side of the Parchment to the other, and that the Verses in them were distinguish’d in the same Manner as the *Stichi* afterwards were in the *Greek Bibles* : For the Manner of their writing those *Stichi* at first, was to allow a Line to every *Stichus*, and there to end the Line where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the rest of the Line void, in the same Manner as a Line is left at a Break. But this loosing too much of the Parchment, and making the Book too bulky ; for the avoiding of both these Inconveniencies, the
Way

Way afterwards was to put a Point at the End of every *Stichus*, and so continue the Writing, without leaving any Part of the Line void as before. And in the same Manner, I conceive the Verses of the *Hebrew* Bible were antiently written. At first, they allow'd a Line to every Verse, and a Line drawn from one Side of the Parchment to the other, of the Length, as above-mention'd, was sufficient to contain any Verse that is now in the *Hebrew* Bible. But many Verses falling short of this Length, they found the same Inconveniencies that the *Greeks* after did in the first Way of their writing their *Stichi*, and therefore came to the same Remedy, that is, they put the two Points above-mention'd (which they call *Soph Pasuc*) at the Place where the former Verse ended, and continued the Writing of the next Verse in the same Line, without leaving any void Space at all in it.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Massora.

THE Word *Massora*, in *Hebrew*, signifies Tradition, and is particularly given to the Criticisms on the *Hebrew* Text: *Buxtorf*, who followed this Study for several Years, defines it to be a Critical Doctrine upon the *Hebrew* Text, invented by the antient *Jewish* Doctors, whereby they have counted the Verses, Words, and Letters of the Text, and observed all the Diversities of them, the better to preserve the true Reading from all Manner of Change. Therefore the Rabbins call it *Pirke Avoth*, the Hedge or Inclosure of the Law. The *Arabians* have used the same Precaution, as to the *Alcoran*, and perhaps in Imitation of the *Jews*.

The Authors of the *Massora*, are called *Massorets*, or Doctors of the Law. It began some Time before

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fore the *Talmud*, but was not perfected, and collected into a Body, till a long Time after. The Method how this was done, was thus: The Rabbins made divers Critical Remarks upon the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible at different Times: Those that followed them, took care to collect the antient Remarks, and to add to them. And in this Manner the Body of the *Massora* was formed, as we have it at this Time.

The Matter of the *Massora* consists in Critical Remarks upon the Verses, Words, Letters, and Vowel Points of the *Hebrew* Text. The *Massorets* were the first who distinguished the Books and Sections of Books into Verses, and mark'd the Number of the Verses, and of the Words and Letters in each Verse; the Verses where they thought there was something forgot; the Words which they believed to be changed; the Letters which they thought superfluous, the Repetitions of the same Verses; the different Reading the Words which are redundant or defective; the Number of Times that the same Word is found in the Beginning, Middle, or End of a Verse; the different Significations of the same Word; the Agreement or Conjunction of one Word with another; the Number of Words that are printed above; which Letters are pronounced, and which are turned upside down; and such as hang perpendicular; and took the Number of each: It was they, in short, who invented the Vowel Points, the Accents, and made divers Critical Remarks upon the Punctuation, and abundance of other Things of equal Importance.

Levit. 42.

Critical History,
Book 1. cap. 26.

A great Part of the Labour of these *Jewish* Doctors consisted in counting the Letters of the *Hebrew* Text; and the Letter *Nau*, in the Word *Gebom*, is in the *Talmud* observed to be in the very Middle of the Pentateuch. Father *Simon* gives an Account of a Manuscript Copy which he saw, where that Part of the *Massora* that belong'd to the Letters, was to this Purpose. "There are twelve
" *Parfcioths*, or great Sections, in *Genesis*. There
" are

“ are forty three of those which are called *Sedarim*,
 “ or Orders : There are one thousand five hundred
 “ and thirty four Verses, twenty thousand seven
 “ hundred and thirteen Words, seventy eight thou-
 “ sand one hundred Letters ; and the Midst of the
 “ Book consists in these Words, *Ve al harveka tihieb*,
 “ in *Chap. xxvii. ver. 40.* There are five Points,
 “ (these are Points made on the Top of some Let-
 “ ters mentioned by St. *Jerom.*) *Exodus* has eleven
 “ *Parscioths*, thirty three *Sedarims*, one thousand
 “ two hundred and nine Verses, sixty three thou-
 “ sand four hundred and sixty seven Letters ; and
 “ these Words, *Elohim lo Tekallel*, in *Chap. xxii.*
 “ *ver. 27.* are in the very Middle of this Book.
 “ There are in *Leviticus* ten *Parscioths*, twenty five
 “ *Sedarims*, eight hundred fifty nine Verses, eleven
 “ thousand nine hundred and two Words, forty
 “ four thousand nine hundred and eighty nine Let-
 “ ters ; and these Words, *Vehannogea bibesar*, in
 “ *Chap. xv. ver. 7.* are the middle Words. There
 “ are in *Numbers* ten *Parscioths*, thirty three *Seda-*
 “ *rims*, one thousand two hundred and eighty eight
 “ Verses, sixteen thousand seven hundred and seven
 “ Words, sixty two thousand five hundred and
 “ twenty nine Letters ; and these Words, *Ve haia-is*
 “ *asher ebehar*, in *Chap. xvii. ver. 5.* are the middle
 “ Words. There are in *Deuteronomy* ten *Par-*
 “ *scioths*, thirty one *Sedarims*, ninety thousand fifty
 “ five Verses, sixteen thousand three hundred and
 “ ninety four Words, fifty four thousand eight hun-
 “ dred and ninety two Letters ; and the middle
 “ Words of this Book are, *Ve Ascita Alpi Hadavar*,
 “ in *Chap. xvii. ver. 10.*”

The *Massora* is written in *Chaldee*, and ordinarily divided into Great and Small : The Great is partly on the Top and Bottom of the Margins of the Text ; and sometimes in the Margin underneath the Commentaries ; and, in part, at the End of every Bible, which occasions the Division of this Grand *Massora* into the *Massora* of the Text, and the Final *Massora*. The Little *Massora* is written upon

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upon the Inner Margin, or sometimes on the Outer Margin of the Bible : It is an Abridgment of the Great *Massora* wrote in small Characters, with abundance of Contractions, Symbolical Words, and Citations of Scripture by one only Term of the Text.

It cannot be deny'd, but the Labour of the *Massorets* was extraordinary Great : But the Learned are divided, whether it was as useful as great, and if it affords a Profit answerable to their Pains. The Author of the Book *Cofri*, and the Rabbi *Aben-Ezra* seem to make no Account of it, and speak of it as an unprofitable Work. The latter compares it to the Labour of a Person, that spends his Time in turning over the Leaves of a Book of Physick, and numbers the Pages, without making use of any of the Medicines prescrib'd in it. Dr. *Prideaux* has a very contemptible Notion of these *Jewish* Doctors :

Connection,
Part 1. p. 175.

“ These *Massorets*, (says he,) who were the Au-
 “ thors of the *Massora*, that is now extant, were a
 “ monstrous trifling Sort of Men, whose Criticisms
 “ and Observations, went no higher than the num-
 “ bring of the Verses, Words, and Letters of every
 “ Book in the *Hebrew* Bible, and the marking out
 “ which was the middle Verse, Word, and Letter
 “ in each of them, and the making of other such
 “ poor and low Observations, as are not worth any
 “ Man's reading, or taking Notice of.” But *Cu-
 naus* sets a high Value upon the Labours of these
 Men : “ When I consider, (says he,) the unwea-
 “ ry'd Diligence, and infinite Pains of the *Masso-
 rets*, I do even stand amazed ; for having revised
 “ accurately, and compared all the Books of the
 “ *Hebrew* Bible, they signed them with certain
 “ Notes. This was done after the Destruction
 “ of the second Temple, about the Year Four hun-
 “ dred and thirty six. It was observed by them, not
 “ only how many Verses and Words, but also how
 “ many Letters every Book contained ; wherefore,
 “ that afterward, when extream Barbarism oppressed
 “ the World, no Tittle of that most excellent Book

De Rep. Hebræ,
lib. 1, 2, 18.

“ was

“ was lost, is a Benefit we owe to them. Not with- Chap. 27.
 “ out Cause, therefore, have the Rabbins said: *The*
 “ *Massora is, as it were, the Wall and the Hedge of*
 “ *the Law.*” There are many Interpreters, Roman
 Catholick and Protestant, who likewise allow this
 Work to be of very great Use.

To keep a just Medium between these two oppo-
 site Sentiments, we must distinguish between the
 Parts of the *Massora*, and accordingly form a diffe-
 rent Judgment of them. There are some of them
 altogether uselefs, some of them superstitious, and
 some of them may be of use to preserve the Text
 in its Purity. The Uselefs are, that scrupulous Af-
 fection of observing how many Times the same
 Letter or Word is found in the Bible; of the same
 Nature must we reckon the Observations they
 have made upon the redundant and defective Words,
 and abundance of other Trifles. The Distinction
 of Verses may be of use, if well done; but many
 times the *Massorets* have not made that Distinc-
 tion as the Sense required they should. As to the
 Numbring of the Letters and Words, it seems to
 be superfluous enough, both because it is a very
 hard Matter to be certain of it, and that in writing
 or counting there is no Letter forgot; and that
 the Letters may be changed without changing the
 Number; and likewise, because by this Means,
 we cannot be assured of the Correction of the *He-
 brew* Text, but by counting afresh all the Words
 and Letters; which cannot be done without abun-
 dance of Time and Labour. There is certainly a
 great deal of Superstition in the *Massora*; as, the Di-
 stinction and Enumeration of great and small Let-
 ters; the Mystery of those that are suspended,
 turned upside-down, or final Characters; the Words
 pointed above; those that are to be written, and not
 read; and abundance of other Observations, which
 give occasion to the Rabbins to forge Mysteries
 in Things which happened accidentally, and
 where there is no Mystery to be found. All
 that



that is any way useful in the *Massora*, is the fixing of the Punctuation and Reading, the different Readings, and some critical Observations upon the Correction of the Text.

CHAP. XXVIII.


The Keri, and the Ketib.

BUT of all the Parts of the *Massora*, there is none more Useful than the *Keri*, and the *Ketib*. The *Keri* signifies that we must read so ; and the *Ketib*, that it is so written in the Text. Therefore, when we see the Word *Keri* in the Margin, designed by the Letter *Koph*, it signifies that we are to read it again in the Margin, and not as it is in the Text. Ordinarily they take the Points in the Text, to read the Words in the Margin ; and the Rabbins have therefore made themselves particular Rules. The Variation, observed in the Margin, relates to nothing but the Consonants, or entire Words : But besides the Variation that may come from the Uncorrectness of the Text, there are other Places of the *Keri* which are founded upon another Cause ; for in some Passages the Rabbins have on purpose left a Blank Place in the Text, for some Words which they have put in the Margin, with this Note, *Kerive lo Cetib*, that is to say, They ought to be read, though they be not written. And there are other Passages, where they put on the Margin, *Cetibve lo Keri*, that is to say, That they write, but do not read the Word in question, to which they put no Points. But this last comes only from the Superstition of some *Jews*, who believed that they were not to pronounce certain Words that seemed not to be very handsome.

Authors

Authors are no less divided about the Invention of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, than about the other Parts of the *Massora*: Some carry them as high as *Moses*, and the first Authors of the Sacred Books, which is absurd: Others ascribe the Invention to *Ezra*, who, in his Review of the Canonical Books, did, according to them, observe the Differences he found between the Copies he had, by putting one Reading in the Margin, and the other in the Text. But if that were so, why should we find the same Differences observed in the Book of *Ezra*, and *Nehe-miah*, and in those of *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, could they have been any ways in doubt of the true Reading of their own Writing? Moreover, had *Ezra* been the Author of the Marginal Notes of the *Keri*, and the *Ketib*, the *Jews* would have preserved them with Uniformity. But it is certain, that there is a Difference in this Matter, between the *Jews* of the *East*, and those of the *West*; and that they are mixed with divers Observations of the New *Massorets*. Further, if those Marginal Notes had been in the Copies, made use of by the *Seventy*, the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, or by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, when they made their Versions, they would have read and translated according to *Keri*; whereas sometimes they follow the *Keri*, and sometimes the *Ketib*; which shews, that the Reading was not then fixed by any Marginal Note which was looked upon to be of Authority. In short, they never spoke of the *Keri* and *Ketib* in the *Mishnah* or *Gemara*: There they only observe, that there are in the Sacred Books eight Words that are read, and not written, and five which are written, and not read; but there is no Foot-steps of the other Differences which compose the *Keri* and *Ketib*. The *Massorets* have also changed in the *Keri* and *Ketib* the Number of the Words which are read, and not written, or which are written, and not read; for they have added two to the eight, and six to the five last. *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Origen*, and *St. Jerom*, make no men-

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 tion of those Marginal Notes; they are later than those Authors, and are the Work of the *Jews*, who, in reading and comparing their Copies, have set down those Differences in the Margin, partly upon the Authority of the Copies, and partly by their own Conjectures.

As to the Nature of those Differences, we must observe, in the first Place, that they are of small Consequence, and that most times it is of no Importance which of them be followed. Secondly, Though the *Jews* observe, that we must prefer one of the Readings, yet it is not always the best, nor that which the Interpreters have followed; therefore we are not always obliged to follow *Keri*. On the contrary, it is proper to follow the *Ketib*, when it is authorized by the antient Versions, and makes better Sense. Thirdly, All the Manuscript Copies and Editions of the Bible, do not agree in all the Remarks of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, for some have more than others. Fourthly, There are Places where the *Keri*, that is to say, the Reading, which is in the Text, is manifestly vitiated. Fifthly, The greatest Part of the Remarks of the *Keri*, are useless and frivolous, and relate only to the Orthography, Grammar, or other small Matters that signify nothing to the Sense. Sixthly, There are Readings of the *Keri* which are plainly faulty. In fine, the *Massorets* have not observed in the *Keri* all the different Readings or Faults of the Text; for it must be confessed, that many of them have escaped their Diligence. Besides the Differences of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, which are the most antient, there are others between the Eastern *Jews*, that is, those of *Babylon*, and the Western, or those of *Palestine*, who have wrote differently in their Copies; and those may, perhaps, be more antient than the *Keri* and *Ketib*. There are others that have been observed by *Ben Ascher*, a Rabbi of *Tiberias*, and *Ben Naphthali* of *Babylon*, who lived in the Beginning of the eleventh Age. The Western *Jews* did ordinarily follow the Reading of
Ben

Ben Ascher ; and the Eastern *Jews*, that of *Ben Naphthali* ; but the Difference between them is almost nothing but about the Punctuation and Accents, and are many times of no Consequence. Chap. 28.

We must also reckon, among the different Readings, the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or the Corrections of the *Scribes*, which is found in eighteen Places ; and the *Itur Sopherim*, or Retrenchments of the *Scribes*, which consists in five Words, from which they pretend we must cut of the *Van*, as useless. We must take Notice likewise of the Marginal Notes *Sebirin*, that is to say, the Conjectures of the *Masforets*, that we must read in such a Manner. The Difference between those two last Notes and the *Keri*, is, that in the *Keri* they affirm positively we must read so, whereas in the *Sebir*, the Reading is held doubtful, and advanced only by way of Conjecture. But both one and the other are merely founded on the Judgment and Pleasure of the Rabbins, who thought good to determine and conjecture so and so.

In short, notwithstanding the Care and Precautions of the *Masforets*, or *Jews*, who have written or printed the *Hebrew* Bibles, there are still a great many Differences between the Manuscript and the printed Bibles ; which shews, that let them be never so diligent, it is impossible but some Faults will slip in, either in the Copying or Printing of a Work : God would not preserve the Holy Scriptures from that Fate, which is common to all Books. He could not have done it but by a continual Miracle, which was no way necessary for the Preservation of Religion ; for those Variations and Faults have no Influence upon Religion in the least ; they do no Prejudice to the Authority of the Holy Scripture ; they do not hinder, but that we find the Truth of Religion in it, or that we ought to look upon its Authority as Divine.



C H A P. XXIX.

The Cabala.

THE *Cabala*, which we join to the *Massora*, has in its Etymology a Signification opposite to that of the *Massora*; for the one signifies Tradition, and the other Reception; but Custom has determined the Word *Cabala*, to signify a Tradition of hidden and mysterious Things. The *Jews* have a mighty Esteem for this Science, and think they make great Discoveries by Means of it. The *Cabala*, say they, is a noble and sublime Science, conducting Men by an easy Method to the profoundest Truths. It is so much the more necessary, that without it the Holy Scripture cannot be distinguished from profane Books, wherein we find some miraculous Events, and Precepts of as pure Morality as that of the Law, if we did not penetrate into the Truths lock'd up under the external Shell of the literal Sense. God, who is infinite, has been obliged, that he might communicate his Thoughts and Counsels to Mankind, to cloath them in Terms proportionate to the Weakness of their Mind. As Men were grossly deceived, when, dwelling upon the sensible Object, they took Angels for Men; they also fall into Error or Ignorance, when they insist upon the Surface of the Letter or Words, which change with Custom, and ascend not up to the Ideas of God himself, which are infinitely more Noble and Spiritual. Thus the *Cabalists* advance the Excellency and Advantage of their Discoveries.

They make God the first Teacher of this Science in Paradise, and the Angels learnt it of him immediately after the Fall of the first Man. God, indeed, said, *Behold, the Man is become like one of us*. The Mortal Man did not by his Sin become like God; for

for his Crime had sullied his Glory and his Nature, instead of advancing it to a Resemblance of the Supreme Being. But God then shewed the Angels his Son, whom he had Begotten, and who was not like created Intelligences, but like the Divinity. In the mean Time he concealed the Mystery, and the second *Adam*, under the Name of the first, saying, *Adam is become like one of us*. It being of Importance to reveal all these Mysteries to Man, God sent the Angel *Raziel*, who taught him the Truths by Means of the *Cabala*. He assigned Angels for the Instructors of the succeeding Patriarchs, *Jophiel* was *Sem's*; *Raphael*, *Isaac's*; *Metatron*, *Moses's*; and *Michael*, King *David's*. Thus the *Cabala*, is as antient as the World, and descends originally from Heaven.

The *Jews* had Leisure to study it in the Desert, where they had a great deal of Time upon their Hands; and they could not better employ it than in the Meditation of the Divine Attributes. *Moses*, who was instituted in the Mysteries of the *Cabala*, since he had received Lessons from an Angel, and penetrated to the Forty ninth Gate of Prudence, helped to resolve the Difficulties that arise, notwithstanding the Pilgrimages, Wars, and frequent Miseries of the Nation. He laid down, in his first four Books, the Principles of this sublime Science, and of its most exalted Part, which insists upon the Perfections and Essence of God. And therefore, the *Cabalists* find these four Books more masculine and strong than *Deuteronomy*, which they call the *Woman*. The fifth Book, which contains the Death of *Moses*, is less valued than the rest, because the *Cabala* is there wanting. There are some Masters that transmitted it from Hand to Hand: *David* and *Solomon* were most profoundly versed in it; but no Body ventured to write it.

Simeon Jochaides was the first that committed any Thing of it to Paper, and composed the famous Book of *Zohar*, to which a great many Additions have been made. This *Simeon*, it is believed, lived

Book VII. some Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Titus* condemned him to Death; but his Son and he escaped the Persecution, by hiding themselves in a Cave, where they had Leisure to compose the Book we speak of. However, as he was still ignorant of several Things, the Prophet *Elias* now and then descended into the Cave to instruct him; and God miraculously assisted him, by commanding the Words to posit themselves by one another, in the Order that was necessary to the forming of great Mysteries. But all this is Fiction and Dotage; there is no Certainty that *Simeon* lived at the Time of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the Book *Zohar*, it is generally supposed, was made but a short Time before the *Talmud*.


The *Cabala* is ordinarily distinguished into three Sorts: The first, which some conceive to be in Use before our Saviour's Time, is a Mystical, Allegorical, or Analogical Explication of Passages of Scripture, that are not written, but which the Doctors of the Law pretend to have preserved by Tradition, fancying, that *Moses* learnt this mysterious Sense from God himself, that he communicated it to seventy Men, and that it was preserved by Tradition till the Time of *Esdra*s, from whom the other *Jews* learnt it. 'Tis of this *Cabala* that we must understand the Author of the Book of *Cap. 14. 46, 47. Esdras*, when he speaks of certain Things he had written, which God commanded him to preserve, and not to communicate but to the wisest of the People, who had the Spring of Understanding, the Fountains of Wisdom, and the Stream of Knowledge. It is certain, that the *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time, were accustomed to give a mystical Sense to Passages of Scriptures; but we do not find that they supported that Sense by so antient a Tradition. Many times their Allegories, or Morals, were only a Flourish of Wit, and an Effort of their own Invention, as may be seen in *Philo*. It is true, there were Passages that they unanimously understood of the *Messiah*, according to antient Tradition;

tion; but those Passages excepted, it will be difficult to prove, that the mystical Sense, which the first *Jews* gave to some Passages of Scripture, had any Foundation in antient Tradition; so that it is without Reason to suppose an antient *Cabalistical* Art among the *Jews*.

The Second Sort of *Cabala* is not an innocent Art, but a sort of Magick, or Necromancy, in which the impious or superstitious *Jews* employed the Words and Letters of the Scripture, which they distorted and ranked differently for their Use, to make Angels familiar with them, to work Miracles, cure Diseases, chase away Devils, and to work abundance of other Sorceries of the magical Art: For that End, they made Use even of the Holy Name of God. This Art is so far from being any way useful, that it can be looked upon to be nothing else but a damnable Impiety, or criminal Superstition.

The third Sort of *Cabala* among the *Jews*, and which they properly call *Cabala*, is an Art by which they found their mysterious Expositions upon Allusions, Transpositions, Changes, Conjunctions, Abbreviations, Figure, or Arithmetical Value of the Letters. This Art is very obscure in itself, by their Way of expressing it, and their Care of keeping it concealed. The principal Methods they make use of for discovering those pretended Mysteries, are, First, To take the Letters of a Word, and to substitute in their Room as many Words which begin with each of those Letters. Thus it is they pretend to discover the Curse which *Shimei* pronounced against *David*, where it is said in the Text, *That he cursed him with a grievous Curse*, in Hebrew *Nimretseh*. They separate the Letters of this Word, and form of them as many Words, which begin with each of those Letters, viz. *Noeph*, which signifies *Adulterer*; *Moab*, *Moabite*; *Rosseach*, a *Murderer*; *Tsaruch*, *Leprous*; *Toheba*, *Abomination*. Then they conjecture, that *Shimei* cast all those Reproaches upon *David*; that he upbraided him with

1 Kings 2. 8.

Book VII.  his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, with his Descent from *Ruth* a *Moabite*, and with the Murder of *Uriah*; by which he deserved to have been treated as a Leprous, and abominable Man. This is witty, but not solid. The *Cabalists* furnish us with many others. It is by the same Method that they find in *Beresith*, the first Word of *Genesis*, this Sentence, *In the Beginning God saw that the Israelites would accept the Law*, by supposing Words, that begin by the Letter of the Word *Beresith*. They make use also of the final Letters, and according to this Rule they explain this Sentence. The Beginning of your Words is, *the Truth*, because they find the Word *Truth* in the three Words which follow *Beresith*, by taking the three final Letters of them. To this Art we must also refer the Dexterity of forming a whole Sentence out of a single Word, and divers Sentences which begin with the Words of one and the same Phrase.

The second Method made use of by the *Cabalists*, is to join the Letters otherwise, or to transpose or unite them differently one with another. Thus it is they find abundance of Mysteries in this Word *Beresith*; for dividing it into *Barasith*, it signifies, *He hath created the Foundation*; reading it *Bar Aschi*, it signifies, *I will put the Son*. They find abundance of other Things in it, by transposing and joining the Letters in different Manners. This answers to our Anagrams. They take also the Liberty to change Letters, by taking the last of the Alphabet for the first, as they alledge, that *Jeremy* hath put *Sesac* instead of *Babel*, by putting instead of the two *Beths* of *Babel*, which is the second Letter of the Alphabet, the *Ein*, which is the last but one, and in the Place of *Caph*, which is the eleventh Letter descending, the *Lamed*, which is the eleventh ascending.

The third Method, and the most mysterious, is that they call *Gematric*, which consists in explaining a Term by the Arithmetical Value of the Letters. Among the *Hebrews*, all the Letters serve to signify



nify Numbers: They count the Number which the Letters of the Word produce, and afterwards substitute another Word, whose Letters make the same Number. For Example, on those Words of *Zachariah*, *I will bring forth my Servant the Branch*, where the *Hebrew* Word is *Tsemach*, *Rabbi Kimchi* observes, That we must understand the *Messiah* by this Word; and to prove it, says, that the *Messiah* is called *Menahem*, which signifies *Comforter*; and that the *Hebrew* Letters, whereof the Word *Menahem* is composed, make the same Number in the Total, which the Letters do that compose *Tsemach*: By the same Method he finds in the Beginning of *Genesis*, *Beresith, Bara, In the Beginning he created*. This other Sentence he formed in the Law, because the *Hebrew* Words of the one and the other Sentence, form the Number of Nine hundred and thirteen. They pretend also by this Method to divine when a Thing will happen, by counting the Number which the Letters of a Name make up.

The fourth Method made use of by the *Cabalists*, is carefully to observe the Figure of the Letter, and therein to find some Mystery. They draw Mysteries also from this, That Letters were written, and not read, or read, and not written; that they are great or little, suspended or turned upside down, full or defective, pointed above, or accented in an irregular Manner. In a word, there is not the least Trifle, but the *Cabalists* found their Dotages upon it, which have no other Foundation or Rule, but their Fancy and disorderly Imaginations.



CHAP. XXX.

The Academies of the Jews.

THE Schools of the Prophets appeared first in the Time of *Samuel*; but the principal Academies of the *Jews* were erected after the Destruction of the second Temple, either by this Means to supply the *Sanhedrim* and Courts of Justice, whose Jurisdiction was quite extinct, or else to preserve the Law and Traditions, that were in great Danger of being lost through the Dispersion of the People, and Destruction of the Temple. *Jerusalem* being the Centre of Religion, and the Body of the People flocking thither yearly, to perform the weighty Matters and Ceremonies of the Law, it was almost impossible they should forget it. But this Succour failing, together with the Succession of the Priesthood, by the Ruin of the Temple, it was convenient to seek some Remedy for the Care of so great an Evil; and none was found more effectual than the Erecting of Academies, in which the People might be taught the Religion and Laws they were to observe for the future.

It is said, That the first of these Academies was at *Japhne*, which was afterwards called *Ivelyn*, and whither the *Sanhedrim*, say the *Jews*, was transferr'd before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: But it is more reasonable to believe, that this venerable Council was bury'd under the Ruins of the City.


At the same Time there was another Academy at *Lydda*. It was there that St. *George* deliver'd a King of *Lybia*'s Daughter; but this seems to be the History of *Persens*, who deliver'd *Andromeda*, in the neighbouring City of *Joppa*, and was taken by the *Christians* out of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, and put into their *Legend*. The famous *Akiba* was one of the Professors of that Academy, but *Gamaliel* turn'd him

him out from that to *Japhne*, and took his Place. Chap. 30.
But the most considerable Academy in *Judea* at that Time, was that of *Tiberias*. It is somewhat strange, that the Residence of Learning should be transported into *Galilee*, whose barbarous Language made its Inhabitants to be known wherever they went. And yet the Scholars forsook *Japhne* and *Lydda*, to go and study at *Tiberias*, which *Herod* the Tetrarch had built in a Place where they before had bury'd their Dead. There it was that those great Masters, so much revered at this Day among the *Jews*, taught. *Judah* the Saint, and *Chanina*, *Jonathan*, and many others were there. The *Misnah* and *Talmud* of *Jerusalem* were composed in this Academy. It is pretended, that the *Massorites*, who pointed the Bible, taught also at *Tiberias*.

Judah the Saint did a mighty Prejudice to this City, in leaving it for *Sephoris*, or *Diocesarea*. *Herod* had fortified it, as being a fit Place to secure his Tetrarchy; and perhaps *Judah* the Saint chose it as a much quieter Retreat than *Tiberias*. He died there after he had taught in it seventeen Years. The Inhabitants were so excessively afflicted for his Death, that they threaten'd to kill every one that should dare to affirm, that he was not alive; and as the Academies are valued by their Master's Reputation, so this was in great Repute for some Years.

The *Jews* did not fail to erect Academies in the *East*, in Imitation of those that were in *Judea*; about the End of the second Century, they established one at *Sora*, another at *Pundebita*. It would be to no purpose to run over all the other Places, where the *Jews* have had those Schools, since they erected them in those Places, where they enjoy'd the greatest Liberty. The Academies of the *East* flourished longer, and were more famous than those of *Judea*; yet these latter were the most esteemed, because the Doctors, that taught in them, were more moderate: For Disputes in *Judea* were handled with a great deal of Mildness, Love, and Charity; whereas those of *Babylon* were sharp and violent.

S. Urfini, Antiq.
Hebra. Scholastic.
Academic.

Book VII.  lent. For this Reason, the Doctors are put among those three Things, which bear one another an irreconcilable Hatred. This Theological Resentment is too unhappily known among Christians, as well as among the Disciples of the Doctors of *Babylon*.

The Synagogues, that were in the *East*, chose their own Doctors, and presented them to the Chief of the Captivity, who laid Hands upon them. He then had the same Privilege as the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Rome*, that ordained generally all the Bishops belonging to their Diocesses; but the Chiefs of the Captivity being abolished, this Custom has been changed in the *East*, and the People now confer, and it is the common Voice that declares a Doctor. In *Italy* and *Germany*, the most antient Doctors by Word of Mouth gave the Title of *Caver Ran*, the Master's Companion, when he is a young Man, or that of *Ran* when he is aged; and that Word is their whole Ordination. If we go higher than the *Talmud*, we do not only find, that they laid Hands on the Doctors, but they likewise gave them the five Books of *Moses*, with a Key, to shew them, that they had Liberty to open the Mysteries of the Law; and they added, that they had Power to Bind and to Loose, that is, to determine what was lawful or unlawful.

The Power of the Doctors is great among the *Jews*, and they omit nothing that may draw the Veneration of the People. They represent themselves as Men inspired by God, or like the Angels of the Ministry. One of their Maxims is, *That if a Child by the Law is bound to fear and honour his Father, he is yet more obliged to respect his Masters: A Child that sees his Father and Master overloaded with a Burden, or groaning in Bondage, ought to unload his Master, and redeem him from Slavery before his Father.* The Doctors often equal their Power to that of God himself; for they tell their Disciples, *That he who contradicts and fights against his Master's Opinion, in some Measure opposes and fights against*


against the Deity ; and that he who murmurs against a Doctor, murmurs against God ; that he who traduces his Master's Reputation, is the Cause of God's withdrawing from *Israel*. Scholars are not allow'd to salute their Master as other Men, but they must bend their Knee before him. It is a Crime to pray to God, either by his Side, or behind his Back. It is an enormous Sin for a Scholar to set up a School near to that of his Master's ; and he that spits in his Face, deserves to be punish'd with Death. The Doctors taught in a Sitting Posture, but it is not easy to guess what was the Posture of the Scholars. There is a Tradition, that from the Time of *Moses* to that of *Gamaliel* they stood ; and that after this Doctor's Death, they were permitted to sit, by reason of a Sickness which then reigned, and that it was at that Time that the Glory of the Law decay'd, because this Posture was less respectful. Many Doctors have believ'd, that *Jacob* had this Custom in his View, when he foretold, *That the Lawgiver should not depart from Judah's Feet until Shiloh come* ; and that he would thereby shew, that some Disciples should always learn the Law at their Master's Feet.

Chap. 30.

Maimon de Statu
dio Legis, c. 4.

The *Jewish* Doctors have the Care of instructing the People in the Law of *Moses*, and the Traditions of the Elders. They determine what is clean and what is not ; what Meat may be eaten, and what must be abstained from. Their Determinations are commonly received with a great deal of Respect, but yet they cannot easily gain Credit, nor make any one to obey them. They do not receive the Testimony of Laymen, nor ever trade with them. This is enacted by their own Laws ; and they never infringe them, but in Cases of absolute Necessity, which often stirs up the People's Hatred and Rebellion against them. They prohibit Pleading at any foreign Bar or Judicatory, because their proud and haughty Temper is such, as makes them think it a Shame to submit to a strange Power.

These

 These Masters are not satisfied with judging the present Affairs, but they also sell Indulgencies and Powers to the People of delivering them from Hell to all Eternity. And the better to authorize this Sale, and to make it the more considerable, they give out, that by reason of their vast and excellent Knowledge they have of the *Talmud*, the Fire has no Power over them, but, like the *Salamander*, they can live in the midst of the Flames, and not be consumed. They go further, and say, they have a Power to confer this Privilege to others; and this Reason they alledge for it, That as the Altar, which was overlay'd with a thin Leaf of Gold, withstood the Fire for so many Ages, so the *Israelites* sanctified, or consecrated to God, ought much more to enjoy the same Advantage. Women are not allowed by the *Jews* to keep School; lest the Fathers, going to see their Children, should seduce them; nor are they suffered so much as to learn the Law; so that if they study, they receive but little Benefit from it.

C H A P. XXXI.

The Orders of Jewish Doctors. The Tanaites, Preservers of Tradition. The Compiling of the Mishna.

IT is the Opinion of the *Jews*, That God deliver'd two Sorts of Laws upon Mount *Sinai*; one that was written down by *Moses*, and another which he trusted to his Memory, and was transmitted to Posterity by the Ministry of Doctors and Prophets. By the Help of this Distinction they make God say what they please, and give a Divine Authority to their own Imaginations. They have invented a Succession of Fathers, who have

have convey'd down these Traditions, and they Chap. 31.
give them the Name of *Tanaïtes*, or *Tanaans*, that
is to say, *Doctors*. This Word is borrowed from
another, which signifies to *teach*. They are also
called *Mischnaicks*, because the Work of the
Mischna is ascribed to them. And to some of
them they give the Title of *Abba*, which signifies
Father.

They place *Ezra* at the Head of the *Tanaïtes*, Pre-
servers of Tradition; but the Rabbinical Genius will
sufficiently appear by the different Things they relate
of him. Some of them confound him with *Zorobabel*;
others with *Malachi*; since this signifies an *Angel*,
or *Messenger*; and that of all the Messengers of God
to *Jerusalem*, there was none that more eminently
deserved this Title than *Ezra*. Others make him
Cotemporary with *Baruch*, who delivered to him
the Tradition at *Babylon*. And lastly, Some say
he lived in the same Age with *Plato* and *Demos-
thenes*, and yet place him in the Times of *Alex-
ander* the Great, when that Prince made his En-
trance into *Jerusalem*. The *Jewish* Historians are
still less exact about *Simeon* the Just, whom they
make Successor to *Ezra*: They consider him as
the last of the great Synagogue, who survived
all the rest, and preserved the Tradition; and they
confound him with *Jaddua*, who received *Alexander*
the Great into their City; and the better to disguise
him, they make him to succeed *Jehoshua* in the High
Priesthood; nor should we be better instructed in
the *History of the Jews*, if we should give an Ac-
count of all these Preservers of Tradition, down
to *Judah* the Saint, who put it in Writing.

The *Jews*, who neglect other Parts of their His-
tory, are fondly devoted to those Persons who
have preserved their Tradition, as if the Honour of
their Church and Nation depended solely upon it.
They load them with extraordinary Actions; their
Lives abound with Miracles; and their Writers
think it a particular Duty incumbent upon them, to
preserve, at least, their Names. These Doctors,
they

Book VII. they say, are frequently assisted by the *Bath Kol*, or *Daughter of a Voice*; and they ascribe to them the Privileges of speaking to Angels, the Power of commanding Devils, and restraining Sorcerers. To each almost of these *Tanaites* are allotted some particular Precepts, as to each of the Apostles some *Christians* have ascribed an Article of the *Creed*. The Doctors of the great Synagogue, established by *Ezra*, commanded *not to precipitate Judgments, to make many Disciples and Ordinances*. This is what they call a *Hedge of the Law*. *Simeon* the Just, one of the *Tanaites*, said, *The World was built upon the Law, upon religious Worship, and upon the Retribution of Benefits*. He meant by that, that Men ought to study the Law; to offer abundance of Sacrifices, and to be charitable. It was in the same Sense, that *Jose*, the Son of *Jochanan*, said, *That the Door of the House was to be opened that was towards the Highway, that the Poor might enter*. But he adds, *That a Man ought to have but little Commerce with his own Wife, and none at all with another Man's*. And the Wisemen have confirmed this Maxim by saying, *That he that speaks often to Women, brings many Evils on himself; is diverted from the Study of the Law, and throws himself into Hell*. This may serve as a Specimen of the Maxims delivered by the *Tanaites*: They are all generally Precepts of Morality, useful for the Support of Society, and the Regulation of human Life.

The Business of these *Tanaites* was to study and descant upon those Traditions, which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the Men of the great Synagogue, and to draw Consequences from them: All which they engrafted into the Body of these antient Traditions, as if they had the same Sanction of Authority with the other. Which Example being afterwards followed by those who succeeded them in this Profession; they continually added their own Fancies to what they had received from those that went before them; by which Means these Traditions became as a *Snow-Ball*, the farther they



they rolled from one Generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the Bulk of them grew. Thus it went on to the Middle of the second Century after Christ, when *Antoninus Pius* was Emperor of *Rome*, at which Time they found it necessary to put all these Traditions into Writing ; for they were so numerous, and so much enlarged, that they could no longer be preserved by the Memory of Men. And besides, upon the second Destruction, which their Country suffer'd from the *Romans*, a little before, in the Reign of *Adrian*, the preceding Emperor, most of their learned Men were cut off, and the Chiefest of their Schools dissolved, and Numbers of their People were driven out of their Land ; so that the usual Method of preserving their Tradition had then in a great Measure failed. It being therefore probable, that under these Disadvantages, all might be forgotten and lost ; to prevent this Danger, it was resolved that the Traditions should be collected together, and committed to Writing : And Rabbi *Judah*, the Son of *Simeon*, who, from the reputed Sanctity of his Life, was called *Hakkadosh*, that is the *Holy*, and was then Rector of the School which they had at *Tiberias*, and President of the *Sanhedrim* that sat there, undertook the Work, and compiled it in six Books, each consisting of several Tracts, which, all together, make up the Number of Sixty three ; in which, under their proper Heads, he digested methodically, all that had to this Time been deliver'd to them concerning their Law and their Religion by the Tradition of their Ancestors. This is the Book, called the *Mischnah*, which was immediately received by the *Jews* with great Veneration through all their Dispersions, and has ever since been held in high Esteem among them. They believe that all the Particulars contained in it, were dictated, by God himself to *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, as well as the written Word itself, and consequently is of the same Divine Authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed.



CHAP. XXXII.

The Gemara, the Talmud of Jerusalem, and the Talmud of Babylon. Sebureans, or Doubters ; Gaons, or Excellents.


JUDAH the Saint, had no sooner compleated the *Mischnah*, but one Rabbi *Chua*, jealous of his Glory, publish'd, before his Eyes, and in his Life Time, quite contrary Traditions : A Collection was made of them under the Title of *Extravagants*, and they were inserted with the *Mischnah*, to compose one and the same Body of Law.

Notwithstanding the Collection made by *Judah* seemed to be a compleat Work, yet two considerable Faults were observed in it : One, That it was very confused, the Author having reported the Opinions of different Doctors, without naming them, and determining which of these Opinions deserved the Preference : The other, which rendered this Body of Canon Law almost useless, That it was too short, and resolved but a small Part of the doubtful Cases and Questions that began to be agitated among the *Jews*.

To remedy these Inconveniences, *Jochanan*, with the Assistance of *Rab* and *Samuel*, two Disciples of *Judah* the Saint, wrote a Commentary upon their Master's Work, which is called the *Talmud* of *Jerusalem*, either because it was composed in *Judea*, for the Use of the *Jews* that remained in that Country, or it was written in the common Language that was spoken there. The *Jews* are not agreed about the Time that this Part of the *Gemara*, which signifies *Perfection*, was made : Some believe it was two hundred Years after the Destruction,

tion of *Jerusalem*, others reckon but a hundred and fifty ; and maintain, that *Rab* and *Samuel*, quitting *Judea*, went up to *Babylon* in the two hundred and nineteenth of the *Christian Æra*. However, these are the Heads of the second Order of Doctors, called *Gemarists*, or rather *Amorajim*, because they composed the *Gemara*, which Work cannot be dated till after the Time of *Dioclesian*, because that Prince is mentioned in it. Chap. 32.

There was also a Defect in the *Gemara*, or *Jerusalem Talmud* ; for it only contained the Opinion of a small Number of Doctors. Besides, it was written in a very barbarous Language, which was spoken in *Judea*, and was corrupted by the Mixture of strange Nations ; for which Reason the *Amorajim*, or *Amoreans*, that is, Commentators, began a new Explication of Traditions. Rabbi *Afa* undertook this Work, who kept a School at *Sora* near *Babylon*, where, after he had taught forty Years, he produced his Commentary upon *Judah's Mischnah*. He did not finish it, but his Sons and Scholars put the last Hand to it. This is called the *Gemara*, or the *Talmud* of *Babylon*, which is preferred before that of *Jerusalem*. It is a large and vast Body, containing the Tradition, the Canons of the Law of the *Jews*, and all the Questions relating to the Law. In these two *Talmuds* (the Law and the Prophets being in a Manner excluded by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewish* Religion, that is now professed by that People. Different have been the Opinions of learned Men concerning the *Talmud*, or the Body of the Canon Law and Tradition. The *Jews* equal it with the Law of God : Some *Christians* value it excessively ; others condemn it to the Flames, as a detestable Book, and full of Blasphemies ; and a third sort, observe a just Medium between all these Sentiments. Upon the whole it may be said, That the Doctors who made these Collections of Traditions, taking Advantage of the Ignorance of their Nation, threw upon the Paper whatever came into their Heads,

 without troubling themselves with common Sense, or with reconciling themselves with foreign History, to which they were utterly Strangers.

Though the *Talmud* was received with a general Applause, if we believe the *Jews*, yet there started up a new Order of Doctors that shook its Authority by their Doubts. They were called *Sebureans*, or *Opiners*, and were looked upon by the *Jews* as so many *Scepticks*, because they disputed without determining, and finding only Probability on all Sides, that can be taken of different Questions, they argued *pro & contra*. These *Opiners* were succeeded by other Masters, called *Gaons*, *Sublime* or *Excellent*s, which Title was not acquired by them, till they had given some eminent Proofs of their Merits. The Chief of them were made Heads of the Academies; and the others were dispersed in the Provinces, where there were Refugees of their Nation. There they were consulted upon all Questions that arose, and were considered as Interpreters of the Law, and their Decisions were received as Oracles. In the mean Time, as each Province, independent of one another, had its *Excellent*s, the Laws of each Doctor were received only in the Place where he had Credit and Authority.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Thirteen Articles of the Jewish Creed.

IN speaking of the Religion of the *Jews* since their Dispersion, it may be proper to insert in this Place the Publick Confession, and the Fundamental Articles of their Faith, as they are established and believed by the general Consent of this People. The *Jews* commonly reckon but thirteen Articles of their Faith. *Maimonides* reduced them to this Number, when he drew up their Confession, about the End of the eleventh Century of the *Christian Æra*. It was universally allowed, and all *Jews* are obliged to live and die in the Profession of it. A Commentary has been since added to it, to explain some Places that are too short.

I.

I Believe, with a firm and perfect Faith, that God is the Creator of all Things ; that he guides and supports all Creatures ; that he has done every Thing ; and that he still acts, and shall act, during the whole Eternity. The *Commentary* adds, That *whatsoever he hath erected shall return into its primitive Nothing by his good Pleasure; but that his Essence shall no ways be alter'd.*

II.

God is one. There is no Unity like his. He alone hath been, is, and shall be eternally our God. The *Commentator* adds, That *he is, not a Being that comprehends any different Genus's under it,*

Book VII. *it, as a Being that may be divided into different Parts, or as a Body capable of Addition and Dimunition: His Unity is absolute and perfect, and no other Essence can be compared to it.*

III.

God is is not Corporeal. He cannot have any material Properties; and no Corporeal Essence can be compared with him. The *Commentator* says upon this Article, That *God can neither go, nor stop, nor speak, &c. and that the Scripture only ascribes to him these Corporeal Actions, to comply with the mean Capacity of Mankind.*

IV.

God is the Beginning and End of all Things, and shall eternally subsist. The *Commentator* adds, That *God is Eternal, and that all other Principles have had a Beginning and Being in Time.*

V.

God alone ought to be Worshipped, and none but him ought to be Adored. The *Commentary* observes, “ That to remove Idolatry, which is
“ condemned by the Law, and all the Scripture,
“ neither Angel, nor Saint, nor Planet, nor any
“ other Creature, ought to be worshipped; and
“ that no Mediators or Sollicitors between God
“ and Men ought to be set up. ”

VI.

Whatever has been taught by the Prophets is true.

VII.

The Doctrine and Prophecy of *Moses* are true: He is, the Father and Head of all the Doctors that lived before or after, or shall live after him.

VIII.

VIII.

The Law that we have was given to *Moses*. The *Commentator* adds, *The Oral Law, as well as the Written.*

IX.

This Law shall never be alter'd, and God will give no other. The *Commentator* forbids adding or taking away any one Point of it.

X.

God knows all the Thoughts and Actions of Men.

XI.

God will regard the Works of all those who have performed what he commands, and punish those who have transgressed his Laws. The *Commentator* places this Reward in Heaven, or in *Eternal Life*, and the Punishment in Hell.


XII.

The *Messiah* is to come; and although he stays a long Time, I will wait for him till he comes. The *Commentator* adds two Things: One, "That whosoever doubts of the Coming of the *Messiah*, accuses the whole Law of Lies and Falshood:" The other, "That the Time of his Coming ought not to be looked for in Scripture: And therefore the Sages were mightily in the Right to say, May he be burst who reckons the Times of the *Messiah*."

XIII.

The Resurrection of the Dead shall happen when God shall think fit: Blessed and glorified eternally be the Name of the Creator, *Amen.*

Book. VII.

 The *Commentator* concludes with with these Remarks, “That whosoever embraces these Fundamental Articles of Faith, ought to be looked upon as a *Jew*, and to be beloved and pitied : That if he is guilty of those Sins which flow from natural Corruption, or the Impetuosity of the Passions, God will punish him in this World, but that he shall obtain eternal Life. And that whoever rejects any of these Fundamental Articles, plucks up what God hath planted, and deserves to be cast out of the Congregation, and abhor’d as an *Epicurean*. ”



T H E



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B O O K V I I I .

C H A P. I.

*The Canon of the Holy Scriptures of
the Old Testament, published by
Ezra. The Books contained in the
Canon of the Jews.*



THE Collection of Books, that are
looked upon as the Foundation of
our Religion, goes under different
Names: They are styled *Sacred* or
Divine Books, *Holy Writ*, *Holy Scrip-
ture*, or simply, *the Scriptures*, *the Old
and New Testament*; and lastly the *Bible*, which at
present is become the more common Appellation.
They are called *Holy*, *Sacred*, and *Divine Books*, be-
cause they treat of Religion: They contain the Com-
mandments of God; nothing can be more holy, no-
thing

Book VIII. thing more sacred: They are likewise styled *the Scriptures*, by way of Eminence, because no other Book is comparable to it. They are called a *Testament*, as they are a solemn Declaration of the Will of God towards Men, which contains his Laws, his Precepts, his Promises, and the Covenant which he contracts with them. The most usual Name is that of *Bible*, taken from the *Greek Word* βιβλία, signifying *Books*. It does not appear, that the Antients ever made use of this Name; and it is not long since it became so common, as to be made a proper Name, which is almost the only one in Use in our Vulgar Languages, and which is set in the Front of the Old and New Testament under this Title, *The Bible*, or *Holy Bible*.

The Books of the Bible are called *Canonical Books*, because they are in the Catalogue of those Books which are looked upon as sacred, to which the Name of *Canon* is ascribed. They are opposed to such Books as are called *Apocryphal*, which either are not acknowledged as Divine Books, or are rejected as heretical and spurious. The first Canon, or Catalogue, of the Sacred Books, was made by the *Jews*; but who was the Author of it, is not so certain. The five Books of *Moses* were, questionless, collected into one Body, within a short Time after his Death; since *Deuteronomy*, which is an Abridgment of the other four, was laid in the Tabernacle near the Ark, according to the Command he gave to the *Levites*. So that the first Canon of the Sacred Writings consisted only of the five Books of *Moses*. There were no more added to them, till the Division of the Ten Tribes; since the *Samaritans* acknowledged none else. Notwithstanding, since *Moses* there were several Prophets, and other Writers divinely inspired, who composed either the History of their Times, or Prophetical Books, and Divine Writings or Psalms to the Praise of God; but it cannot be discover'd, that any Time before the Captivity they were collected into one Body, and comprised under one and the same Canon. It is evident, That in our Saviour's Time
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Deut. 31. 24.

the Canon of the Holy Writings was already drawn up, since he cites the Law of *Moses*, the Prophets, and the *Psalms*, which are the three Sorts of Books, of which that Canon is composed, and which he often styles the *Scripture*, or the *Holy Scripture*.

It is generally received, That *Ezra* was the principal Author of this Canon, though *Nehemiah* had some Share in it; and that he re-established, corrected, and order'd the Sacred Books to be written in new Characters. This *Ezra*, by Virtue of a Commission he had from the King of *Persia*, was the great Reformer of the *Jewish* Church, after the Model of the Law of *Moses*, in which he was exquisitely skilled, and settled it upon that Foundation, on which it afterwards stood to the Time of *Christ*. The chief Things he had to do, were to restore the Observance of the *Jewish* Law according to the antient Establishment, as it obtained before the Captivity under the Directions of the Prophets, and to collect and publish a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures. To accomplish these Designs, he had, say the *Jews*, the Assistance of a certain Assembly of Doctors, who met at that Time to regulate the Affairs of Church and State. There is nothing more famous in the Books of the *Rabbins* than this Assembly, which they call, by way of Excellency, the *Great Synagogue*, to distinguish it from all others. This they tell us, was a Convention consisting of one hundred and twenty Men, who lived all at the same Time under the Presidency of *Ezra*, and among these they name *Daniel*, and his three Friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, as the first of them, and *Simon* the Just, as the last; though from the last Mention we have of *Daniel* in the Holy Scriptures, to the Time of *Simon* the Just, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty Years. But the Truth of the Matter seems to have been this; These hundred and twenty Men, it may be supposed, were such principal Elders as lived in a continued Succession from the first Return of the *Jews*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, to the Death of *Simon*

Ezra 8. 9, 10.

Book VIII.

 *Simon* the Just; and in their several Times employ'd themselves in restoring the Usage of the *Levitical* Rites; and in collecting the Books of the Holy Scriptures; which excellent Purposes were finished in the Time of *Simon* the Just. And *Ezra*, no doubt, had the Assistance of such among them as lived in his Time: But the whole Conduct of the Work, and the Glory of accomplishing it, is ascribed by the *Jews* to *Ezra*, under whose Administration it was done. Upon this Account, they look upon him as another *Moses*: For the Law, they say, was given by *Moses*, but it was revived and re-established by *Ezra*, after it had been almost extinguished in the *Babylonish* Captivity. Him therefore they call the *Second Founder of the Law*; and it is commonly believed among them, that he was *Malachi* the Prophet; that he was called *Ezra* as his proper Name, and *Malachi* (which signifies an *Angel*, or *Messenger*) from his Office; because he was dispatch'd by God to restore again the *Jewish* Religion, and to settle it upon the Foundation of the Law and the Prophets, as it stood before the Captivity. This Person was of so great Esteem and Veneration among the *Jews*, that it is a common Saying among their Writers, *That if the Law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy by whom it should have been declared.*

The Usages of the *Jewish* Church, which had been practised before the Captivity, had been collecting by *Joshua* and *Zerubabel*, with the chief Elders their Contemporaries, from their first Return to *Jerusalem*, as they could be recover'd from the Memories of the Antients of their Nation, who had either seen them practised themselves before the Captivity, or had been informed of them by their Parents and Ancestors that lived before them. All these, and whatever else was pretended to be of the same Nature, *Ezra* brought under a Review, and after due Examination, having settled them by his Approbation and Authority, they gave Birth to what the *Jews* now call their *Oral Law*.

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But the great Work of *Ezra* was, his collecting and publishing a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures ; for which Purpose, he procured as many Copies of the Sacred Writings as he could, and out of them all, he designed to set out a correct Edition. His first Care was to rectify all the Errors that had crepp'd into these Copies, through the Negligence or Mistakes of former Transcribers ; for, by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true Reading, which he confirm'd and establish'd.

He proceeded to collect all the Books, of which the Holy Scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper Order. *Josephus* is the first Writer who sets down distinctly the Number of Books contained in the Canon of the *Jews*. What he says upon this Subject, is to be found in his first Book against *Appion* : “ Our Books, says he, are written
“ after such a Manner, as none can find fault with,
“ and, as it were, through a kind of Necessity ;
“ for to write, is not allowed to all Mankind ; and
“ there is no Contradiction in our Books, because
“ they were composed by Prophets, who wrote
“ exactly what was deliver'd to them by Divine In-
“ spiration, concerning Things which had already
“ happen'd in antient Times, or which were to
“ come to pass hereafter. There is not therefore a
“ great Number of Books among us which clash
“ one with another, and wherein any Contradictions
“ are to be found. We have only two and twenty
“ Books among us, which are to be believed as of
“ Divine Authority, and which comprehend the
“ History of all Ages. Five belong to *Moses*, which
“ contain what relates to the Original of Man, and
“ the Tradition of the Succession or Generations
“ of Man down to his Death, which takes in the
“ Compass of about three thousand Years. From
“ the Death of *Moses* to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*,
“ who was King of *Persia* after *Xerxes*, the Pro-
“ phets, who succeeded him, have in thirteen Books
“ written what happen'd in their Time. The other
“ four

Book VIII.



“ four Books contain Hymns to the Praise of God,
 “ and Precepts for the Conduct of human Life.
 “ There is likewise written what happen’d since
 “ *Artaxerxes*, down to our Times ; but the Writers
 “ of them have not met with the same Credit, be-
 “ cause there was no certain Succession of Pro-
 “ phets during that Time. Now it is easy to per-
 “ ceive, why such a Credit and Respect is paid to
 “ our Books ; since, in so long a Tract of Time,
 “ no Man has ever ventured to add any Thing to
 “ them, or to diminish or alter any Thing of them ;
 “ for the *Jews*, from their Infancy, are accustomed
 “ to call them *Divine* Instructions, to believe them,
 “ and, upon Occasion, to lay down their Lives in
 “ Defence of them.”

Thus we perceive *Josephus* divides the Sacred or Canonical Books of the *Jews* into three Classes: The first contains the five Books of *Moses*. The second, thirteen Historical and Prophetical Books, written from the Time of his Death, to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*. And the last, four Books of Hymns, or of Morality. Since he only names the five Books of *Moses*, which compose the first Class, there may arise some Difficulty about those of the other Classes, and particularly about the thirteen which are contained in the second: For as to the four which are in the third, there is no Question to be made, but they are the Book of *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*. Among those which ought to be ranked in the second Class, there are but two of them which occasion any Difficulty, and those are the Books of *Job* and *Esther*. For there is no doubt but that are actually contained the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, with his *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and of the twelve minor Prophets. But whereas those Books alone make up the Number thirteen, it may be supposed, that *Josephus* did not own the Authority of the others ; and by this Means, according to him, the Books of *Job* and *Esther* are shut out of
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the *Jewish* Canon. But on the other Side also, Chap. 1.

since it is known that the *Jews*, not to exceed the Number of their Letters, have joined the Book of *Ruth* to that of *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, that so they might make two instead of four Volumes, the Books of *Job* and *Esther*, might very well make one of the thirteen Books which *Josephus* places in the second Class of the Sacred Writings. But there are other Reasons which seem to question whether *Josephus* acknowledged these two Books as Sacred: As first, Because he makes no Mention of the History of *Job* in his *Antiquities*, which it may be supposed he would have done, if he had esteemed it as a Sacred Book. To this it may be answer'd, That he omitted it only because it had nothing to do with the History of the *Jews*, about which his Writings were principally concerned. And secondly, Because he, in his *Antiquities*, places the History of *Esther* under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, and there asserts, that all the Sacred Books were penn'd between the Time of *Moses* and the Reign of *Artaxerxes*: But this is to be understood of the Time exclusively, since he says, that the Books that were written under the Reign of that Prince, and since him, do not stand upon the same Authority.

St. *Jerom* has given an Account of the Number and Division of the Canonical Books, as they were owned by the *Jews*. He distributes them into three Classes: The first, includes the five Books of *Moses*, which are called *the Law*. The second, contains the Books of *the Prophets*, being eight in Number, viz. the Book of *Joshua*, the Book of *Judges*, to which, says St. *Jerom*, they join the Book of *Ruth*, the Book of *Samuel*, otherwise called the *First* and *Second* of *Kings*, the Book of *Kings*, which contains the two last Parts of that Volume: Next are the Books of the three greater Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, which are three distinct Books; and that of the twelve lesser Prophets, which make but one single Tome. The third Class, contains



contains those Books which they call *Hagiographa*, or *Holy Scriptures*; of which the first is the Book of *Job*; the second is the *Psalms* of *David*; the three next are the Books of *Solomon*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*; the sixth *Daniel*; the seventh the *Chronicles*; the eighth *Ezra*, divided into two Parts by the *Greeks* and *Latins*; and the last is the Book of *Esther*. Thus, says that Father, all the Books of the Old Testament among' the *Jews* are two and twenty, of which five belong to *Moses*, eight to the Prophets, and nine to the other Holy Penmen. Some reckon four and twenty, by separating *Ruth* from *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* from the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, and placing them in the Number of Holy Writings. This *Preface*, adds he, may serve as a *Head* or *Introduction* to all the Books which we have translated from the *Hebrew*; and we are to take notice, that whatever is not contained in the Number of these Books, is *Apocryphal*. From hence it follows, that the Book of *Wisdom*, commonly ascribed to *Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, said to be composed by *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Pastor*, do not belong to the Canon, no more than the two Books of the *Maccabees*, of which one was in *Hebrew*, and the other (as appears plainly from the Style) was written in *Greek*. Thus *St. Jerom* has accurately explained the Canon of the Scriptures, which were received by the *Jews*. He agrees with *Josephus* as to the Number of the Books contained in the Canon, but places no more than eight in the second, and nine in the third Class. He likewise reckons among the Canonical Books, that of *Esther*, which *Josephus* seems to have excluded out of that Number, as has been already observed.

The *Jewish* Canon, is generally call'd the *Canon* of *Ezra*; but it is certain, that all the Books were not received into the Canon of the Scriptures in his Time; for *Malachi*, it is supposed, lived after him; and in *Nehemiah* mention is made of *Jaddua* the High-Priest, and of *Darius Codomannus* as King of

of *Persia*, who lived at least a hundred Years after his Time. It is most probable, that the two Books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added in the Time of *Simon* the Just; and that it was not till then that the *Jewish* Canon of the Holy Scriptures was fully compleated. And, indeed, these last Books seem very much to want the Accuracy and Skill of *Ezra* in their Publication, for they fall short of the Exactness to be found in the other Part of the *Hebrew* Scriptures. There are some Authors who pretend that the *Jews* have since made one or more Canons; and that they have added to the former the Books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, and the *Maccabees*: But it is most evidently true, that the *Jews* had no other Canon but that of *Ezra*, nor confessed any other Books for sacred, but those it contains. The two Assemblies of the Synagogue, which, as it is invented, were held for that Purpose, are mere Chimæra's; nor has any antient Writers said any Thing of them. The *Jews* have named the particular Books of Scripture, from the Word with which they begin. Thus with them *Genesis* is called *Beresith*; *Exodus*, *Veellesemoth*; *Leviticus*, *Vai-cra*; and so of the rest.

CHAP. II.

The Text of the Scriptures not lost, during the Captivity in Babylon, but was Revised, and Corrected by Ezra.

THE Story related by the Author of the Second Book of the Apocryphal *Esdras*, (a Chap. 14. Book too absurd for the *Romanists* themselves to receive into their Canon,) That *Esdras*, or *Ezra*, having taken with him five *Scribes*, and gone to a Place of Retirement, where, in forty Days, he dictated to them many Volumes by Divine Inspiration, occasioned some of the Antients to look

Book VIII. upon him as the Restorer of the Holy Books of the Bible, and to assert that all the Copies of the Sacred Books were lost during the Captivity; and that *Esdra*s, being divinely inspired, restored them by his Memory. This many of the *Christian* Fathers, *St. Irenæus*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *St. Basil*, and some others of the Antients, seem to have believed., but without any Foundation at all; for besides that the Book, above-mentioned, is full of Fables, it is not said, even there, that the Books which *Esdra*s composed in his Retirement, were the Books that made up the *Jewish* Canon; and it is altogether incredible, that all the Copies of the Sacred Books should be lost during the Captivity. Indeed, in the Time of *Josiah*, through the Impiety of the two preceding Reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, the Book of the Law was so destroyed, and lost, that besides that Copy of it which *Hilkiab* found in the Temple, there was then no other to be had; for the Surprise that *Hilkiab* is said to be in at the finding of it, and the Grief which *Josiah* expressed at the hearing of it read, do evidently shew, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the King and the High-Priest, who were both Men of eminent Piety, were without this Part of the Holy Scripture, it can scarce be supposed that any one else was possessed of it: But so religious a Prince as King *Josiah*, could not long leave this Misfortune unremedied. By his Order Copies were immediately written from this Original; and Search being diligently made after the other Part of the Holy Scriptures, both in the Colleges of the Sons of the Prophets, and all other Places where they could be found, Care was taken for Transcripts to be made out of these also. And thus Copies of the whole became common among the People: All such as were desirous to know the Law, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them.

Besides, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, and many more of the *Israelites*, who were pious and good Men, were

were transported to *Babylon* with King *Joachim*, eleven Years before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and can it be supposed that none of those Captives carried the Sacred Books with them? and that no Copy of them was preserved during the Captivity? *Jeremiah* remained in this Country after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple; and shall we believe that neither he, nor any of those who staid with him, preserved Copies of the Holy Books? It is certain that *Daniel* had the Books of *Moses* during the Captivity of *Babylon*, because he says in the ninth Chapter, (speaking to God,) *All the People of Israel have transgressed thy Law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy Voice; therefore the Curse is poured upon us, and the Oath that is written in the Law of Moses, the Servant of God, because we have sinned against him.* And a little after, *As it is written in the Law of Moses, all this Evil is come upon us.* There is likewise mention, in the Book of *Daniel*, of the Prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. They must then have had Copies of them during the Time of the Captivity. It is said in the sixth Chapter of *Ezra*, that the Building of the Temple was finished in the sixth Year of King *Darius*; and that the Priests and Levites were established in their Functions, according as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. But how could they do this according to the written Law, if they had not Copies of that Law then among them? And this was near sixty Years before *Ezra* came to *Jerusalem*. In the eighth Chapter of *Nehemiah*, when the People called for the Law of *Moses*, to have it read to them, they desired that he might bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded Israel; and it is said that *Ezra* forthwith brought the Book of the Law, and read it before all the People. The *Jews* had not only the Copies of the Sacred Books that were in the Tabernacle and the Synagogues, but had a great many other Copies, which they kept carefully, and had them read in their Families; how then can we imagine that in seven-

ty Years Time all those Copies were utterly lost, so that not one of them should be left remaining? The Priests and the Levites had a particular Obligation to read and preserve the Sacred Books: Their Duty required it, and it was their Interest that they should be preserved. Can we reasonably suppose, that they would suffer them to be lost by Negligence, or that they wickedly delivered them all up? and that not so much as one single one did escape? It is the greatest Absurdity in the World.

The learned Doctor *Abbadie*, a *Frenchman*, in his excellent *Treatise of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, urges this Matter further: It is certain, says he, that with all my Industry I cannot discover what Motives of Self-Interest could have put *Ezra* upon such a Design, as framing a new Model of the Holy Scriptures. It may at first View seem probable, that he might have intended the promoting the Glory of his Religion, by inventing several Miracles to make it appear of a Divine Authority; but this Thought will vanish into Air, by considering that the miraculous Matters of Fact, together with the Circumstances of them, which are contained in the Pentateuch, were so generally well known by the Prophets frequent Repetitions of them, so essentially linked and interwoven with the Law of *Moses*, and so deeply imprinted, both in the Practice and Remembrance of the *Jews*, that it would be a mere Chimera, to fancy they can possibly have been counterfeited.


All the Benefits *Ezra* was like to reap from such a Work, was the Hazard he would have run of being looked upon as a Sacrilegious Corrupter of the Holy Scripture; for Men's Niceties are very well known in this Case, those, I mean, who not being over devout, are glad enough of any Pretence not to obey the Scriptures, but yet would not endure the least Alteration in them. And none can be ignorant that the Scruples of the *Jews* in this Respect, were always so great as to intrench upon Superstition itself.

It is not likely that *Ezra* should have composed a new Scripture in Behalf of the *Levites*, because the *Levites* enjoyed no Privileges after the Days of *Ezra*, but what they did before his Time: For that there were *Levites* before that Time, and that those *Levites* had the Tythes of all the Possessions of the *Israelites* before the Captivity, we are fully convinced of by the Writings of *Nehemiah*, and of the Prophets. Besides, the Genealogies of the Priests being preserved in the same Families with so much Exactness, that Tribes being deprived of all Inheritances in the *Holy Land*, and several other Things, are a more perfect Confirmation of the same.

Had *Ezra* ventured upon such an Enterprize, barely to raise the Glory of his Nation, doubtless, he would have omitted speaking of the Ten noted Murmurings of the *Israelites*, and would not have been so zealously careful to relate the prodigious Stubbornness and Hardness of Heart of that People.

Had his Affection for *Moses* been the principal Cause of his Writing, he would have forbore from representing *Moses* sometimes as a Murderer, and as Incredulous and Disobedient to the Law of God.

Had he intended to honour the Memory of his Ancestors, by inventing some Circumstances which he thought might turn to their Glory, he would certainly have omitted such as were reproachful to them. It was a very great Credit for the *Levites* to have it published, that *Levi* the Head and Father of their Tribe, by a deliberate and premeditated Perfidiousness with *Reuben*, had murdered the *Shechemites* in cold Blood, and by that Act had drawn upon himself *Jacob's* Curse, mentioned in the Book of *Genesis*. It was not at all for the Advantage of the ten Patriarchs to have it known, that they so basely sold their Brother *Joseph*, or for the *Israelites* that they had worshipped the *Golden Calf*. Thus it appears, that none of all those Advantages could have moved *Ezra* to aspire to the Title of being the

Book VIII. Author of the Pentateuch, but that rather it would
 have proved much against his Interest every Way.

It is certain that any Man that should, in these modern Times, take upon him to reform the *New Testament*, or should pretend to new model the Writings of the Apostles, would certainly miscarry in his Undertaking, unless he were able to work the very same Miracles as the Apostles formerly did. And the same must needs have been the Fate of the like Attempt in *Ezra*; for though the *Jews*, who returned from *Babylon* with him, should so far have confided in him, as to allow of it, yet those *Jews* who remained in the Land of *Canaan* to inhabit the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, would not easily have been prevail'd upon to consent to it.

Besides, it seems very probable, that *Ezra* would in that Case have been less severe to those *Jews* who took strange Women to their Wives, and were afterwards obliged to send them back again with their Children they had by them. And if he had not valued the Affections of the People, it is probable he would, at least, have had some Regard for the Priests, thereby to bribe them (if I may so speak) whose Consent he ought in Policy to have courted at any Rate: Yet he he dealt alike with the People, and with several of the Children of the Priests whose Names are inserted at the latter End of his Book.

But though we should suppose that the Body of Priests, as having an Interest in such a Reform as *Ezra* intended to make of the Scripture, had given their general Consent to have it new modelled, yet, at least, it appears that *Ezra* could not have concealed his Design from those Priests, nor from the People of the *Jews*; for since several of them wept at the Sight of the Second Temple, because it stirred up in them the Remembrance of the Magnificence of the former, which their own Eyes had seen, so we cannot imagine that the long Continuance of their Captivity could have blotted out of their Minds the Notions they had of their Scriptures, or that
they



they were so ignorant of the Law which they had amongst them before *Ezra* returned from from *Babylon*, as that *Ezra* could have imposed upon them in that respect.

Since therefore, *Ezra* could not make a new Scripture without the Knowledge of the People, and of his Enemies too, he must of Necessity have contrived some plausible Pretence or other, that God had order'd him so to do, or that the Scriptures were corrupted; and instead of concealing his Intent, he would rather have publish'd it himself, nay, he would have wrote it. Yet we find nothing like this, when we peruse his Book: Every Thing in it tends rather to expell that Notion from our Minds. In it we are inform'd, that the *Jews*, who were brought back by *Zerubbabel*, had preserved the Book of the Law; that *Ezra* made it his Business only to understand it; and that he expounded it to the People. But lest it should be thought that *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* together had unanimously alter'd and inserted in it whatever Matters of Fact they pleased, we read at the latter End of the Book of *Nehemiah*, that he made a second Reformation after that of *Ezra*, which he himself relates, in these Words; *I con-* Neh. 13. 35.
tended with them, says he, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and pluck'd off their Hairs; and there was one of the Sons of Johiadah, the Son of Eliashib the High Priest, therefore I chased him from me. From thence any one may easily judge, whether *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* could any manner of way have either changed or new formed the Scripture, without being discover'd by those Priests they had so severely used; and they would certainly have taken the Opportunity of revenging themselves, by pulling them down under such plausible Pretences. So far that Learned *Frenchman*.

Ezra, in his Edition of the Holy Scriptures, took Care in many Places, through the several Books, to add what appeared necessary to illustrate, to connect, or to compleat them; and in this he was assisted by the same Spirit, by which they were at

Book VIII. first written. Among these Additions may be reckon'd the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which giving an Account of the Death of *Moses*, and of the Succession of *Joshua* after him, it could not be written by *Moses* himself, who undoubtedly was the Penman of all the rest of that Book. It seems most probable, that it was added by *Ezra* at this Time; and such also may we conceive to be the several Interpolations which occur in many Places of the Holy Scriptures, which were under his Examination; and in the other Books, the other Illustrations were inserted by *Simon* the Just. But these Additions do no way detract from the Divine Authority of the Whole, because they were all made by the Direction of the same Holy Spirit, which dictated all the rest. This, as to *Ezra*, is beyond Dispute, he being himself one of the Divine Penmen of the Holy Scriptures. He was certainly the Writer of that Book in the Old Testament which bears his Name, and is upon good Grounds supposed to be the Author of two more, that is, of the two Books of *Chronicles*; as perhaps also he was of the Book of *Esther*. And if the Books written by him be of Divine Authority, why may not every Thing else be so, which he has added to any of the rest, since there is all Reason to suppose that he was as much directed by the Divine Assistance in the one, as he was in the other. The great Importance of the Work proves the Thing; for as it was necessary for the Church of God, that this Work should be done, so was it equally necessary for the Purpose, that the Person appointed to execute it should be thus assisted in the compleating of it.

This great Reformer likewise changed the old Names of several Places, that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new Names, by which they were distinguished at that Time, that the People might the better understand what was written. Thus *Abraham* is said to have pursued the Kings, who carry'd *Lot* away Captive, as far as *Dan*, whereas the Name of that Place was *Laisb*, till the *Danites*,
long

Gen. 14. 14.
Josh. 19. 47.



long after the Death of *Moses*, possessed themselves of it, and called it *Dan*, after the Name of *Dan* their Father: And therefore it could not have had this Name in the Original Copy of *Moses*, but it must have been afterwards inserted upon this Review. And so in many Places in the Book of *Genesis* and *Numbers*, we have Mention made of *Hebron*, whereas the Name of that City was *Kiriath-Arba*, till *Caleb* having obtained Possession of it, after the Division of the Land, called it *Hebron*, after the Name of *Hebron*, one of his Sons; and therefore, that Name could not be in the Text, till it was placed there, by way of Exchange, a long Time after the Death of *Moses*.

Ezra wrote out his whole Edition of the Scriptures in the *Chaldee* Character; for that being chiefly used among the People, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* Character for it, which has since that Time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preserved to this Day. In this, say some, did *Moses* and the Prophets record the Sacred Oracles; and in this the Finger of God wrote the Ten Commandments upon the two Tables of Stone. Others strenuously contend for the Antiquity of the present *Hebrew* Letters, as if they, and none other, had been always the Sacred Character, in which the Holy Scriptures were written; and that the *Samaritan* was never in Use for this Purpose, but only among the *Samaritans*, who in Opposition, say they, to the *Jews*, upon the Account of the Hatred between them, wrote out the Law of *Moses* (which is the only Scripture they receive) in this Character different from them. These are the principal Points, wherein the Reformation of *Ezra* was concerned, when he took upon him to publish a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. III.

*The Hebrew Text of the Scriptures
was not corrupted by the Malice of
the Jews.*

TH E R E are many Authors, who have accused the *Jews* of maliciously corrupting the Text of the Sacred Books, and pretend to found their Charge upon the Authority of the antient Fathers of the Church. Some of them indeed, at the first View, seem to intimate, as if the *Jews*, out of Hatred to the *Christians*, had been guilty of such false Practices. *Justin Martyr*, *St. Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, have laid something like this at their Doors, and two Passages of *St. Chrysostom* are quoted, particularly upon this Subject. “The *Jews*, says he, deservedly lie under Suspicion of wickedly and craftily corrupting many Things, and industriously concealing the Mysteries foretold by the Prophets ; but the Seventy, who were called together to interpret the same above a hundred Years before the Coming of our Lord, are vindicated from all such Suspicion.” And in another Place, willing to give a Reason, why those Words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, cited by *St. Matthew* as the Saying of a Prophet are not now to be found in the Prophets ; he says, “We are not to wonder at it, because the *Jews*, who were negligent and impious, have suffer’d to be lost by neglect, or burnt, or torn many of the Works of the Prophets.” But this is no Charge, that the *Jews* have falsified the Sacred Books that we have now, but that they lost and suppressed those we have not.

Homil. 8. in
Matth.

Homil. 9. in
Matth.

But on the contrary, it is certain that the *Jews* always entertained a particular Respect for the Sa-
cred

ered Books contained in their Canon, and were persuaded it was criminal to add to them, or to diminish from them. *Philo*, quoted by *Eusebius*, assures us, That they preserved the Books of *Moses* in their Purity, without having changed so much as one Word of them. And *Josephus* testifies, That the *Jews* have so great a Respect for the Sacred Books, that, for a long Succession of Ages, none among them durst presume to diminish, or to add to them. It is upon this Account, that St. *Justin* brings in *Trypho* the *Jew*, saying, (according to the Maxims of those of his Sect) “ That they were “ so far from corrupting the Sacred Scriptures, that “ all of them believe it would have been a more “ enormous Crime, than to worship the Golden “ Calf, to consecrate their Children to Idols, to “ make them pass through the Fire, to sacrifice them, “ or to kill the Prophets.” The *Jews* have always preserved, and do still maintain this solemn Respect for the Books of the Bible: They transcribe them with all Precautions imaginable to make their Copies true; and they read them with great Exactness in their Synagogues. “ I will not, says *Cu-* Lib. 1. cap. 18.
 “ *neus*, ambitiously celebrate the Praises of the
 “ *Jews*, for I abhor nothing more than such Vanity; yet as to these latter Times, the Truth is,
 “ if we cast up the Account rightly, our Religion
 “ is much indebted to that People; for, who are
 “ they, but the *Jews*, that have preserved for us the
 “ Sacred Volumes of the Bible safe and sound?
 “ How many Mistakes had stolen into the Holy
 “ Scriptures, had the Custody of them been committed only to such as *Lactantius*, *Austin*, *Gregory*, *Chrysostom*, most holy Men indeed, but unskilful in the *Hebrew* Tongue: Among all the
 “ *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers that governed the antient Church, *Origen*, and (to speak the most)
 “ *Jerom* were the only *Hebreans*; the rest never
 “ learned so much as the very Letters: So that if the
 “ Carelessness of the Transcribers had committed
 “ any Faults, they were not the Men that could
 “ make

Book VIII.


“ make amends. But this was the principal Study
 “ of the *Jews*, and their sole Care to vindicate
 “ the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, and the
 “ other Holy Writings from the Injuries of Time,
 “ This is their proper Character, in which no other
 “ Nation can claim a Share. ”

If the *Jews* had corrupted the Holy Scripture out of Malice to the *Christians*, in order to deprive them of the Arguments and Evidences that were necessary to prove the Authority of their Religion, they would certainly have falsified the Texts which contain the Predictions of *Christ*, and such as were opposed to them by the *Christians*; but those Passages have continued in their Original Purity, and are sometimes more express in the *Hebrew* Text, than in the Vulgar Translation. Yet, if we should allow, that the *Jews* would have corrupted the Copies of the Scriptures, it was morally impossible that they could do it; for how should they conspire together to carry on such a Design? How could they, when dispersed over the Earth, agree in all Places upon the same Falsification? Is it possible, that all of them should have consented to that Fraud, and that none of them should oppose it? How could they falsify all the Copies, without leaving so much as one in its Original Purity? Allowing they could have accomplished their Design, in respect of the Copies which they had in their Possession, how could they have corrupted those that were in the Hands of Christians? All these Suppositions are equally unwarrantable.

Besides, it seems to have been the particular Concern of Providence, not to suffer that the Books of the Bible should be corrupted by the Malice and Perfidiousness of the *Jews*, especially in those Predictions which related to *Jesus Christ*: For one of the strongest Proofs of the Truth and Antiquity of those Prophecies, is, That they were preserved and respected by an antient People, who hate, and are no ways in Agreement with us: They give Testimony to the Antiquity and Truth of the Books which
 confound

confound themselves, and demonstrate the Truth of our Religion ; so that St. *Austin* might well say, When the *Pagans* will not believe that the Predictions concerning *Christ*, which we relate, are true, and maintain that we have forged them, we have nothing to do, but to refer them to the *Jews*, who are the Enemies of our Faith, and preserve these Books, wherein those Prophecies are to be found.

It is impossible to think that the *Jews* that were converted to Christianity, did not preserve Copies of the Sacred Books. The *Nazarenes*, who were a Sect of Christians very much addicted to the Old Law, did, without question, also keep Copies of them. The *Jews* had never these Copies in their Power to corrupt them, though after the Taking of *Jerusalem* there were but few Christians, who preserved the *Hebrew* Tongue. It cannot be said, however, that they did not keep the *Hebrew* Copies, and that no Christian learned that Language. *Hegeſippus*, who lived a little after the Apostles, and of a *Jew* became *Christian*, did certainly understand *Hebrew*, as *Eusebius* observes. He had without all doubt the *Hebrew* Copies of the Old Testament, and many other Christians of *Palestine*, originally *Jews*, must certainly understand to read the Bible in *Hebrew*. So that the *Jews* could never have falsified their Copies, without being detected. From the Twelfth Year of the Emperor *Adrian*, the *Hebrew* Text was conformable to that which we have at present, as appears by that Version of *Aquila*. That Corruption then must have been introduced between the Taking of *Jerusalem*, and the Beginning of the second Age, that is, in about thirty or forty Years ; and it cannot be supposed, that within that Time, when there were still so many converted *Jews* in *Palestine*, none of them should have secured the Copies they had uncorrupted. Can it be believed, that the *Jews* could in so little Time suppress all the Copies of the *Hebrew* Text, and substitute counterfeit ones in their Places ? The *Hebrew*

 brew Text, which *Origen* inserted some Time after in his *Hexapla*, was agreeable to that which we have still. In short, in the Time of *St. Jerom*, the *Jews* and the *Christians* had the same *Hebrew* Text that we have at present. And the Version of *St. Jerom* is a certain Evidence, that no considerable Change has been since made in it since that Time, and by consequence, that the *Jews* have not corrupted it. And besides, the uncommon and scrupulous Diligence of the *Massorites* must have contributed greatly to the Preservation of the Text in its original Purity.

But still it must be confessed, that though the *Hebrew* Text has not been maliciously falsified by the *Jews*, yet we are not to maintain, That the Text is in its original Purity, and that it is not corrupted in any Place. This is to suppose, that the *Jews*, who copy'd it, were never mistaken; that they never put one Letter for another; that they always pointed the Text right; or that they have preserved the Text without the least Fault from the Time of *Moses*, or from *Ezra*, till now, that is, that they are infallible, and not subject to Error in their Reviews, Pointing, and Copying of the Sacred Books; and that they were not incident to Negligence nor Surprise; which can proceed from nothing but a peculiar Assistance from God, and a sort of continual Inspiration. This is not only to speak without all Evidence, and contrary to all Probability, but we have good Proof to the contrary; for, among other Reasons, it is certain, that there have been Differences between the Oldest of the *Hebrew* Copies, which the *Massorites* have observed by that which they call *Keri* and *Ketib*, and putting one of the Readings in the Text, and the other in the Margin; we have the different Readings of the *Jews* of the *East*, and those of the *West*; of *Ben-Ascher* and *Ben-Naphtali*; and the Manuscript Copies of the Bible are not always alike.

But though we cannot say that the *Hebrew* Text is without Fault, yet it must be owned that there
is

is no considerable Mistake, that effects either Doctrine or Manners. Most of the Differences between the Originals and the Versions, consist only in different Expressions which are more or less clear, and which agree better or worse with what goes before and comes after, which make the Sense more or less perfect. The *Hebrew* Text contains in no Place a dangerous Falshood, nor a manifest Error. And therefore, those sort of Faults do no way invalidate or diminish the Authority of the *Hebrew* Text, nor do they hinder but that it may pass for Authentick, and as the Rule of our Faith and Manners. Those different Readings, and small Faults, which are usually to be found in all Books Sacred and Profane, both in the Text and in the Versions, do not prevent our Certainty, having the Authentick Works of the Authors, nor hinder our knowing their true Sentiments. To infer then, because the Original Texts of the Scriptures have been subject to the common Law of all other Books, and that small Faults are crepp'd into them by the Inadvertency or Neglect of the Copiers; to infer from thence, that we have not at present any more of the Word of God or the Holy Scriptures divinely inspired, would be as great a Folly as his, who should maintain that we have not now the Works of *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, or *Livy*, because there are Faults and Defects in all those Works. To lay this down as a Principle, is to overturn the Foundation of all our Historical Knowledge, and to introduce an unwarrantable Scepticism.



CHAP. IV.

Of the Apocryphal Books.

De Civit. Dei.
lib. 15.

IT was the Opinion of St. *Austin*, That though we find in the Apocryphal Writings some Truths, yet they have no Authority, by Reason of the many Falsities contained in them. “They are not, says he, in the Canon of the Scriptures, which was preserved in the Temple by the Carefulness of the Priests, who succeeded one another, because they were suspected by them, and not known whether they belong to those whose Names they bore. This they conjectured from their not being produced by such Persons of whom an Assurance might be had, that they had been preserved by them in a Lineal Descent or Succession: This made them think that they belonged not to those whose Names are inscribed on them, since *Hereticks* produce several Tracts under the Name of the Prophets and Apostles, which are distinguished from those that have Canonical Authority, by the Term *Apocryphal*.” So that according to this Father, a Book is *Apocryphal*, because its Authority is not established by a clear and credible Testimony. St. *Jerom* declares, “That the Apocryphal Books do not belong to those whose Names are in the Titles, and that they contain several Forgeries.” In other Places he seems to restrain the Word *Apocryphal* to the Books of *Hereticks*. Others pretend that the Books are *Apocryphal*, because they were *concealed*, and not commonly or publickly read.

Epist. 2. ad Læ-
tam.

The Books of the Old Testament, which were always looked upon and received as Canonical Books, both by *Jews* and *Christians*, are the five Books of *Moses*, viz. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*,

Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy ; the Book of *Chap. 4.*
Joshua, the Book of *Judges*, the Book of *Ruth*,
the two Books of *Samuel*, the two Books of *Kings*,
Isaiah, *Jeremiah*, with the *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*,
Daniel, (excluding the History of *Susannah*, of *Bel*
and the *Dragon*, and the Song of the *Three Chil-*
dren,) the twelve Lesser Prophets ; the Book of
Job, the Book of *Psalms*, the three Books of *So-*
lomon, viz. *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles* ;
the two Books of *Chronicles*, and the two Books
of *Ezra*, or rather one of *Ezra*, and one of *Nebe-*
miah. The Books whose Authority have been
questioned, are the Book of *Esther*, (though many
Jews and *Christians* have owned it,) *Baruch*, and the
Books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, with
the two Books of the *Maccabees*.

Some are of Opinion, that the Book of *Esther*
was included in the Canon of the *Jews* ; but ac-
cording to others, it was not. It is certain that
St. Jerom, and other *Christian* Writers, did insert
it among those which were of the *Jewish* Canon.
It is not found in the Canons of *Melito*, *St. Atha-*
nasius, and others ; but yet we meet with it in those
of *Origen*, in the Council of *Laodicea*, and in the
Writings of many Fathers of the Church, particu-
larly *Clemens Romanus*, in his Epistle to the *Co-*
rinthians, applauded the Conduct of *Esther*. Which
is Evidence, that this Book was known and esteem-
ed by the *Primitive Christians*. The six last Chap-
ters, beginning at the fourth Verse of the tenth
Chapter, are not in the *Hebrew* Text. *Origen* be-
lieves, that formerly they were in it, and were af-
terwards lost ; but it is more probable that they were
a Composure of several Pieces collected by the *Hel-*
lenistical Jews, and which were added by the Au-
thor of the *Greek* Version. *St. Jerom* deservedly
throws this Part of *Esther* out of the Canon of the
Sacred Books.

The Book of *Baruch* was not acknowledged by
the *Jews*, because it was not written in *Hebrew*.
It is joined to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* by many

Book VIII. of the antient Fathers, and is often cited by them under the Name of that Prophet.

It is observed by *Origen*, that the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith* were not received by the *Jews*, nor so much as placed among their Apocryphal Writings. These Books met with better Reception from the *Christians*; for they were read to the *Catechumens*, as containing a plainer and less elevated Doctrine than the rest: They were allowed to be read in the Churches, for the Edification of the Faithful, tho' they were not believed to be authentick enough to establish and support any Articles of Faith. St. *Jerom*, who excludes the Book of *Tobit* from the Canon, and places it among the *Jewish* Apocryphal Books, yet took the Pains to translate it, and speaks very favourably of it, in the Preface of his Version.

Epist. 7. & 103.
ad Paulin.

The Book of *Judith* is not only thrown out of the antient Catalogue of Sacred Writings, but is not so much as cited by the antient Fathers, who notwithstanding frequently applaud the Bravery of this Woman. St. *Jerom*, indeed, calls it a *Sacred Volume*, and joins it to the Books of *Ruth* and *Esther*; *Ruth, Esther, & Judith, tantæ gloriæ sunt ut sacris Voluminibus nomina indiderint*. But it is certain that this Father did not keep always to the same Language concerning the Books which are not in the *Jewish* Canon; for those which in some Places he pronounces *Apocryphal*, in others he expressly cites as *Sacred Writ*.

The Books of *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus* are inserted in the antient Catalogues among the useful Books, that are read in the Church for Edification, but are Uncanonical; and though they are often cited by many Fathers as Holy Scripture, it does not follow from hence, that they are Canonical Writings. On the Contrary, *Origen*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Hilary*, place them among the Apocryphal; and St. *Basil*, in his Preface to his Commentary on the *Proverbs*, says expressly, "That there are but three Books which belong to *Solomon*." And in other Places, he gives sufficient Hints that he never
looked

looked upon the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* as fit to be inserted in the Canon of the Church. Chap. 4.

The two Books of the *Maccabees* are cast out of the Catalogue of the Sacred Books by most of the antient Fathers; but St. *Austin*, speaking of the Action of *Razis*, who killed himself, has this Expression concerning these Books: "The *Jews* do not admit of the Books of the *Maccabees*, as they do of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. But the Church receives them; and they are not un- useful, provided they be read, and understood with some Caution and Restriction: They are likewise very valuable upon the Account of the History of the Seven Brethren, who suffered under *Antiochus* the Tyrant."

A Part of the Book of *Daniel*, containing the Prayer of *Azarias*, and the Song of the *Three Children* in the *Fiery Furnace*, which begins at the twenty fourth Verse of the third Chapter, and ends at the ninety first, were entirely thrown out of the Canon of the Scripture, and rejected by the *Jews*; nor did they admit of the History of *Susannah*, related in the thirteenth Chapter; and of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, in the fourteenth and last. These Subjects are not in the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* Text, nor in the *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint*, but are taken out of the *Greek* Version of *Theodotion*, in *Daniel's* Prophecy, as St. *Jerom* observes in his Preface, and in the Note he has made on those Places. These Narrations have not only been accounted Uncanonical, but esteemed Fabulous by most of the Fathers of the Church.



CHAP. V.

The Divisions of the Books of the Old Testament, and the Order they were placed in by the Jews.

THOUGH the Distribution of the Books of the Old Testament into several Classes be a Thing arbitrary, yet it may be proper to inquire into the Method that has been most common and generally followed. The *Jews* made three Classes of the Canonical Books : The first, of the *Law*, containing the five Books of *Moses*, which they call *Thora* : The second of the *Prophets*, called by them *Nevijm*, which comprehends the other Historical Books, with the Prophecies : And the third, of the *Hagiographa*, or Sacred Writings, which they called *Cetuvim*, containing Hymns or Psalms to the Praise of God, with the Pieces of Morality. But according to *Josephus*, the second Class takes in thirteen Books, and the third no more than four : Whereas, according to *St. Jerom*, the second Class contains but only eight, and the third nine, because he has placed in this last the Book of *Job*, that of *Daniel*, (whom the *Jews* thought fit to strike out of the Number of the Prophets,) the *Chronicles*, the Book of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and the Book of *Esther*. In this Distribution, *Ruth* is joined with *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* with the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*. Several of the *Rabbins*, and the *Septuagint*, reckon up four and twenty Sacred Books, that they might be conformable to the Letters of that Alphabet ; wherein they repeated the Letter *Jod* three Times in Honour of the Name of *Jehovah*, which the *Chaldees* wrote by *Jods*. It is for this Reason that the *Jews*, at this Day, do commonly make use of the Name of *Four-*
and-

and-twenty, to signify the *Holy Scriptures*, because it is comprised in four and twenty Books. Some have reckoned seven and twenty, by separating all the double Books; and that they might have Characters to mark them, they added to the usual two and twenty Letters, the five *Finals*, viz. *Caph*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Pe*, and *Tsaddi*, which are of a different Figure at the End, from what they are in the Beginning or Middle of Words.

In this Distribution of Sacred Books into three Classes, they have assigned a distinct Class for the Books of *Moses*, because he was their first Lawgiver and Founder of their Religion. The second Class consists of two Parts, containing four Books each: The former they style *Antient Prophets*, *Nevijm Rasconim*, viz. *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and the Books of *Kings*: And the second, *The more Modern Prophets*, *Nevijm Abbaronim*, which are *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve lesser Prophets. The third Class comprehends not only the Book of *Job* and the *Psalms*, which are poetical Pieces, and the Books of Morality, that is, the three Tracts of *Solomon*, but also the Book of *Daniel*, (who is not reckoned as a Prophet by the *Jews*,) and the Historical Books of the *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehe-miah*, and *Esther*. These Books are styled *Hagio-grapha*, or, as they term it, *Honcabh Hascodisch*, that is, Books written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to distinguish them from the former, which they call *Prophetical*; for the *Jews* make a Distinction between Prophecy and Divine Inspiration. “Pro-
 “ phesy, says *Mamonides*, is a Revelation made to More Nevoch.
 “ Men in a Dream; or when they are in an Extasy; c. 45.
 “ or by some Vision and Representation; or, lastly,
 “ by a Voice: Whereas Divine Inspiration is con-
 “ veyed to Persons who are endued with a Sound-
 “ ness and Presence of Mind, who speak as other
 “ Men, and in whom nothing extraordinary ap-
 “ pears, but who are inspired by the Holy Ghost,
 “ that enlightens their Minds, and suggests Words
 “ to them, by which they praise God and improve
 P 3 “ Men,

Book VIII. "Men, and even foretel Things to come."

But if this Distinction be allowed, the Book of *Daniel* has no reason to be excluded from the Prophetical; for he was a Man who had many Visions and Apparitions in his Sleep. The latter *Jews*, who count four and twenty Canonical Books, place *Ruth* and the *Lamentations* among the *Hagiographa*. The *Rabbins* have made Allusions of these three Classes of Sacred Books with the three Parts of the Tabernacle or Temple: The Law of *Moses*, they say, is correspondent with the *Holy of Holies*, where the Ark and the Book of the Law were deposited: The Book of the Prophets, with the *Holy Place*, where the Table, the Candlestick, and the Golden Altar were: And the *Hagiographa* to the *Court of the Temple*, where was the Altar for whole Burnt-Sacrifices. They have many other trifling Notions, which carry neither Soundness nor Advantage with them.

Though the *Jews* are not agreed about the disposing of the Books in each Class, yet they all place the five Books of *Moses* in the Front. The Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, and *Kings*, were those that were placed next the second Class of the antient *Jews*. But the Moderns have taken *Ruth* from thence, and joined it with the *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, and *Esther*. They have made of them a sort of a second *Pentateuch*, which they place after the *Proverbs*.

The Order of the other Prophets in the antient *Jewish* Canon runs thus; *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve lesser Prophets. The *Talmudists* place *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* before *Isaiah*, but the *Massorets* keep to the usual Method. The former place *Ruth* before the *Psalms*, and the Book of *Job* after them, just before the *Proverbs*: *Daniel*, *Esther*, and the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* are the last of the *Hagiographa*.

CHAP. VI.

*Books cited in the Old Testament,
that are lost.*

IT is certain, that there are many Books cited in the Old Testament which are entirely lost a long Time ago, and which were not inserted in the *Jewish* Canon; though the Number, I think, is not so great, as some Learned Men have alledged. The first of these Books commonly named upon this Occasion, is, *The Book of the Covenant*, mentioned in *Exodus*, which though some fancy is lost, is supposed by others not to be a distinct Book from the Body of the *Jewish* Laws. If we impartially weigh the Place, we shall find that it is no other than a Collection or Volume of those several Injunctions and Institutions, which we read in the preceding Chapters, which God deliver'd to *Moses* on the Mount. It is the very same with *the Book of the Law* mentioned in *Deuteronomy*. That which has caused a different Persuasion in some, is this, That these *Laws* are called a *Book*: But it is evident, that this Appellation is of a great Latitude, and is apply'd to any sort of *Writing* by the *Hebrews*. Exod. 24. 7.

The *Book of the Wars of the Lord* is supposed to be now wanting. To which Opinion, the Answer given by some is, That this was an Apocryphal Author, and so cannot be said to belong to the Holy Scriptures. But tho' this Way of Solution be tolerable, when made use of as to some other Books hereafter mentioned, yet I think there is no need of using it here; because it is not unlikely, according to the Judgment of Dr. *Lightfoot*, that *Moses* refers here to *himself*, and a *Book* of his own Composing: Chap. 20. 21, 22, 23.

For we read, *That upon the Discomfiture of Amalek, God commanded Moses to write it for a* Chap. 31. 9.

Numb. 21. 14.

Chronic. of the Times of the Old Testament.

Exod. 17. 14.


Book VIII. *Memorial in a Book, and (as it follows) to rehearse it in the Ears of Joshua.* So that it may seem to have been some Book of Directions written by *Moses* for *Joshua's* managing of the Wars after him. Thus this Learned Writer makes this Book only to be of private Use, and dictated by an Ordinary, not a Divine Spirit, wherefore it cannot be one of the Books of the Bible; and if this be true, though it be lost, yet no Canonical Scripture is lost hereby. But perhaps it may be found reasonable to believe, that the Book in this Place mention'd, is one of the received Books of the Old Testament, and no other than the Book of *Judges*, which deservedly has the Name of the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, because it recounts those warlike Enterprises which those Heroick Spirits, stirred up by God in an extraordinary Manner, were famous for. *The Wars of the Lord* may signify as much as the *Great, Wonderful, and Renowned Wars*, (for perhaps the Name of God is used here, as in several other Places, to augment the Sense, and to express the Greatness and Excellency of the Thing,) fought by the valiant *Hebrews*. To any one who consults the Text, together with the twenty sixth Verse of that Chapter, it will plainly appear, that this Passage particularly refers to the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth Verses. But if it be ask'd, How *Moses*, who was dead long before, could write this; it may be answer'd, That though he undoubtedly writ the Book of *Numbers*, as well as the rest of the *Pentateuch*, yet some few Passages in this, and the other Books, may reasonably be supposed to be inserted afterwards by some other inspired Persons, as I have had Occasion to advertise in another Place. *Ezra*, it is probable, revising this Book, added this of *what God did in the Red Sea, and at the Brooks of Arnon*. And to give full Satisfaction upon this Subject, it may be observed, That though we translate the Text thus, *It is said in the Book of the Wars*, yet, in the Original, the Verb is in the Future

Future Tense, *It shall be said*; and so we may look upon it as a Prophecy of *Moses*. He foretells in this Place, *That afterwards it shall be commemorated how God fought for his People*. When there shall be at solemn Times a Rehearsal of the *Hebrew Wars*, then this Passage shall be called to mind, and made mention of: And then we must look upon these two Verses, not as cited out of the Book of *Judges*, but proposed to be inserted there afterwards. The plain Answer then is, That *the Book of the Wars of the Lord* is the Book of *Judges*, together with that of *Joshua*, where are related the Particulars of the Holy War, that is, the Wars of the *Hebrews* against the *Infidels*; and that in one of these it shall be particularly remember'd and recorded, *What God did in the Red Sea, and in the Brooks of Arnon*; and accordingly we find it inserted in the fore-cited Place in the Book of *Judges*.

Another Book, said by some to be lost, is *the Book of Jasher*, mentioned in the Scriptures. But some of the most celebrated *Hebrew* Doctors say they have found it, telling us, That it is the Book of *Genesis*, wherein are contained the Acts of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and the other Patriarchs, who were, by way of Excellence, called *Jasherim*, the Just. But that Man must be easily satisfied, who can acquiesce with this Interpretation. Dr. *Light-foot* holds the Book of *Jasher* to be the same with that which I asserted the *Book of the Wars of God* to be: But there is little Foundation for it; for though the particular Narrative of the *Sun's standing still* be in the Book of *Jasher*, (as we learn from the Text,) yet there is no Intimation that all *Joshua's Wars*, or the Wars of the *Israelites* were register'd there. This Book, according to *Grotius*, was a Triumphal Poem: But *Josephus* seems to bid fairest for the Truth, who says, *That by this Book are to be understood certain Records kept in some safe Place on purpose, and afterwards in the Temple, giving an Account of what happen'd among the Hebrews from Year to Year, and particularly the Prodigy of the Sun's*

Josh. 10. 13.
2 Sam. 1. 18.

Antiq. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

Book VIII.  Sun's standing still, and *Directions and Laws about the Use of the Bow, that is, the Setting up of Archery, and maintaining Military Exercises.* If it be enquired why the Title given to these *Hebrew Annals* was the Book of *Jasher*, that is, the *Upright*, this may be render'd as a Reason, Because it was by all Persons reckon'd as a very *just* and authentick Account of all those Events and Occurrences which it recorded, it was composed with great *Uprightness* and Truth, thence it was commonly known by the Name of *Jasher's Book*, or *Chronicle*. It was not the Work of any inspired Person, but was of the Nature of common Civil *Annals*; and consequently, we cannot infer *from hence*, that any Book properly belonging to Holy Scripture, that is, that was written by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is at this Day missing.

Learned Men differ about the Works of the Authors hereafter mentioned; but the most reasonable Conjecture is, That the Books cited under their Names, were Memoirs composed by them, or rather they were Prophecies intermixed with Historical Narrations which are utterly lost.

- 1 Chron. 29. 29. The Acts of *David the King*, we are told, were written in the Book of *Samuel the Seer*, and in the Book of *Nathan the Prophet*, and in the Book of *Gad the Seer*. The Acts of *Solomon*, first and last, are said to be written in the Book of *Nathan the Prophet*, and in the Prophecy of *Abijah the Shilomite*, and in the Visions of *Iddo the Seer* against
- 2 Chron. 9. 29. *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat*. The Acts of *Rehoboam*, first and last, were written in the Book of *Shemaiah the Prophet*, and of *Iddo the Seer*, concerning Genealogies. The Acts of *Jehosaphat*, first and last, were written in the Book of *Jehu*, the Son of *Hanani*. The Book of the Journals, or *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, are certainly different from the *Paralipomena*, or the *Chronicles* now extant with us. The three thousand *Proverbs* which were written by *Solomon*, and a thousand and five Songs, and a great many Tracts concerning

concerning Plants and Animals, composed by the same Author are lost. The Acts of *Manasseh*, and his Prayer unto God, and all his Sins and his Trespas, and the Places wherein he built High Places, and set up Groves and Graven Images, before he was humbled, behold they are written in the Sayings of the Seers: So it is render'd in our Translation. In the Original, it is in the Sayings of *Chozai*, who it is supposed was a Prophet, that wrote the particular History of the Sins and Repentance of *Manasseh* the King of *Judah*; and, perhaps, the Prayer of *Manasseh*, still extant in the *Apocrypha*, was taken out of this Work. *Jeremiah* speaks himself of a Volume of Prophecies which he had dictated to *Baruch*, concerning the Wrath of God denounced against the *Jews*, and the City of *Jerusalem*; which Book was cut to Pieces, and cast into the Fire by King *Jehoakim*. *Jeremiah* coming to understand it, order'd those Prophecies to be written over again, and added to them several fresh Denunciations against the King of *Judah* and his People. Some think this Piece to be the same with the *Lamentations*. This Prophet, in another Place, makes mention of a Prophecy he had composed, concerning the Ruin of *Babylon*, which he order'd *Seraiah*, when he went to *Babylon*, to fasten to a Stone and cast into the River *Euphrates*.

Now concerning these Books, cited in the Old Testament, if it be asked whether they are Canonical, it is plain that they are not so in the Sense wherein we have explained it, that is, they were never inserted in the Canon of the *Jews*. None of these Pieces are now extant; nor if they were now remaining, and we were well satisfied of their Antiquity, can any one tell whether they should be included in the Canon. Nor can any one be satisfied whether they were written by Divine Inspiration, or were only of Human Invention. When *Ezra* drew up the Canon of the Sacred Books, he could not insert into it those that were lost before his Time, nor ought he to insert those that were doubtful,

Chap. 6.

2 Chron. 33. 18, 19.

Cap. 36.

Cap. 5. 11.

Book VIII.



ful, spurious, or adulterated. He! only inserted such as had been manifestly composed by the Prophets, penn'd by Divine Inspiration, and acknowledged as such by an universal and unanimous Consent. But it is not necessary, for this Reason, to say that there were never any other Books divinely inspired; and that there were not any others, even in his Time, but those that are inserted in the Canon, since there might have been some of them lost; and among those that remained, and he rejected, there might have been some divinely inspired Writings, but of whose Genuineness and Inspiration he was not well assured. This Canon has, indeed, fixed and determined the Number of Books that ought to be acknowledged as Sacred and Divine; but it has not included, in general, all those that are penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, at least, such a Thing cannot positively be asserted. Nor can it be said, for certain, that all those which are cited in the Sacred Books, nor that all the Books composed by the Prophets, were of Divine Inspiration. To this purpose St. *Austin* has this useful Distinction: "The Penmen of the Sacred Scripture, says he, writ some Things, as they are Men, with Historical Care and Diligence; other Things they write as Prophets, by Inspiration from God. This then may satisfy us, that all that was written by the Prophets, and even by those Holy Men who were Authors of some Part of the Bible, was not Canonical and Divine, because they writ some Things not as inspired Persons, but as mere Historians. It would, says *Origen*, (in his Preface of his Commentary on the *Canticles*,) be an invidious Task indeed, and nothing to our present Purpose, to make an Inquiry about those Books, of which mention is made in the Holy Scriptures, which are not at Present extant, and which are not so much as used by the *Jews* themselves. Whether the Holy Ghost thought fit to craise them, because they contained such Things as were above the Reach of vulgar Capacities; or whether

De Civit Dei,
l. 28. c. 38.

“ ther they were of the Number of *Apocryphal* Chap. 6.
 “ Books, and contained in them several Interpola-
 “ tions and Things contrary to the Faith ; and
 “ for that Reason, were not admitted into the
 “ Canon, nor allowed to be authentick, it is
 “ not for us to determine any Thing on this Sub-
 “ ject : However, it is evident that the Evangelists
 “ and Apostles have related several Instances, in-
 “ serted in the New Testament, which are not to
 “ be met with in the Canonical Scriptures, but in
 “ the Apocryphal, from whence it is plain that
 “ they took them ; yet we are not upon this Ac-
 “ count, to reckon the Apocryphal Books as au-
 “ thentick, since it is not proper that we should
 “ break through the Limits which our Forefathers
 “ have assigned us. The Apostles and Evangelists,
 “ who were filled with the Holy Ghost, knew
 “ very well what ought to be taken out of those
 “ Writings, and what ought to be rejected ; but
 “ for us, who have not the same Fulness of the Di-
 “ vine Spirit, we cannot without great Danger pre-
 “ tend to any such Thing.”

The principal Reasons that can be given how these Books came to be lost, are thus expressed by *St. Chrysostom*, in the ninth Homily upon *St. Matthew* ; where he observes, that several Monuments of the Prophets are lost, as may be proved from the *Chronicles*. For, as he then adds, the *Jews* having been at some Time careless and negligent, and at other Times prophane, they suffer'd some of these Books to be lost through their Carelessness, and have burnt and destroy'd others. *Jeremiah* makes mention of their Prophaneness ; and concerning their Negligence we read in the Second Book of the *Kings*, that for a long Time together the Book of *Deuteronomy* could not be met with, which was hid somewhere or other, and almost Worm-eaten. Now if the Sacred Books were lost in a Time of profound Peace, who would wonder at such an Accident, when the *Gentiles* made War against them, and invaded their Country?



C H A P. VII.

Books not inserted into the Canon of the Old Testament, but forged either by Jews, or by Hereticks among the Christians.

THERE are other Books which are not in the Canon of the Old Testament, but are still extant; and they are these that follow: *The Prayer of King Manasseh*, when he was Captive at *Babylon*. It is to be found in the Apocryphal Writing just after the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. It is neither in the *Greek* nor *Hebrew* Text, only in the *Latin*.

The two Books of *Esdra*s, are likewise in *Latin* in the Bibles of the Vulgar Translation, immediately following the Prayer of *Manasseh*. The first which we have in *Greek*, is only a Recapitulation of the Canonical Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*: The second, which is only in *Latin*, is full of Visions and Dreams, and manifest Fables; and is supposed to be written by a Converted Jew.

The Third Book of the Maccabees contains the wonderful Deliverance of the Jews of *Egypt*, whom *Ptolomy Philopator*, incensed at his being denied Entrance into the Temple, when he came to *Jerusalem*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, had exposed in the Amphitheatre of *Alexandria* to the Fury of Elephants. As to the subject Matter of it, it ought (if the *Maccabees* must come into the Title) be called the *First Book of Maccabees*; for the Things it relates, were first in Order of Time, as being transacted before ever those *Maccabees*, of whom we have the History in the first and second Book of the *Maccabees*, were at all in Being. But this Book being of less Authority and Repute than the

the other two, it has, for this Reason, been reckon-
ed after them, according to the Order of Dignity,
though it be before them in Order of Time. It
seems to have been written by some *Alexandrian*
Jew in the *Greek* Language, not long after the
Time of *Siracides*. What is related in the Be-
ginning of it, concerning the Exploit of *Theo-*
dotus, the Battle of *Raphia*, and *Arfinoe's* accom-
panying her Husband in it, is manifestly taken from
Polybius, and therefore it must have been written af-
ter the Publication of that History. It is extant
also in *Syriac*: But the Author of that Version seems
not well to have understood the *Greek* Original;
for in some Places he varies from it through ma-
nifest Ignorance of the *Greek* Language. It is in
most of the antient Manuscript Copies of the *Greek*
Septuagint, as particularly in the *King's* Library
at *St. James's*, and in the *Vatican* Manuscript at
Rome, which are two of the most antient Manu-
scripts of the *Septuagint* now in Being. It was
never inserted into the vulgar *Latin* Version of the
Bible, or is it to be found in any Manuscript of it;
and that Version being only in use through the whole
Western Church till the Reformation, the first
Translations which we have of the Bible into *Eng-*
lish were made from thence; and for that Reason,
none of those having the third Book of *Maccabees*
among the Apocryphal Books, it has never since
been added, though it deserves a Place there much
better than some Parts of the second Book of the
Maccabees: For though it comes to us in a Ro-
mantick Dress, with some Embelishments of a *Jew-*
ish Invention, yet it is not to be doubted, but the
Ground-Work of it is true, and that there really
was such a Persecution raised against the *Jews* of
Alexandria by *Ptolomy Philopator*, as that Book re-
lates. The first authentick Mention we have of
this Book is in *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*: It is also
named with the two other Books of the *Maccabees*
in the Eighty fifth of the *Apostolick* Canons; but
when that Canon was added, is uncertain.



The Fourth Book of Maccabees contains the History of *Hircanus*. It is rejected as Apocryphal, and scarce so much as mentioned among the Antients. It seems to have been taken out of the Book of the Actions of *John Hircanus*, of whom mention is made at the latter End of the first Book of the *Maccabees*. Its Narration is much like that of *Josephus*, but it has not so much of the *Hebrew* Idiom.

At the End of the Book of *Job*, in the *Greek* Edition, there is a *Genealogy* of *Job*, who is there said to be the fifth from *Abraham*, with an Account of the Names of the Kings of *Idumea*, and the Kingdoms of *Arabia*. This Appendix is neither in *Hebrew* nor *Latin*. There is likewise in the *Greek* a Speech of *Job's Wife*, which is not in the *Hebrew*.

At the End of the *Psalms*, in the *Greek* Edition, there is a Psalm added, which is none of the hundred and fifty. It is said to be composed by *David* (whilst a Youth) after his Combat with *Goliath*.

After the Book of *Wisdom*, there is a Speech of King *Solomon*, taken out of the eighth Chapter of the first Book of the *Kings*.

The Book of Enoch, so famous of Old Times, and cited by so many of the antient Fathers, is now lost. The Learned Dr. *Grabe* has collected some *Greek* Fragments of it, and published them in his *Spicilegium Patrum*: From them we learn, that he treats of Stars, and their Influence; of the Angels descending down to the Earth, and their Familiarity with the Daughters of Men; of the Giants born of them: In short, it contains a great many Fictions upon these and other Subjects. Therefore all the Fathers of the Church, except *Tertullian*, have deservedly rejected it as an Apocryphal Book, which did not belong to the Patriarch *Enoch*. What causes the Difficulty is, that it seems as if this Book were cited as *Enoch's* by the Apostle St. *Jude* in his Canonical Epistle; from whence it may be inferr'd, that we must either reject the Epistle

Epistle of St. *Jude*, or believe that the Book was really of that Patriarch's composing. To this St. *Ferom* replies, That St. *Jude* might have cited an Apocryphal Book, and yet his Epistle be no less Canonical; and that there are several Passages taken out of the Apocryphal Writings to be found even in the other Books of the New Testament, which ought not to lessen the Authority of the Canonical Books, nor make the Apocryphal to be authentic.

There is a Book, called, *The Assumption of Moses*, cited by many of the antient Fathers; from whence it is pretended, that St. *Jude* has taken the Testimony of *Michael* the Archangel, disputing with the Devil about the Body of *Moses*. St. *Clement* relates a Vision of *Joshua* and *Caleb*, taken out of this Book. There is another, called, *The Testament of Moses*, placed by the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, among the Apocryphal Writings.

Origen cites a Book, intituled, *The Assumption: The Apocalypse*; or, *The Secrets of Elijah*.

The *Jews* have forged several Books which they have father'd upon the old Patriarchs, such as, *The Generations*, and *the Creation of Adam*. They commonly believed that *Adam* wrote a Treatise of the *Philosophers Stone*. There is a Book of *Magick*, which they attribute to *Cham*. They have a Book under the Name of *Abraham upon the Creation*. And there is another ascribed to *Origen*, called, *The Assumption of Abraham*; where the good Angels and the Devils are introduced disputing together about the Salvation or Damnation of that Patriarch.

Dr. *Grabe* has published in his *Spicilegium*, an entire Treatise in *Greek* and *Latin*, called, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*: It contains several Prophecies, and Moral Instructions put into the Mouths of those dying Men.

The Author of the *Synopsis*, speaks of two Apocryphal Pieces, of which one is, *The Prophecy of*
 VOL. IV. Q Hab-

Book VIII. *Habbakkuk*, from whence it is said, that the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, which is in *Daniel*, was taken; and the other, a Collection of Prophecies under the Name of *Ezekiel*, divided into two Parts. In other Places we find mention of the following Books: *The Prophecy of Eldad and Medad*: A Book of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*: *The Apocalypse*, or *Revelations of Adam*, forged by the *Gnosticks*: *Of the Sons and Daughters of Adam*, feigned by the *Manichees*: A Book called *Seth*, which contains a Prediction of the Star that appear'd at our Saviour's Birth: *Jacob's Ladder*, invented by the *Ebionites*. In short, there was antiently a great many Books of this Nature, composed either by the *Jews*, who were great Lovers of such kind of Fictions, or by the *Hereticks*, the better to spread the Poison of their Errors. But it would be an unprofitable as well as an invidious Task, to attempt an exact Catalogue of them.

Cap. 2. ver. ult.

There are two Passages cited in the New Testament, as taken from the Prophets, which are not to be found in any of them, and which some have pretended were taken out of other Books. The first is in *St. Matthew*, where it is said, That *Jesus dwelt in a City called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene*: Which Words are not in any of the Prophets we have by us. To this it may be answered, That if the Prophets in this Place are taken for Prophetick Men, who spoke only, and did not write, then it may not be concluded from thence, that any Books written by the Prophets are lost. Or if by Prophets, you understand the Penmen of the Bible, it may be shew'd, that what they foretold is still extant in their Writings: For though these individual Words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, are not found among the Prophecies of the Old Testament, yet the Purpose and Sense of them are there, that is, the Prophets of the Old Testament did foretel in general, that

that *Jesus Christ* should be Holy, and devoted to God as the *Nazarenes* were. Chap. 8.

The other Passage is cited in the same Evangelist : *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the Prophet, saying, And they took the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of Israel did value ; and they gave them for the Potters Field, as the Lord appointed me.* This Prophecy is not to be found in *Jeremiah*, but there is something much like it in the Prophecy of *Zachariah*. “ This Passage, says *Origen*, is either taken out of an Apocryphal Book, called, *The Secrets of Jeremiah* ; or else, through the Fault of Transcribers, the Name of *Jeremiah* is crepp’d into the Gospel instead of *Zachariah*. ” But the most probable Solution, is, That *St. Matthew* having only said, *As was foretold by the Prophet*, without naming any one particularly, the Name of *Jeremiah* has since been added to the Text of the Gospel : For this Evangelist is observed never to have named the Prophets whom he cites in his Writings. Chap. 27. 9, 10. Chap. 11. 12. In Matth. Tract. 35.

CHAP. VIII.

Moses was the Author of the Pentateuch.

THE Enemies of Revealed Religion, in order to destroy the Authority of the Scriptures, have in these latter Times advanced a Paradox unknown to former Ages, That *Moses* is not the Author of the *Pentateuch* ; but that it was composed from some antient Records preserved among the *Hebrews*, which were collected by some more modern Writer, and digested into that Form wherein they are at present. It is not necessary we should know who was the particular Penman of these,

Book. VIII. these, or any other Books of Scripture, because their Authority depends not upon the Writers of them, but upon the Holy Ghost, who indited them. They are the Books of God, which is their peculiar Character and Dignity, and that alone makes them authentick, after they have been deliver'd to us by the unanimous Consent of the Church; so that there is no absolute Necessity of our knowing who penn'd them, to make them the Objects of our Faith: Yet notwithstanding the Authors of many of the Sacred Books are well known, and particularly there are convincing Proofs that *Moses* wrote the five Books I am going to give an Account of, and which are commonly called the *Pentateuch*.

It is certain, that the Term *Law*, in a more especial Manner, agrees with the *Pentateuch*, and that the *Jews* have always called the Collection of the five Books of *Moses*, of which it is composed, by that Name. If therefore it can be proved, that *Moses* wrote the *Law* taken in this Sense, it cannot be doubted but that he was the Author of the *Pentateuch*. It must likewise be acknowledg'd, that the Book which the *Hebrews* called *Misne Tora*, and the *Greeks* *Deuteronomy*, that is, *the Repetition of the Law*, or *another Law*, supposes another written Law, which agrees with that contained in the four foregoing Books; so that if it be proved, that *Moses* was the Author of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, it will follow, that the four preceding Books, of which *Deuteronomy* is an Abridgment, wherein the same Laws are repeated in the same Expressions, are likewise *his*. Now, nothing is more easy than to prove from Passages of Scripture, that the *Law* and the Book of *Deuteronomy* are the Writings of *Moses*.

Verſes 9, 24, 25,
26.

In the Thirty first Chapter of *Deuteronomy* it is said, *That Moses wrote this Law, and deliver'd it unto the Priests the Sons of Levi, who bore the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; and that, when he had made an End of writing the Words of this Law in a Book, until they were finished, he commanded the Levites*

Levites to take this Law, and put it in the Side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord their God. Now, in these Passages we must of Necessity understand by this Word *Law* the whole *Pentateuch*, or at least the Book of *Deuteronomy*; for this Law every King of the *Hebrews* was obliged, upon his Accession to the Throne, to write a Copy of in a Book, and to read it all the Days of his Life, that *Deut. 17. 19.* he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the Words of this Law, and of the Statutes, to do them. So that this Book is said to contain all the Precepts and Ordinances of the Lord, as well Moral as Ceremonial; from whence the King was to learn what he was to put in practice. Now, whether we suppose this Book included the whole Law, or *Deuteronomy* only, it follows that *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, because the Book of *Deuteronomy* supposes that the four preceding Books were composed, and manifestly penn'd by the same Writer.

In the Reign of King *Josiah*, *Hilkiah* the Priest *2 Chron. 34.* found in the Temple the Book of the Law of the Lord, written by the Hand of *Moses*; which Expression might signify the very Copy itself that *Moses* wrote with his own Hand, at least, it must be confessed that this Copy was one of those which were preserved in the Temple by the Priests. That this Copy contained either the Whole, or at least the Book of *Deuteronomy*, all Expositors agree, and the History itself sufficiently demonstrates. After the Death of *Moses*, *Joshua* had in his Custody the whole Body *Josh. 1. 7, 8.* of the Laws left by that Legislator. This Book of the Law, (says God to *Joshua*) shall not depart out *Josh. 23. 6.* of thy Mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein Day and Night, that thou may'st observe to do all that is written therein: Be ye very courageous (says *Joshua* to the *Israelites*) to keep and to do all that is written in the Book of the Law of *Moses*. It was the Advice of *David* to his Son *Solomon*, Keep the Charge *1 Kings 2. 3.* of the Lord thy God, to walk in his Ways, to keep his Statutes, and his Commandments, and his Judgments,



ments, and his Testimonies, as it is written in the *Law of Moses*. In these, and many more Places, Mention is made of the *whole Law*, and of all the Commandments, as well those that concern Morality, as the Ceremonial and Judicial Law; that is, of all that the *Jews*, properly speaking, called the *Law*, that is, the *Pentateuch*. In all those Places it is said to be the *Law of Moses*, that he was the Author of it, and that he penn'd it.

If any Objection be made against so much Probability as this; That in those early Times the *Law of Moses* was a different Composition from that of the *Pentateuch*, yet it is certain, that in the Time of *Ezra* the *Law* was the same with the *Pentateuch*, which we have at present; and this *Law* was attributed to *Moses*: For it is said in the Book of *Ezra*, That *he was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given them*. And in the Book of *Nehemiah* it is said, That *the Law* was read in the Audience of the People, which is not only called *the Law of Moses*, but it is expressly said to be the *Law* which God gave them *by the Hand of Moses*.

But if this Proof is to be general, it is easy to produce Passages from Scripture, wherein each Book of the *Pentateuch* in particular is attributed to him, and cited under his Name. This will not only prove that *Moses* wrote a *Law*, but likewise that the very *Law* which was written by *Moses*, is the same we have in our Hands at present, since these are the very Books that are cited, and in which we meet with the Passages that are taken thence.

Gen. 24. 29.

Indeed, the Book of *Genesis* is more seldom quoted in express Terms than the other four; but the whole Tenor of the Holy Scripture supposes it, and the principal Points of History, which it contains, run through the whole Body of the Sacred Writings.

Exod. 24. 29.

In the Second Book of *Chronicles* it is said, That *Moses* order'd a Collection of Money to be gather'd, to be laid in the Tabernacle, which is commanded in the Book of *Exodus* and *Numbers*. The Cere-

Exod. 30. 12.

Numb. 1. 2.

monies

monies of the *Passover*, of which Mention is made Chap. 8. in the same Chapter of *Chronicles*, and in the Book of *Ezra*, are taken out of *Exodus* and *Leviticus*; *Ezra* 8. what is said in the Book of *Ezra* concerning the *Feast of Tabernacles*, is taken out of *Leviticus*. The *Levit.* 23. Seventy seventh, the Hundred and fourth, the Hundred and fifth, and the Hundred and Thirty fifth *Psalms*, contain an Abstract of all the History of the *Pentateuch*, which is manifestly taken from the *Pentateuch* itself. But the Book of *Deuteronomy* is quoted oftner than any other, because being an Abridgment of all the Law composed for the common Use of the People, it was more natural to cite it than the rest. The Beginning of this Book shews that *Moses* was the Author of it. It was common among the Antients to insert the Name of the Authors at the Beginning of their Works. That of *Moses* is in the first Verse of the Book of *Deuteronomy*; *These are the Words which Moses spake* Ver. 5. *unto all Israel*. It is said afterwards in the same Chapter, *Moses began to declare this Law*. This Book is cited under his Name in other Books of Holy Writ: *Joshua is said to have built an Altar* *Josh.* 8. 30, 31. *unto the Lord in Mount Ebal, as Moses the Servant of the Lord commanded the Children of Israel, as it is written in the Book of the Law of Moses*. This Passage refers to *Deuteronomy*, wherein *Moses* enjoins this very Thing. This Passage in *Deuteronomy*, *The Fathers shall not die for the Children*, is cited in many Places, as taken out of the Book of the Law of *Moses*. In the Book of *Nehemiah* it is order'd, that the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* should be separated from the Congregation of God, as they read in the Book of *Moses* in the Audience of the People, which is expressly enjoined in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, *An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation*. It were easy to produce a Number of Passages to this Purpose out of the Old Testament; and in the New Testament there are many Laws cited under the Name of *Moses*, which are taken

Book VIII. taken out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*; which is sufficient to prove that *Moses* was the Author of that Book, and consequently that the other four Books of the Law are certainly his.

In short, it has been the constant Tradition of the *Jews*, that the *Pentateuch* was the authentick Work of *Moses* himself. The Testimony of that People is entirely decisive of that Point : They were the Trustees and Guardians of these Books ; they have with the utmost Care, even almost to Superstition, preserved them : These were their publick Books, which contained their Religion, and their Laws, by which they were governed. It is impossible that they should have taken the Books of another for those of *Moses* ; that they should have lost them, which he had left them ; and that they should have suffered others to be foisted into the room of them.

The Opinion therefore of those, who in these last Times have ventured to maintain, that the *Pentateuch* was not written by *Moses*, has no manner of Foundation, particularly that new Notion of Father *Simon*, of certain publick Scribes or Registers who penn'd this, and other Parts of the Old Testament ; and that the Bible of the Old Testament is no more than an abbreviated Collection of larger Records that were kept in the *Jewish* Archives ; and that the Scribes, who writ them out, took the Liberty to alter Words as they saw Occasion. But the Design of this subtle *Romanist* was to depreciate the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of Scripture, that so, when their Authority was sufficiently weaken'd, we should be obliged to rely wholly upon Tradition, and found our Religion, as well as the Scriptures, upon that only.

C H A P. IX.

*Objections against the foregoing Chapter
answer'd.*

IF those who deny *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch* could defend what they assert, it would prove no more than that the Books of *Moses* have undergone the same Fate that has befallen the Compositions of all antient Writers, that is, that they have received some Additions and Changes in some Words, Names, and Expressions, to render the Narration more intelligible to those who lived in After-ages. These are usual Things; and we meet with Instances of them in the Books of almost all the old Historians, and yet no one has ever thought that their Books ought to be rejected upon that Account, as if they were not theirs under whose Names they went. But this general Reply, perhaps, may be thought not satisfactory, and therefore we shall enter upon the particular Reasons that are commonly urged, and inquire into the utmost Force they carry with them. Let it be premised only, that the first who raised any Scruples upon this Subject was Rabbi *Aben-Ezra*, who lived in the twelfth Century; and upon the Authority of this Jew, the Enemies of Religion have laid the principal Strength of their Objections.

It is said that Moses did not compose the Preface of the Book of Deuteronomy, because, according to some Translations, it begins after this Manner: These be the Words which Moses spake unto all Israel on the other Side Jordan. Now that Law-giver never went over Jordan, and therefore he could not speak to them on the other Side. One had need to be no great Critick in the Hebrew Tongue

Book VIII. to know that the Word which is used in the Original signifies indifferently, *on this Side*, or *on the other Side*, according as it is applied.

The Death and Burial of Moses are related in the last Chapter of Deuteronomy; Moses therefore could not be the Author of it. Philo Josephus, and other Jews, are of Opinion, that Moses wrote this by a Spirit of Prophecy: But the sounder Reply is, That this Narration was added either by Joshua, or by Ezra, or by the Synagogue of the Jews, to render the History of the Pentateuch the more compleat. But though this last Chapter has been added, it cannot be concluded from thence, that the rest of the Pentateuch was not written by Moses.

Gen. 12. 6.

It is observed (in a Parenthesis,) in the Book of Genesis, that the Canaanite was then in the Land: That Book therefore must be written in a Time when the Canaanites were not in Palestine; otherwise, that Note had been needless. Now it is certain that they were not driven out till a long Time after the Death of Moses. The Answer is, That those Words do not signify that the Canaanites were formerly in that Land, but that they were even then there, that is, that Moses, speaking of Abraham's Passage thro' the Land of Sichem, observes, that at that Time the Canaanites were in that Country. It was natural that Moses writing at that Time, wherein it was proper to advertise the Israelites, that their Fathers once conversed with the Canaanites, should observe that when Abraham arrived in that Country he found it inhabited by that People.

Gen. 5. 31.

In the same Book it is written, These are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Children of Israel; and afterwards follow the Names of eight of those Kings of Edom, and the Names of the several Princes of the Race of Esau. It is concluded from hence, that the Author lived in the Time when there were Kings in Israel, since he denotes the Time when the Israelites began to have Kings by the

the Epocha, at which those of Edom, whose Names he sets down, ended. That the Number of the Generations of the Kings of Edom is double that of the Generations from Jacob (Esau's Brother) to Moses: In this Place is a Succession of eight Kings, but from Jacob to Moses there are but four Generations, and there but eight from Jacob to Obed, the Father of David. That Author having number'd the eight Kings of Edom, speaks of their Dukes or Princes: Now they had no Dukes or Princes till a great while after. This Passage concerning the Kings of Edom, is allowed by Commentators to be somewhat difficult. Some say that Moses spake in this Place by a Spirit of Prophecy, of the Kings that should afterwards Reign in Israel: For God did certainly reveal to him that the Israelites should have a King, as appears by the Laws he delivered about the Extent of their Power and the Management of their Authority. The eight Kings of Edom, of whom mention is made, might reign between Esau and the Time of Moses, and the rather because they were not the Sons who succeeded their Fathers in an Hereditary Line, but were Persons of different Countries, who seiz'd upon the Government one after another. The Dukes or Princes of Edom, mentioned in the same Place, did not succeed those Kings, but governed at the same Time in different Places.

The Children of Israel, it is recorded in Exodus, Exod. 16. 35. did eat Manna forty Years, untill they came to a Land inhabited; they did eat Manna until they came to the Borders of the Land of Canaan. Now Moses died before the forty Years were expired. Moses might notwithstanding foresee that the Manna should cease so soon as the Israelites possessed themselves of the promised Land. He knew that they were to wander forty Years in the Wilderness; so that since they were already come to the Borders of the Land of Canaan, when he was about compiling this Book, we ought not to wonder

Book VIII. der if he fo positively expreffes himfelf in this Re-
 ſpect.

Dent. 3. 10. 11.

Deuteronomy (ſay the Objectors,) is of later Date than Moſes, becauſe mention is made of Og King of Baſhan: It is ſaid that he only remained of the Race of the Giants; and that his Bedſtead of Iron was ſtill to be ſeen in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon, being nine Cubits long, and four broad. Now why ſhould Moſes ſpeak of this Bedſtead, to prove the Bigneſs of Og, in an Age when all the Iſraelites might have ſeen this Giant? Why was not this Bedſtead in Baſhan, but in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon? Beſides, this Bedſtead was not diſcovered till the Reign of David, who ſubdued the Ammonites, and took Rabbath. After all, there is nothing in it extraordinary, that Moſes in ſpeaking of Og the Giant, produced as a Teſtimony of the Largeneſs of his Stature, his Iron Bedſtead, whether becauſe it was ſome Time ſince that King was killed, when Moſes wrote this Account, or rather to give the more Credit to what he ſaid about him. It is thus, that the Hiſtorians of our Age, in ſpeaking of any new Thing that has happened extraordinary, though well known in their Time, to ſay, We have ſuch or ſuch an Evidence of the Truth of what we aſſert; They keep ſuch or ſuch a Monster, in ſuch or ſuch a Place. As to what is added, that this Iron Bedſtead, in the Time of Moſes, was in Baſhan and not in Rabbath, it is pure Conjecture; for why could not the Ammonites have it in the Days of Moſes?

2 Sam. 12. 29.

There are many Names of Cities and Countries in the Pentateuch, which were not ſo called till after the Time of Moſes. When Moſes is ſpoken of in the Pentateuch, it is always in the third Perſon; and ſuch Things are ſaid of him as he could not well ſay of himſelf. As to the Names of Places that were not in uſe till after the Death of Moſes, it is probable that the antient Names have been changed; that the Narration might be render'd the
 more



more intelligible to such as were no longer acquainted with the old Names of those Towns and Countries. Tho' this be not true of all that our Adversaries generally produce upon this Occasion, it is customary among most Historians to speak of themselves in the third Person, though they had a Share in the History which they relate. *Zenophon, Caesar, Josephus*, and many other Historians, have done this. The Commendations *Moses* bestows upon himself are not extream: It was proper that he should take notice in his Writings of the Favours he received from God; and that he should declare that he was the Man, or the Prophet, sent forth from God; and that he spake to them in his Name. He might likewise, without any Breach of Modesty, call himself the *Meekest of Men*; to signify that it was not he who revenged himself upon those who rebelled against him, but God who espoused his Cause. What is said at the End of the Genealogy of *Moses* and *Aaron*, *This is that Moses and Aaron*, is there placed, that so Posterity might have the greater Veneration for their Persons and their History.

These, with some few others, are the common Objections offered by the Enemies of Religion against the Writings of *Moses*: But the Opinion of *Le Clerc*, who has attributed the *Pentateuch* to an *Israelitish Priest* sent from *Babylon* to instruct the *Cutheans*, is one of the most extravagant Notions that ever could have been invented. This Writer, who is a Man of Parts and Learning, has confessed that the *Samaritan Pentateuch* has entirely destroyed the Hypothesis of those Persons who say, that the *Pentateuch* was composed by *Ezra* since the Captivity. He himself proves this, because it is unconceivable that the *Samaritans*, the sworn Enemies of the *Jews*, should have borrowed the Law from them; and that if they had transcribed the Copy of *Ezra*, they would rather have made use of the *Chaldee*, than of the antient *Hebrew* Characters. But if it be not credible that the *Samaritans*

Book VIII. *ritans* would have received the Law from the *Jews*, is it at all probable, that the *Jews* would have received it from an *Israelitish Priest* sent from *Babylon* to instruct the *Cutheans*? Had not the *Jews* of the Kingdom of *Judah* the Law of *Moses* before the Captivity of the ten Tribes? And can any one imagine (supposing that they designed to have a Collection of what related to the Law of *Moses*, and to make a Sacred and Divine Book, which should be the Foundation of their Religion) that they would have had so great a Veneration for his Work? This Conjecture then, which *Le Clerc* has advanced upon the Criticism of Father *Simon*, is as absurd and chimerical, as ever has been maintained, and is such as none has espoused since him, and which himself has since renounced in his Commentary upon the Book of *Genesis*.

CHAP. X.

The Book of Genesis.

THE Books of the *Pentateuch* among the *Hebrews* have no other Title, besides the Word by which each Book begins. The first is called *Beresith*, because it begins thus, *In the Beginning*: The second, *Veelesemoth*, that is, *These are the Names*; which are the first Words of the Book of *Exodus*: The third, *Vai-cra*, that is, *He called*; which are the first Words of the Book. The modern *Jews*, however, called it *Thorat hacabim*, *The Law of the Priests*. The fourth, is called *Vai-edabber*, that is, *And he spoke*; because it begins with those Words. The last is called, for the same Reason, *Elle-haddebarim*, *These are the Words*: The *Jews* likewise call it *Thora*, *the Law*. The *Greeks* and *Latins* have given these Books such Names as have a Relation to the Subject they treat upon:

upon: The first is called *Genesis*, because it begins with the History of the Creation of the World.



When *Moses* says, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*, he gives a summary Account of the whole Creation, for these two Words comprehend the whole visible World. Some would have the Angels comprehended in the Word of *Heaven*, particularly *Epiphanius*; but others of the Hercl. 65. Fathers are of a different Opinion. The *first Stars*, and all beyond them (for so refer to the Word *Heaven* is supposed to signify) were first made; for they had a Beginning as well as this lower World, though they do not seem to be included in the six Days Work, which relates only to this Planetary World, as I may call it, which has the Sun for its Centre. And thus *Philo* understood the first Word *Beresith*, *In the Beginning*, to respect the Order wherein Things were created. God began his Creation with the Heaven, and then proceeded to the Earth.

The Product of the first Day was two-fold; The Terraqueous Mass, called the *Earth*, and *Light*. There was first created a rude confused Heap, by profane Writers called *the Chaos*, an indigested Mass of Earth and Water mixed together. And hence, without doubt, was derived the Opinion of *Thales*, and some other antient Philosophers: That Water, or Slime, or Mud, (for they express it variously) was the Source of all Beings whatsoever.

Nothing was yet to be seen for want of Light, which lay bury'd, as all Things else did, in the vast confused Heap of Matter before-mention'd: Some Parts of which were fluid and light, as others were solid and heavy. These naturally sunk, which are called *the Earth*; and the lighter Parts got above them, and are styled *the Waters*. Upon this fluid Matter the Spirit of God, (supposed by the antient *Jews* to be the Spirit of the *Messiah*) that is, the infinite Wisdom and Power of God, made a mighty Fermentation to separate the Parts of it one from
the

Book VIII. the other; it brooded upon it as a Hen does upon her Eggs. From whence some have not unhappily conjectured the Antients took their Notion of a *first laid Egg*, out of which all Things were formed, that is, the *Chaos*, consisting of Earth and Water, of thicker and thinner Parts, as an Egg doth of Yolk and White. The Divine Spirit thus moved upon the Waters, that by its Incubation, as we may call it, it might not only separate those Parts, that were jumbled together, but give a vivifick Virtue to them to produce what was contained in them. The Spirits of all living Creatures, (which we call their active Forms,) which could not arise out of Matter, for that is stupid, proceeded from this other Principle, the powerful Spirit of God, which moved upon the Face of the Waters by a vital Energy, so that they were no longer standing Waters, but moving, having a certain living Power in them. From whence it may be inferr'd, that the Spirits of living Creatures are distinct Things from Matter, which of itself cannot move at all, and much less produce a Principle of Motion:

Now follows the Formation of all Things out of that rude Matter that was at first created: And the first Thing that was produced was *Light*, that is, those Particles of Matter which we call *Fire*, (whose two Properties are Light and Heat,) which the Almighty Spirit produced as the great Instrument for the Preparation and Digestion of the rest of the Matter, that was still more vigorously moved and agitated from the Top to the Bottom by this restless Element, till the nearer and more shining Parts of it being separated from the grosser, and united in a Body fit to retain them, became *Light*. This *Light of Fire*, was put into a Circular Motion, so that it moved round about the *Chaos* in the Space of twenty four Hours, which made it *Day* to those Parts where it shined, and *Night* where it did not. A whole Day in the *Hebrew* Language, is called *Evening* and *Morning*, which the Motion of this Light made, if we conceive it to have been formed

formed about Noon, and to have gone round the whole Mass in twenty four Hours. Chap. 10.



How long all Things continued in meer Confusion after the *Chaos* was created, before this Light was extracted out of it, we are not told ; it might be, for any Thing that is revealed, a great while, and all that Time the mighty Spirit was making such Motions in it, as prepared, disposed, and ripened every Part of it, for such Productions as were to appear successively in such Spaces of Time as are mentioned afterwards in the History of the Creation. *Moses* informs us, That after Things were so digested, and made ready (by long Fermentations, perhaps) to be wrought into Form, God produced every Day, for six Days together, some Creature or other, till all was finish'd. This *Maimonides* has happily illustrated, by observing that all Things were created at once, and then were afterwards separated one from another successively. He says, their wise Men resemble this Proceeding to that of a Husbandman, who sows several Seeds in the Earth at the same Moment ; some of which are to come up after one Day, others after two, and others not till three Days be past, though the whole Sowing was in one and the same Moment. Thus God made all Things at the first, which did not appear together, but in the Space of six Days were formed, and put in order one after another. *Light* being the Work of the first Day.

More Nevoch.
Part 2. cap. 30.

On the *second Day* was the lower Heaven, or Firmament made, called by the Divine Philosopher, the *Expansion*, or according to the Seventy Interpreters *Στερέωμα*, whom the *English* Translation follows, and renders it the *Firmament*. This was produced in the Midst of the Waters ; and the Design of it was to divide the Waters from the Waters, that is, the Waters under this Firmament from the Waters above it. The Meaning of which is, That whereas the Waters at first were heaped together very high above the Earth in some Places, the All-wise Disposer this Day began to make a

Book VIII. Separation of them, and to frame an Expansion (for that is the simple and proper Import of the *Hebrew* Word) between the lower and the higher Parts of the Waters, so that now there was a Distance between them, which was caused by an Interposition of the Air between these lower and higher Parts of the Waters. The Almighty Creator, by attenuating and rarifying, transmuted them into an Aerial Body, which shall always continue so, that is, shall remain really distinct from the crasser Substance of Water. Therefore, this *Expansum* is the whole Region of Air; and we cannot imagine any other out-spread Firmament, which divides the superiour from the inferiour Waters, that is, the Clouds from the vast Body and Mass of Waters which at first cover'd the Earth, and soon after were disposed of into particular Receptacles, and were denominated the Seas. But yet in a large Way of Speaking, this *Firmament* is all that extended Space which reaches from the Earth to the Place of the Stars, which was made afterwards. The great Objection against this Proposition is, That now there were no Clouds, neither had it after this rained upon the Earth. But it must be consider'd, that neither were the Waters below, as yet gather'd into one Place. And therefore, *Moses* here speaks of the Air as a Body intended to be stretched between the Waters above and beneath, when they should be formed. If it be asked, why this second Day's Work has not the same Approbation as the rest have; the Reason, is not because *it was not good*, but because it was but an Essay or Specimen of the two next Days Works; for the Waters were but now begun to be separated, which afterwards we find finished upon the third Day, and this *Firmament* was but a Beginning or Preparative to the Production of a higher and nobler *Expansion* upon the fourth Day.

Such large Portions of Matter being drawn out of the *Chaos*, as made the Body of *Fire* and *Air* before-mention'd, there remained, in a great Body, only

only *Water* and *Earth*, but they so jumbled together, that they could not be distinguished. It was the Work therefore of the *third Day* to make a Separation between them, by compacting together all the Particles which make the Earth, which before was Mud and Dirt, and then by raising it above the Waters, which cover'd its Superficies; and lastly, by making such Caverns in it, as were sufficient to receive the Waters into them. Now, this we may conceive to have been done by such Particles of Fire as were left in the Bowels of the Earth; whereby such Nitro-sulphureous Vapours were kindled; as made an Earthquake, which both lifted up the Earth, and also made Receptacles for the Waters to run into; as the *Psalmist* (otherwise I should not venture to mention this) seems to explain it: *At thy Rebuke they* (that is, the *Waters*) *fled; at the Voice of thy Thunder they hasted away.* And so God himself speaks in the Book of *Job*, *I brake up for it, (that is, for the Sea) my decreed Place, and set Bars and Doors.*

This Work of God (whereby the Waters were sent down into their proper Channels, and the Earth made dry, and fitted for the Habitation of such Creatures, as were afterwards created) is observed by *Strabo*, in his *Geography*, as an Act of Divine Providence; Because, says he, the Water cover'd the Earth, and Man is not a Creature that can live in the Water, God made many Cavities and Receptacles in the Earth for the Water, and raised the Earth above it, that it might be fit for Man's Habitation.

Moses having shewn how the first Matter, and then the Elements of Things were produced, he proceeds to the Production of more compounded Bodies, and gives an Account of all sorts of Vegetables, which are ranged under three Heads: *Grass*, which comes up every Year without sowing: *Herbs* bearing a Seed, which comprehends (as *Abarbanel* notes) all sorts of Corn, and whatsoever is sown: And *Trees*, which also bear Fruit. These all sprung



up in their Perfection in the Space of a Day, with their Seeds in them compleatly formed, to produce the like throughout all Generations. Thus was finished the Work of the *third Day*.

The next Day was employed in creating of an Etherial Heaven, or Firmament, and furnishing it with glorious Lights. As the former Firmament or Expanse was the Space between the *Earth* and *Æther*, so this is that vast Extension, which comprehends the *Æther*, and all the Luminaries placed in it, and whatever is above it. The Generality of Expositors make the other Firmament, and this the same; and think that the Firmament here spoken of is not mentioned as the Product of this Day's Creation, but that only here is a new Mentioning of the preceding one. But this Mistake it is supposed has run them into great Absurdities, particularly, has made them unable to give any tolerable Account of the *Waters under the Firmament* from those above it: It has therefore been thought proper to distinguish between the Firmament of *Air*, and that of *Æther*, that is, that wherein the Clouds and Meteors are, and that other which contains the Luminaries of Heaven: And it may be observed, that this, in Contradiction to the former, is signally

Gent. i. 14, 15,
17.

stiled thrice the *Firmament of Heaven*. This Celestial Expanse being fixed, the next Work was to garnish and adorn it: To which Purpose the *Light* made the first Day, having for three Days circulated about the Earth, and that near to it, to further the Production of Things above-mention'd, was refined and distributed into certain particular Orbs, or Spheres, or Vortexes, and gather'd into the Bodies of several Luminaries at a great Distance from the Earth, called the Sun, the Moon, and Stars. Their Use was to divide the Day from the Night by a continued Circular Motion, finished in four and twenty Hours; in one Part of which, by the Presence of the Sun, the Day is made, and in the other Part, by the Sun's Absence, Night is made in a constant Succession. This concluded the *fourth Day*.

Upon

Upon the *fifth Day* the Inhabitants of the Seas, and of the lower Heaven, were formed out of the *Waters*, that is, out of such Matter as was mixed with the Waters, which contained in them many Things besides simple Water; for the Sea and Rivers are still very richly furnished with various Compounds for the Nourishment of an innumerable Multitude of Fishes. Though the chearing and warming *Light*, before it was embody'd, and gather'd together into certain Receptacles, was instrumental by the Divine Power to produce Vegetables, yet it was not vigorous enough to beget the *Animal Life*. But now this noble and cherishing Virtue being mightily agitated and fermented, and being more advantageously fixed, we find the Effect of it in the Production of Fish and Feather'd Animals upon the *fifth Day*.

Upon the *sixth and last Day* the Earth brought forth all Kinds of Beasts and Cattle, that is, all Terrestrial Animals, (as on the foregoing Day all Animals belonging to the Sea and Rivers, and to the Air were created.) Thus by a gradual Process the Divine Power produced Creatures still more noble, the Matter being more digested and prepared in five Days Time than it was at first. Man was reserved by God for the last of his Works, who does, as it were, advise and consult about his Production, *Let us make Man in our Image*. Not to signify any Deliberation within himself, or any Difficulty in the Work, but to represent the Dignity of Man, and that he was made (as *Abarbinel* glosses) with admirable Wisdom, and great Prudence; for though he was raised out of the Dust of the Ground, yet a greater Power and Skill was employ'd in producing a Creature of such excellent Majesty and Beauty, that nearly approached the Divine Likeness in Understanding, in Freedom of Choice, in Immortality, and other Perfections of the Divine Nature.

This is the Substance of the *Mosaick Philosophy* concerning the Creation of the World; from whence

Book VIII. the first Book of the *Pentateuch* has the Name of *Genesis*; and it were easy to shew upon true Principles of Reason, that it is more consistent than any *Philosophical Hypotheses* of another Strain, and more congruous to the Laws of Motion, and the Operations of Nature, than the vain and affected Schemes of any *Theorist*, or *Archeologist* in the World. This Book, besides the History of the Creation, contains an Account of the original Innocence and Fall of Man; the Propagation of Mankind; the Rise of Religion, and of the Church of God; the Invention of Arts; the General Defection and Corruption of the World; the Deluge; the Restoration of the World; the certain Distinction of Times before the Flood, and partly after it; the Confusion of Tongues, and thereupon the Division of the Earth among the Sons of Men; the Plantation of Families; the Originals of Nations and Kingdoms, as the *Assyrian Monarchy*, (begun in *Nimrod*, or *Belus*,) and the *Egyptian Dynasty*: The History of the first Patriarchs, not only before, but after the Deluge, as of *Noah*, the Preacher of Righteousness; of *Abraham*, the Father of the Faithful; of *Isaac*, the Seed in which all Nations were to be blessed; of *Jacob*, the Father of the Twelve Tribes; of *Joseph*, whose memorable Actions are here fully recorded, and with which this first Book of *Moses* ends, containing an Account of about two thousand three hundred and sixty nine Years, according to the Calculation of Years of the Patriarchs, as it is in the *Hebrew Text*. It was easy for *Moses* to be satisfied in the Truth of what he related, because it came down to his Time but through a very few Hands: For from *Adam* to *Noah* there was one Man (*Methuselah*,) who lived to see them both: And so it was from *Noah* to *Abraham*, *Shem* conversed with both: As *Isaac* did with *Abraham* and *Joseph*, from whom these Things might easily be convey'd to *Moses* by *Amram*, who lived long enough with *Joseph*. In short, *Moses* might have been confuted, if he had written any
 Thing

Thing but the Truth, by learned Men of other Nations, who sprang from the same Root, and had the same Means of being acquainted with the great Things here reported by Tradition, from their Forefathers, who lived so long in the Beginning of the World, that they were able, with the greater Certainty, to transmit the Relation of Things to their Posterity.


Chap. 10.

CHAP. XI.

The Book of Exodus.

THIS Book receives its Name from the principal Subject of it, which is the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; (for so the Greek Word *ἔξοδος* signifies going out, or departing from one Place to another.) It contains a History of about a hundred forty and five Years, (some make it two or three Years less,) from the Death of *Joseph*, to the Building of the Tabernacle; for it treats of several Things which went before their Departure, and which followed after it, but they all relate to it, and depend upon it.

The Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and the Bondage of the *Israelites* under him in *Egypt*, and their wonderful Deliverance from it, are recorded in this Book. More particularly are related the prodigious Increase and Multiplying of these oppressed *Hebrews*, which were the Posterity of *Jacob*; the Plagues inflicted upon the *Egyptian* King and his People, because he refused to dismiss them; their Departure thence without his Leave, though not without the Consent and Desire of his Subjects; their miraculous Passing through the *Red Sea*, or *Arabian Gulph*; the Overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his numerous Host; the miraculous Securing and Protecting of the *Israelites* in the *Arabian* Desarts; the strange Mira-

Book VIII.  cles wrought for the Sustaining and Preserving of them; the promulging of the Law to them on Mount *Sinai*, which consisted of Moral Precepts, Civil or Judicial Constitutions, and Ceremonial Rites, for the celebrating and performing of which a Tabernacle was erected (as rich and magnificent as their Circumstances would permit) by the particular Appointment and Direction of God. In short, this Book represents the Church of God afflicted and persecuted; it shews that he is pleased to suffer it to be reduced to the greatest Straits and Calamities; and that even then he guards it by his Providence, and in good Time delivers it.

CHAP. XII.

The Book of Leviticus.

Exod. 4. 14.]

Hebr. 1. 1.

THE *Greeks* and *Latins* give this Book the Name of *Leviticus*, not because it treats of the Ministry of the *Levites*, properly so called, (of which the Book of *Numbers* gives a fuller Account than this Book does,) but because it contains the Laws about the Religion of the *Jews*; consisting principally in various Sacrifices, the Charge of which was committed to *Aaron* the *Levite*, and to his Sons, who alone had the Office of Priesthood in the Tribe of *Levi*, which the Apostle therefore calls a *Levitical Priesthood*.

Leviticus gives an Account of the *Jewish* Service and Worship; of the particular Employments and Charges of the Ministers of that Church; of their several kinds of Sacrifices and Oblations, (Burnt-Offerings, Meat-Offerings, Peace-Offerings, Sin-Offerings, Trespass-Offerings;) of the Consecration of *Aaron* and his Sons to the Priesthood; of Laws about Clean and Unclean Things; of Difference



ference of Meats. Here they are forbidden to eat Blood ; they are taught how to discern the Leprosy, and how to cleanse it. Here are Laws concerning Vows, and Things, and Persons devoted. There are also other Ordinances and Injunctions concerning their Solemn Feasts, (the Sabbath of the seventh Year, the Passover, the Feasts of First-Fruits, of Pentecost, of Trumpets, of Expiation, of Tabernacles,) and many the like Usages and Rites, which were strictly commanded this People, on purpose to keep them from the idolatrous and superstitious Ceremonies of the *Gentiles* that were round about them, and would be enticing them to imitate their Practice. There is likewise a great Number of judicial Laws ; as concerning the Year of Jubilee, about the Redemption of Lands and Houses ; against taking of Usury of the Poor ; as also concerning Servants and Bondmen. Here are Laws touching Affinity and Consanguinity ; and consequently what Marriages are lawful, and what unlawful, may thence be inferred ; and many other Things relating to the Civil Law of the *Jews*. Here are inserted several moral Instructions, and excellent Precepts of Natural Religion, respecting both God and Men. Lastly, Towards the close of all, there are Blessings and Curses pronounced ; the former to such as carefully observe these Laws ; the latter on those that wilfully disobey them. These are the admirable Things contained in this Book, and which have been the acceptable Entertainment of the Inquisitive and Religious, of the Wise and Good, in all Ages since they have been extant.



The Antiquities of the

C H A P. XIII.

The Book of Numbers.

Numb. 1. 3. 4.

THE fourth Book of the *Pentateuch* is called *Numbers*, and receives its Denomination from the *Numbring* of the Families of *Israel*. *Moses* and *Aaron* had a special Command from God to muster the Tribes, and to take the Number of all that were fit for War, and to order and marshal the Army when it was once formed. For now in their Passage through the Wilderness they were like to meet with many Enemies; and therefore it was convenient to take an Account of their Forces, and to put themselves into a Posture ready to engage. A great Part of this Book is Historical, relating several remarkable Passages in the *Israelites* March through the Wilderness; as, the Sedition of *Aaron* and *Miriam*; the Rebellion of *Corah* and his Companions; the Murmurings of the whole Body of the People; their being plagued with Serpents; *Balaam's* Prophecying of the Happiness of *Israel*, instead of Cursing them; the miraculous Budding of *Aaron's* Rod. Here are also distinctly related their several Removings from Place to Place; their two and forty Stages or Journeys through the Wilderness; and many other Things which befel them: Whereby we are instructed and confirmed in some of the weightiest Truths, that have immediate Reference to God and his Providence in the World. But the greatest Part of this Book is spent in enumerating those Laws and Ordinances (whether Ceremonial or Civil) which were given by God, and were not mentioned before in the preceding Books; as, some Particulars of the *Levites* Office, and the Number of them; the Tryal of Jealousy; the Rites to be observed by the

the *Nazarites* ; the renewing of the Passover ; the making of Fringes on the Borders of their Garments ; the Water of Separation to be used in Purifying the Unclean ; the Law of Inheritance ; of Vows ; of the Cities of Refuge ; of the Cities of the *Levites* ; and some other Constitutions, either not inserted into the other Books of *Moses*, or not distinctly and plainly set down. Thus this Book, both in Respect of the historical Part of it, and of the Addition of Laws, (not spoken of in the foregoing Books) has its peculiar Use and Excellency.

Chap. 13.




It comprehends the History of about thirty eight Years, though most Part of the Things related in it fell out in the first and last of these Years ; and it does not appear when those Things were done, which are related in the Middle of the Book.

C H A P. XIV.

The Book of Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy (which signifies a *Second Law*,) had the Name given it by the *Greeks*, from the principal Scope and Design of it, which was a *Repetition of the Laws* already delivered. This seems to have been of absolute Use, because the *Israelites* who heard it before, died in the Wilderness ; and there being now sprung up another Generation of Men, the Law was to be promulgated to them. The major Part of the People that were living at that Time, had not heard the Decalogue, or any other of the Laws openly proclaimed, or being Young they had neglected or forgot them ; which is the Reason why *Moses* in this Work rehearses them to his new People, and withal adds an Explication of them in many Places, and adjoins some new Laws ; such as the taking down of Malefactors

Book VIII.  lefactors from the Tree in the Evening ; the making of Battlements on the Roofs of their Houses ; the Expiation of an unknown Murder ; the Punishment to be inflicted upon a rebellious Son ; the Distinction of the Sexes by Apparel ; the Marrying the Brother's Wife after his Decease : Also Orders and Injunctions concerning Divorce ; concerning Man-stealers ; concerning unjust Weights and Measures ; concerning the Marrying of a Captive-Woman ; concerning the Servant that diserts his Master's Service ; and several other Laws, not only Ecclesiastical and Civil, but also Military. There are likewise inserted some new Actions and Passages, which happened in the last Year of their Travels in the Wilderness.

Moreover, *Moses*, in this Part of the *Pentateuch*, shews himself a true Father, Pastor, and Guide to that People, a hearty Lover of them and their Welfare, in many Instances ; in his often inculcating upon them their many Obligations which they lay under from God, the innumerable Favours they had received from him ; in his frequent and pathetick Exhortations to Obedience, and living answerably to the singular Mercies which were conferred upon them ; in his constant reminding them of their former Miscarriages, their Murmurings and Rebelions against Heaven, and all their unworthy Deportment towards their great Benefactor ; in his compassionate forewarning them of the Judgments of God ; of the various Plagues and Punishments which would certainly be the Consequence of their persisting in their Sins : Lastly, In his affectionate encouraging them to Obedience from the Consideration of the endearing Promises which God had made to them, and which he would assuredly make good, if they did not frustrate his Designs of Mercy towards them by their wilful Stubborness and Ingratitude. These are the excellent Subjects of this Divine Book.

The Learned, who have commented upon the *Pentateuch*, are under great Uncertainties, when those

those Books were composed by *Moses*. Some pretend that *Moses* wrote the Book of *Genesis* before he departed out of *Egypt*; but it is more probable, that he composed it afterwards, and since the Promulgation of the Law. This is the Opinion of *Eusebius*, and many of the Antients. It is supposed likewise, that the Author of *Genesis* had regard to the Injunctions of the Law, especially when he speaks concerning the Sanctification of the Sabbath, and of Clean and Unclean Beasts; though they might be in use before the Law was delivered, yet it is probable, that an Author who makes these Remarks, had seen them in the established Body of the Laws. *Genesis* may well be conceived to be the first Book of *Moses*; and it is certain that *Deuteronomy* was his last: For besides, it being a *Repetition of the Law*, it is expressly said in that Book, That *Moses spake these Things to the People of Israel, when they were ready to go over Jordan*. To which it may be added, that in it is related the End of his Life, and to it is annexed the Relation of his Death. It was therefore penned in the fortieth Year after the Coming out of *Egypt*, and in the last of the Life of *Moses*.

Chap 14.

Præp. Evang.
Lib. 7.

Gen. Chap. 2.
Chap. 7, & 8.

CHAP. XV.

The Book of Joshua.

MEN of Learning are divided in their Opinions about the Author of the Book of *Joshua*; and, indeed, it is impossible to assert with the same Certainty by whom the other Books of the Bible were written, as that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*. The Title is not supposed to stand at the Head of this Book to denote its Author, but to shew the Subject-Matter of it, because it contains the History of the Wars and Affairs that happened under

Book VIII. under the Administration of *Joshua*. Some have conceived that the twenty sixth Verse of the last Chapter of this Book, is an Evidence that *Joshua* was the Author of it. The Words are, *Joshua wrote all these Things in the Book of the Law of the Lord*; which seem naturally to infer, as if they were to be understood of the whole History of this Book, and to denote that he wrote in Imitation of *Moses*, what occurred during his Government; that he added this History to the Book of the Law, and caused it to be written upon the Copy of the Law, which was kept on the Side of the Ark. But this may only be referred to what was said in this Chapter, concerning the *Covenant* that the People made with God: For there it is related, that *Joshua* before his Death assembled the *Israelites* at *Sichem*; and that after he had declared to them what the Lord had done for their Fathers and them, ever since *Abraham* had left *Mesopotamia*, he asked them, whether they would continue to serve the Lord their God: That they promised to do so: That he remonstrated to them, that if they fell off from his Laws, he would punish them severely: That they again solemnly engaged themselves to serve none other beside the Lord: That there *Joshua* called them to Witness according to their Promise, made a new *Covenant* with them, gave them fresh Laws and Ordinances, and wrote all these Words in the Book of the Law. This seems more naturally to be meant of the *Covenant* which he renewed with the *Israelites*, and of the Precepts he proposed to them to observe, than of the Book of *Joshua*.

Cap. 46.

Some offer, what is said concerning *Joshua* in the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, that *he was the Successor of Moses in Prophecies*, to shew that he, as well as his Predecessor, wrote a Sacred Book. But this Expression is no Proof of it, and only supposes that he succeeded *Moses* in the Spirit of Prophecy. Besides, it cannot be questioned but that in the Time when the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* wrote, that Book of *Joshua* was already composed, since it appears that

that it was written even before the Book of the *Chap. 15.*
Kings; for in that Book, where Mention is made
of the Rebuilding of *Jericho* by *Hiel the Bethelite*,
it is said, That he laid the Foundation thereof in *1 Kings 16. 34*
Abiram his eldest Son, and set up the Gates, after it
was finished, in his youngest Son *Segub*, according
to the Word of the Lord, which he spake by *Joshua*
the Son of *Nun*. Now this Curse against him
that should rebuild the City of *Jericho*, is found in
the same Words in the Book of *Joshua*: And *Joshua* *Josh. 6. 26.*
Swore at that Time, saying, Cursed be the Man be-
fore the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this City
Jericho: He shall lay the Foundation thereof in his
First-born, and in his younger Son shall he set up the
Gates of it. The Antiquity therefore of this Book
is not to be questioned, but the Matter unadjusted
is, whether *Joshua* were the Author of it.

The antient *Talmudists*, and many of a latter
Date, ascribe this Book to *Joshua*; for thus they *Bava Bathra.*
speak expressly, *Joshua wrote his own Book, and the* *Cap. 1.*
eight last Verses of the Law: And then concern-
ing the five last Verses of this Book, they write af-
ter this Manner, in the same Place; *Eleazar wrote*
the twenty ninth Verse, &c. of the twenty fourth
Chapter, as Phineas did Verse the thirty third. And
there are Men of excellent Learning, who have
undertaken to answer all that can be objected to
this, particularly the Great *Huetius*. The *Jews*
reckon *Joshua* among the first Prophets, as they
call them, though the Book contains only a Histo-
ry of what passed till his Death. This, in all likeli-
hood, he would not neglect to write himself, as
Moses did, of what passed in his Time, that every
Tribe, and every Family might have an unquestion-
able Title to their Inheritance under his own Hand,
who had by God's Order made a Division of the
Land; and that all Posterity might see that the Pro-
mises made to them by *Moses* were punctually ful-
filled, and that in a very short Time; for this Book
contains the History of the *Israelites*, from the
Death of *Moses*, to the Death of *Joshua*, which
was

Book VIII. was no more, say some, than seventeen, though others call it near twenty seven Years.

Quest. 14.

Some of the Antients, and many modern Writers, deny that *Joshua* was the Author of this Book. *Theodoret* affirms, that this Volume was collected a long Time after the Death of *Joshua*; and that it was but an Abstract of an antient Commentary, called, *The Book of Just Men*; which is spoken of in the tenth Chapter of the said Book of *Joshua*. *Massius*, who has writ a learned Commentary upon this History, explaining the tenth Chapter, has taken Pains to shew that what is related in the Book of *Joshua* could not be his. *Abarbinel*, wholly rejects the Opinion of his antient Doctors, who have in the *Talmud* attributed to *Joshua* the Book that bears his Name; and he offers to prove the contrary by many Actions and Ways of Speech, which could not proceed from him; as when it is said, That *the Twelve Stones that Joshua set up in the midst of Jordan remain to this Day*: And in another Part, *This Place is called Gilgal to this Day*; from whence it is concluded, that one Part of this Book was writ some Time after these Things happened. Moreover, the History of the Division of the Sons of *Dan*, who took the City of *Leishem*, happened not likewise till after the Death of *Joshua*. *Massius* conjectures, that it has been added to the Collection of *Joshua*, that the Place where the *Danites* were fixed might be better known.

Chap. 4. 9.

Josh. 19. 47.

In Answer to this it may be said, That the Additions made to the Book of *Joshua*, are foreign to the Subject; that they interrupt the Series of the Narration, and may be taken away without spoiling the Sense; so that they did not originally belong to the History. And it may be concluded, upon the whole, that though it be not so certain that the Book of *Joshua* is as evidently his, as the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*, because there is a great deal of Difference between the Reasons which prove *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch* and those which may make us suppose that *Joshua* is

is the Author of the Book that contains his History; Chap. 15.
 yet there is no convincing Proof that he is not the Author of it, and so one ought neither to affirm or deny it, as being a Matter we are not positively assured of, either on one Side or other.

The *Hebrews*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Latins*, have distinguished this Book by the Title of *Joshua*, which the Moderns pronounce, according to the new Punctuation, *Jesus*. He was the Son of *Nun*, or *Nave*, according to the *Greeks*, and of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. He was first called *Oshea*, but *Moses* Numb. 13. 17. changed his Name to *Jehoshua*. These two Names do not differ much in Signification, both being derived from the same Root, which signifies *Saviour*: But *Oshea*, signifies only *Saviour*, whereas *Jehoshua*, or *Joshua*, denotes, *The Saviour of the Lord*, or the Person by whom the Lord designed to save his People. He was appointed by God in the Life-time of *Moses* to be his Successor; and after his Death he put himself at the Head of the People, passed over *Jordan*, and subdued the Country of the *Canaanites*, after he had cut off most of the Inhabitants with the Sword. He afterwards divided his Conquests among the Tribes who were to dwell on that Side *Jordan*, and enjoyed for some Time the Sweets of that Peace and Tranquility which he had purchased by his good Conduct: But finding his Death to be approaching, he assembled the People; and after he had renewed the Covenant of God with them, he died at a hundred and ten Years of Age. These Matters make up the Subject of the History of the Book of *Joshua*, which may be divided into three Parts: The First, is a History of the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan*: The Second, which begins at the twelfth Chapter, is a Description of that Country, and the Division of it among the Tribes: The Third, comprised in the two last Chapters, contains the Renewal of the Covenant he caused the *Israelites* to make, and the Death of that victorious Governor.



The Antiquities of the

C H A P. XVI.

The Book of Judges.

THIS Book is called by the Name of *Shophetim*, or *Judges*, because it relates the State of the *Israelites* in the Land of *Canaan*, under the Administration of many Illustrious Persons, raised by God upon special Occasions, after Death of *Joshua*, till the Time of making a King, to *Judge*, that is, to Rule the People, and to Deliver them from their Oppressions. These *Judges* were Men of Heroick Spirits, chosen by God out of the several Tribes to govern the People, and to deliver them from their present Dangers. In the Time of this peculiar Polity there were several notable Occurrences, which are faithfully recorded in this Book. Here we are acquainted with the gross Impiety of that new Generation which came up after the Death *Joshua*: Here are recorded, to their perpetual Infamy, their intimate Converse with those idolatrous People that were left remaining in that Land; their approving of their superstitious and irreligious Customs, and paying Adoration to their Gods. Here is a particular Account of the Corruption of their Manners, of their prophane and scandalous Practises, which occasioned the very *Heathens* to open their Mouths against them, and to blaspheme God, by whose Name they were called. Here also we have a short View of the different Dispensations of Heaven towards this People; sometimes relieving and delivering them; at other times most severely chastising them, and causing them to groan under Tyrants and Oppressors. In this History are contained most admirable Examples of God's Displeasure against Apostates, and such as revolt from the true Religion. And here, are on the contrary,

contrary, as memorable Instances of his rewarding those that adhere to him and his Cause, and hold fast their Integrity in the worst and most calamitous Times. Here are also most amply displayed, his Love and Care of his Church, in stirring up so many eminent Worthies and Champions to fight for her, and to push them on by no less than an extraordinary Impulse of Spirit to enterprise and effect such mighty Things for the Welfare of his chosen Servants.

The Book of *Judges* is usually divided into two Parts: The one, containing the History of the *Judges*, from *Othniel* to *Samson*, which ends with the sixteenth Chapter, (the History of the two last *Judges*, *Eli* and *Samuel*, being not recorded here, but in the Book following:) The other, containing several memorable Actions which were performed in or about the Time of the *Judges*; with which the Holy Writer would not interrupt their History, but reserved them to be related by themselves in the Conclusion, that is, in the seventeenth and the following Chapters, unto the End of the Book.

The Author of this Book is wholly unknown: Some ascribe it to *Samuel*, herein following the Doctrine of the *Talmud*; others to *Hezekiah*; and many to *Ezra*. *Aben-Ezra* believes that this Book is the Book of the *Wars of the Lord*, of which mention is made in the Book of *Numbers*. Some again conceive that every *Judge* wrote his own Memoirs, which were collected together by *Ezra* or *Samuel*. Those are all of them Conjectures, of which some are manifestly false, and others very uncertain. The Time when this Book was composed, is reasonably thought to be about the Beginning of Monarchical Government among the *Jews*; for it appears from the Author, in many Places, that the Things that he relates happened *when there was no King in Israel*. It is not natural for an Author to make this Remark, who writes before there have been any Kings in a Country; but it

Chap. 17. ver. 6.

Chap. 18. ver. 1.

& 31.

Book VIII. occurs very naturally to the Thoughts of a Man who writes in a Time when his Country is governed by a Regal Power ; since those for whom he writes, were accustomed to this Form of Government, in making his Remarks on what he relates, that it is not agreeable to a State of Monarchy, he thinks it proper to advertise that Monarchy was not then established. This Conjecture has a great deal of Probability in it, and may serve to fix the *Epocha*, when this Book was written, to the Time when the *Israelites* had a King. But this ought to be in the first Rise of that kind of Government, and before the Reign of King *David* ; for it appears from the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, that the *Jebusites* were still in *Jerusalem* in this Author's Time. Thus it is said, *The Children of Benjamin did not cast out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem ; therefore the Jebusites dwell with the Children of Benjamin until this Day.* Now it is evident, that the *Jebusites* were destroyed under the Reign of *Saul*, or in Beginning of that of *David* ; and this Observation suits well with the Opinion of the *Jews* who ascribe this Book to *Samuel*.

Ver. 21.

2 Sam. 5. 6.

The Book of *Judges* contains the History of the *Israelites*, from the Death of *Joshua* to that of *Samson*. Chronologers are not agreed about the Number of Years, because of the different Methods they take in reckoning the Years of the People's Servitude recorded in this Book. Some confound them with the Years of the *Judges* ; and others, taking another Way of explaining what is said of them, reduce the whole History of this Book to about three hundred Years, which, according to the literal and natural Explication of the Text, ought to be above four hundred Years. There are other Chronologers who increase this Account by supposing several Anarchies, whose Continuance is not recorded in the History.

C H A P. XVII.

The Book of Ruth.

THIS History is an Appendix to that of the *Judges*, and a Manuduction to that of *Samuel*, and therefore it is properly placed between them. It has its Title from the Person whose Story is here principally related. The *Jews* make but one Book of this, and that of the *Judges*, and probably the same Person was the Author of both. It was certainly written at a Time when the Government by *Judges* was ceased, since the Author of it begins with observing, that the Fact came to pass in the Days when the *Judges* ruled. And he ends his Book with a Genealogy, which he carries down to *David*. Probably it was composed in that King's Time, and perhaps before he was advanced to the Throne.

This Book records, that there was a Famine in *Canaan*, and that *Elimelech* and his Wife *Naomi*, and their Sons, went into the Land of *Moab*, and there these latter were married, one to *Ruth*, and the other to *Orpah*. After ten Years were expired, *Elimelech* and his Sons died; whereupon *Naomi* and her Daughter-in-Law *Ruth* (for the other Daughter stay'd behind) returned to their own Country, and coming to *Bethlehem* were kindly received by *Boaz* their Kinsman. The Particulars of this kind Reception and Entertainment are related; and the Event was, that he married *Ruth*, who bare to him *Obed*, who was the Grandfather of *David*. In this History is remarkable the merciful Providence of God towards the Afflicted, the Widows and the Fatherless; the Reward of Constancy and Obedience; and the Blessing of Heaven upon those who fear God, and trust in him. Besides,

Book VIII. here are observable the antient Rights of *Kinsmen*, and of *Redemption*; and the Manner of buying the Inheritance of the Deceased; with other Particulars of great Note and Antiquity.

It is difficult to determine under what *Judge* the History of *Ruth* happened: Some place it in the Government of *Ehud*, or *Shamgar*; and others about the Beginning of the Time when *Eli* judged *Israel*.

CH A P. XVIII.

The First and Second Book of Samuel.

THE Books which we call the *First and Second Book of Samuel*, are called *Reigns* in the *Greek Version*, and in the *vulgar Latin*, *Kings*, but in the *Hebrew* they are styled, *The Books of Samuel*, which has given occasion commonly to ascribe them to that Prophet: But since the first four and twenty Chapters contain all that relate to the History of *Samuel*, and that the latter Part of the *First Book*, and all the *Second*, include the Relation of Events which happened after the Death of that Prophet, it has been supposed that he was the Author of the first four and twenty Chapters, and that the Prophets *Gad* and *Nathan* finished this Work. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists*, which they found upon his Text of Scripture; *Now the Acts of David, first and last, behold they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer.* By this Passage it is evident, that *Samuel* did write a Book, and it contained some of the Acts of *David*, which are these, it is probable, which are found in this first Book. Besides which, there were two other Books, written by two other Prophets, who continued the History of that Prince to the End of his Life. It must be

1 Chron. 29. 29.

be confessed that three distinct Books are mentioned in that Place of the *Chronicles*, and we cannot be sure that we have in those two Books all that was contained in those three, but only an Extract of the Substance of them, which, perhaps, might be made by some following Prophet, and divided into two Books, that were called by the Name of *Samuel*, because he was the most eminent Person of the three, and his Acts are here recorded in the first Place. It is certain that this Work was extant before the *Book of the Kings* was written, for mention is there made of what we read in this History : And in the Book of the *Chronicles*, several Things are repeated, which we find here in the very same Words. It is highly probable also, that *Samuel* having undertaken to write the History of the *Judges*, (to which, as an Appendix, he added the Book of *Ruth*,) would not leave it imperfect, but added in this Book what concerned *Eli* and himself, who were the last *Judges* of that Nation. Many Fathers of the *Christian* Church have observed, that the *Four Books of the Kings* are only an Historical Abridgment of several Books or Memoirs of the Prophets, which are cited in several Places of them ; and *Grotius* ascribes this Abridgment to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, others to *Isaiah*, and most to *Ezra*.

Chap. 18.

1 Kings 2. 27.

The *First Book of Samuel*, or of the *Four Books of Kings*, comprehends the Transactions under the Government of *Eli* and *Samuel*, and under *Saul* the first King ; as also the Acts of *David* whilst he lived under *Saul*, and is supposed to include the Space of about a hundred and one Years. Here is a Narrative of the Change of *Judges* into *Kings* ; of the Republick into a Monarchy ; and of the great and many Evils which they suffered as consequent upon it : We have here an Account of the Deposition of their new King for his rash and profane Sacrificing, and his wilful Disobedience to the Commands of God ; concerning the Destruction of the *Amalekites* ; his Treachery to *David*, and cruel

Book VIII. Pursuits of him : And lastly, the tragical Death of himself and his Son *Jonathan* on Mount *Gilboa*.

The *Second Book* contains an Account of about forty Years, and is wholly spent in the History of King *David's* Reign, that is, his Acts after the Death of *Saul*. These are either his Military Exploits; his troublesome, and dangerous, and sometimes successful Enterprizes in War; or his Political Acts expressed in the wise Administration of Civil Government; or his Ecclesiastical and Religious Undertakings, which respect the Church of God in those Days. With these are mixed the great Failings and Miscarriages of that King, (which are as particularly recorded as his other Acts,) and as a Consequent of them the many Disappointments and Distresses he met with, the various Judgments and Plagues that were inflicted upon him and his People by God, as a present Punishment, and as an Example to After-ages.

C H A P. XIX.

The Books of the Kings.

THESE Books contain the History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, from the Beginning of *Solomon's* Reign down to the Captivity of *Babylon*, for the Space of near six hundred Years, taking into the Account the History of the two foregoing Books. It is probable that they were composed by *Ezra*, who extracted them out of the Publick Records which were kept of what passed in that Nation, as we read of *the Book of the Acts of Solomon*; and frequently of *the Book of the Kings of Israel*, and *the Kings of Judah*, and of *the Book of Jehu*, in which were written the Acts of *Jehosaphat*. And *Isaiah*, we find, wrote the Acts of *Uzziah*, first and last; out of which, and such like

like Books : It is supposed that *Ezra* compiled this short History. Chap. 19.




The *First Books of the Kings* contains the latter Part of the Life of *David*, and his Death ; the Glory and Prosperity of that Nation under *Solomon* who succeeded him ; his Erecting and Consecrating of the Temple at *Jerusalem* ; his scandalous Defection from the true Religion ; the sudden Decay of the *Jewish* Nation after his Death, when it was divided into two Kingdoms under *Rehoboham*, who reigned over the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and and under *Jeroboham*, who was King over the other ten Tribes that revolted from the House of *David*. The rest of this History is spent in relating the Acts of four Kings of *Judah*, and eight of *Israel*.

The *Second Book*, which is a Continuation of the History of the Kings, is a Relation of the memorable Acts of sixteen Kings of *Judah*, and twelve of *Israel* ; and the End of both Kingdoms, by the carrying of the ten Tribes Captive into *Assyria* by *Salmanassar*, and the other two into *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the just Rewards of the Idolatry and Impenitence of a wicked and abandoned People.

C H A P. XX.


The Books of the Chronicles.

THOUGH it be uncertain, whether the Books of the *Kings*, or the *Chronicles* (I speak as to the main Body of the Books, not one particular Passage, as that in the Close of the Second Book of *Chronicles*, where Mention is made of the Deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus*, which might be added afterwards) were written first ; for the Book of *Kings* refers to the Book of *Chronicles*, and this again sends the Reader to that ; yet it is evident, that this of the *Chronicles* is more full and comprehensive

Book VIII.  five sometimes than that of the *Kings*; what was left out, or not fully set down in the one, is supply'd in the other. And from thence these Books are called *Paralipomena*, *Remains*, *Supplements*, *Additions*, by the *Greek* Interpreters, because they contain some Circumstances that were omitted in the other Historical Books.


The *Hebrews* made but one Book of the Books of the *Chronicles*, under the Title of *Dibre-Haiamim*, *the Sayings of Actions, of Days, or Years*, that is, Journals or Annals, either because the Order of Time is therein more exactly observed, or else because they were taken out of the Records, Journals, or Annals of History. It is for the first Reason that St. *Jerom* calls them *Chronicles*; by which he means an abridg'd History, wherein Matters of Fact are briefly related, and the Time carefully set down. *Ezra* is generally believed to have been the Author of these Books. It is certain they were written after the End of the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the first Year of the Reign of *Cyrus*, of whom mention is made in the last Chapter of the second Book. The last Words of that Chapter concerning *Cyrus*, are the very same with those at the Beginning of the first Book of *Ezra*, and the Genealogies which are in the first Chapters of the first Book of *Chronicles*, are conformable to those which are in the second, eighth, and tenth Chapters of the Book of *Ezra*. This may be an Inducement to believe that they were written by the same Author.

1 Chron. 3. 21. It must be confessed, there is one Passage which seems to prove that these Books are more modern: It is the Genealogy of the Posterity of *Zerubbabel*, which seems to be carry'd down much lower than the Time of *Ezra*: But possibly some of those Descendants were added. Besides, it is not certain that the Posterity of *Zerubbabel*, mentioned in that Place, did all of them descend in a Right Line from Father to Son, and that there were none of them Collateral. There are many Texts in these Books, which prove that they were transcribed Word for Word

Word from the Histories and Records made in the Chap. 20.
Time when the Temple stood, and when the *Jews* 
were in Possession of that Country, particularly,
that where it is said, that *the Ark remained in the* 2 Chron. 5. 9.
Temple unto this Day.

The *Paralipomena*, or *Chronicles*, are an Abridgment of all the Sacred History, from the Beginning of the *Jewish* Nation to their first Return from the Captivity, taken out of the Books of the Bible which we have, and out of other Annals which the Author had by him in his Time. The Design of the Writer was to represent to the *Jews* the Series of their History, which might have been worn out of their Memory during their Captivity, and so to put them in mind of their Original. The first Book relates the Rise and Propagation of the People of *Israel* from *Adam*, (which is the entire Subject of the first nine Chapters, that consist wholly of Genealogies,) and then afterwards most punctually and accurately gives an Account of the Reign of *David*. The second Book as faithfully sets down the Progress and End of the Kingdom of *Judah*, even to the Year of their Return from the Captivity in *Babylon*. The Judgment which St. *Jerom* passes upon this Work, is this, *The Book of the Chronicles, which is, as it were, an Abridgment of the Old Testament, is so considerable, that it is a Folly to pretend to have any Knowledge of the Sacred Scripture without it; for, in almost all the Places thereof, we meet with Circumstances omitted in the Books of Kings, and an infinite Number of Questions upon the Gospel explained.* However, there are manifest Contradictions between the Chronology of these Books and that of the Book of *Kings*, which it is very difficult, though not impossible to reconcile.

These Books of *Chronicles*, together with those of the *Kings* and *Samuel* make up the best and choicest History in the World. Here we are abundantly furnished with such useful Notices, Truths, and Maxims as *these*, all confirmed by great and illustrious Examples, and such Instances as are certain

Book VIII. tain and unquestionable: Crowned Heads are surrounded with Cares, and seldom find Rest and Repose, though their Lives are more splendid, yet they are not less calamitous than those of the common People: Good Kings are rare, and the Number of them is inconsiderable, in comparison of those that are bad: The best Kings have their Faults, and some of them of a very scandalous Nature: There is little Piety in the Courts of Princes, and as little Integrity and Honesty: The People are easily seduced to follow the Examples of their Governors, and Religion and Manners vary too often according to the Wills of Superiors: Good Kings are the greatest Blessings, and wicked ones are the greatest Curse to a Nation: Princes mistake their Measures, when they either disobey God, or oppress their People: Tyrannical Princes procure their own Ruin: The Sins and Vices of Rulers prove fatal to their Subjects: Publick Enormities are punished with Publick and National Calamities: Kings may be known by the Ministers they chuse, and make use of: Those Counsels that are founded in Religion are most successful: Evil Counsellors contrive their own Destruction: Wars are the Effect and Consequence of fighting against God: The Success of Arms depends upon the Divine Blessing: The Church is never more shock'd than under bad Princes: Divisions and Rents about Religion have immediate Influence upon Secular Affairs; and when the Church is divided, the State is so too: The Revolutions in both are by the particular Disposal of the wise Over-Ruler of the World: True Piety and Religion are attended with earthly Rewards and Blessings, and the contrary brings down the greatest Plagues, even in this World: The worst Times afford some of the best, and most holy, religious, and zealous Men: Whatever Changes and Revolutions happen in the Kingdoms of the Earth, the Church of God remains secure; and though there are great and frequent Defections, yet there never is a total Extinction of it. With many other Propositions

positions and Maxims of the same Nature, which are of great Service to Princes and Subjects, and are to be deduced from these excellent Histories. Chap. 20.

C H A P. XXI.

The Book of Ezra.

THE two Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were formerly by the *Hebrews* reckon'd to be only one ; and this is the Reason why they both are inscribed under *Ezra's* Name in the *Latin* Bibles, though they originally belong'd to distinct Authors. *Ezra* was always looked upon as the Writer of the first of these Books, and indeed in many Places he speaks of himself in the first Person. But some are of Opinion, that the six first Chapters belong to a more antient Author ; and the Reason they give is, That the Writer of these Chapters was at *Jerusalem* in the Time of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspis*, as appears by the Expression in the fifth Chapter, where speaking of the Answers which the *Jews*, in the Reign of *Darius*, returned to the Governors of *Syria*, who would have prevented the Rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, he says in the first Person, *Then said we unto them after this* Ver. 4. *Manner* ; which supposes that he was then at *Jerusalem*. Now *Ezra* did not come thither till under the Government of *Artaxerxes*, as appears by the Beginning of the seventh Chapter. This is the Foundation of that Conjecture, which seems to be ill-supported. For when *Ezra* wrote *We said unto them after this Manner*, he speaks in the Name of the *Jews* ; and it is usual for Historians of a Country to speak thus in the first Person in the Name of their own Nation, and to say, for instance, *We declared War* ; *We made a Peace* ; *We took that City* ; altho' the Historian had no Share in all those Events.

This

Book VIII.



This Book of *Ezra* was written in the latter End of the Author's Life, and contains an Account of about eighty, though some say near a hundred Years. It includes the History of the *Jews* from the Time that *Cyrus* made the Edict for their Return, until the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. The Return of the *Jews* from *Babylon* seems to have been at two several Times: The first in the Days of *Cyrus*, the first *Persian* Monarch, under the Conduct of *Zerubbabel* their Captain, and *Jeshua* their High Priest. In this Book are recorded the Number of those that returned; *Cyrus's* Proclamation for the Rebuilding of the Temple; the Laying of the Foundations of it; the Retarding of the Work under the Reign of two of the Kings of *Persia*; at last, the Finishing of the Temple in the Reign of *Darius*. The second Return of the *Jews* was under the Reign of *Artaxerxes* under the Conduct of *Ezra*, who obtained from that Prince, and his seven Chief Counsellors, an ample Commission to return to *Jerusalem* with all of his Nation that were willing to follow him, and received full Authority to restore and settle the State; to reform the Church of the *Jews*; and to regulate and govern both according to their own Laws. This extraordinary Privilege it is supposed was obtained at the Sollicitation of *Esther*, who was at that Time the most beloved of all the King's Concubines, though not yet advanced to the Dignity of *Queen*.

Neh. 8.

This *Ezra* was of the Descendants of *Seraiah* the High Priest, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he burnt the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*. That he was the immediate Son of *Seraiah* is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one Year old at the Death of this *Seraiah*, he must now have been a hundred and thirty two; and yet we find him alive in the Time of *Nehemiah* fifteen Years after, when, according to this Account, he must have been a hundred and forty seven Years old, though he was then of that Vigour, as to bear the Fatigue of reading the Law for a whole Forenoon

noon together to all the People of the *Jews*, which is a Thing wholly improbable in those Days; and therefore, where he is said to be the Son of *Seraiah*, it must be understood in that large Sense, wherein commonly in Scripture any Descendant is said to be the Son of any Ancestor from whom he was derived.

As *Ezra* was a very Holy, so he was a very Learned Man, and exquisitely skill'd in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very *ready Scribe in the Law of God*; which he was so eminent for, that *Artaxerxes* takes particular Notice of it in his Commission. He began his Journey from *Babylon* on the first Day of the first Month called *Nisan*, (which might fall about the Middle of our *March*;) and having halted at the River of *Abava*, till the rest of his Company came up, he recommended himself, and all that were with him, in a most solemn Fast to the Divine Protection; and then upon the twelfth Day, set forward for *Jerusalem*, where they all safely arrived upon the first Day of the fifth Month, having spent four whole Months in their Journey from *Babylon*. Upon his Arrival, he deliver'd up to the Temple all the Offerings which had been made to it by the King and his Nobles, and the rest of the People of *Israel* that stay'd behind, which amounted to a hundred Talents of Gold, with twenty Basons of Gold of the Value of a thousand *Darics*, (a Piece amounting to one of our *Jacobus's*;) and six hundred and fifty Talents of Silver, with Vessels of Silver of the Weight of a hundred Talents more. And then having communicated his Commission to the King's Lieutenants and Governors through all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he apply'd himself to execute the Contents of it. He was fully empower'd to settle the Church and State of the *Jews* according to the Law of *Moses*, and to appoint Magistrates and Judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and that, not only by Imprisonment and Confiscation of Goods, but also with Banishment and Death, according

Ezra 7. 12.

Book VIII. according as their Crimes should be found to deserve. All this Authority *Ezra* was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute for the Space of thirteen Years, till *Nehemiah* arrived with a new Commission from the *Persian* Court for promoting the same Design.

C H A P. XXII.

The Book of Nehemiah.

THE Successor of *Ezra* in the Government of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* was *Nehemiah*, a very religious and most excellent Person, who came nothing short of his Predecessor, except in his Learning and Knowledge of the Divine Law. He came to *Jerusalem* in the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by a Commission from him superseded that of *Ezra*, and succeeded him. He had Authority given him to repair the Walls, and to set up the Gates of *Jerusalem*, and to fortify it again in the same Manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the *Babylonians*. He was a *Jew*, whose Ancestors had formerly been Citizens of *Jerusalem*; but as to the Tribe or Family he was of, no more is said, than that his Father's Name was *Hachaliah*, who seems to have been of those *Jews*, who becoming rich in the Land of their Captivity, chose rather to continue there, than to return to their own Country when they had Leave to do it.

Nehemiah was one of the Cup-Bearers of King *Artaxerxes*, which was a Place of great Honour and Advantage in the *Persian* Court; and the Opportunity he had of being daily in the King's Presence, together with the Favour of *Esther* the Queen, procured him the Privileges he obtained for the Building of the City, and the Settlement of his Country. When he came to *Jerusalem*, he open'd his Commis-



Commission, and setting vigorously about the Work, in fifty two Days he finished the Walls, and set up the Gates of the City, and a publick Dédication of them was celebrated with great Solemnity by the Priests and *Levites*, and all the People. After this, he made some Reformation of the Abuses that had crept in among his Countrymen; particularly, he took off the Extortion of the Usurers, by which the Poor was oppressed, and forced to pay for the Money they borrowed after the Rate of *Twelve per Cent.* which was so grievous a Burden, that they were obliged to mortgage their Lands, and sell their Children into Servitude to buy Bread for the Support of themselves and their Families. He return'd again to *Persia*, and having obtained a new Commission from the *Persian* Court, he came back to *Jerusalem*, where his first Care was to provide for the Security of the City, which he had new fortified, by settling Rules for the opening and shutting of the Gates, and keeping Watch and Ward upon the Towers and Walls. He filled the City with a sufficient Number of Inhabitants: He examin'd strictly into the Genealogies of the People, not only upon the Account of their Civil Rights, but more especially for the Regularity of Divine Worship, that none might be admitted to officiate in the Sanctuary as *Levites*, which were not of the Tribe of *Levi*, or as Priests, that were not of the Family of *Aaron*. After twelve Years he returned again to the *Persian* Court, where he continued about five Years; but many Corruptions having obtained among the *Jews* in his Absence, he had Leave to visit his Country, where he was settled in his Government, and with his usual Zeal and Diligence, he reformed the Abuses, and corrected what he found amiss, particularly he expelled some Heathen Strangers, who had Lodgings and Apartments within the Temple itself: He established the Reading of the Law, and the orderly carrying on of the daily Service; and settled the Rules of Marriage among the People, and expelled the refractory *Jews* that would not

Book VIII. conform to obey them. He was always allow'd to have been the Author of the Book that goes under his Name, which was all of it originally written in the *Hebrew Language*, and is supposed to contain an Account of between thirty and forty Years.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Book of Esther.

THIS Book contains the History of a *Jewish* Virgin of that Name, the Kinswoman of *Mordecai* the *Jew*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, dwelling at *Shushan*, which happen'd in the Reign of *Ahasuerus*, one of the Kings of *Persia*. The Story is this: *Haman*, a great Favourite of the King, and advanced to great Honour by him, was highly incensed against *Mordecai*, one of the *Captive Jews*, because he refused to do him reverence, and to bow to him. Whereupon he resolved, for his sake, to compass the Destruction of all the *Jews* in those Territories; and to that End obtained a Decree from the King to put them all to the Sword. But this wicked Design was happily frustrated by Means of *Esther*, a *Jewish* Captive, who, for her transcendant Beauty, had a little Time before been advanced to the Throne, and now prevail'd with her Royal Husband to spare the Life of her dear Countrymen. In this Manner *Haman's* cursed Conspiracy was defeated: He himself advanced to a Gibbet, and that of his own preparing; the *Jews* deliver'd from their Fears and Dangers; *Mordecai*, who discover'd this Design to Queen *Esther*, and who before that discover'd another Conspiracy against the King, preferred to the greatest Honours in the Kingdom; the Hearts and Mouths of all the *Jews* in the King's Provinces were filled with Joy; and an annual Festival was appointed to be celebrated

in Remembrance of this singular and unexpected Chap. 23.
Deliverance in all succeeding Generations.



There is scarce any History whose Chronology is more uncertain than this of *Esther*: It is evident that it fell out in the Time of King *Abasuerus*, but the Difficulty is to know who is the King that is so called in Scripture. Archbishop *Usher*, in his *Annals* of the Old Testament, makes *Darius Hystaspis* to be the King *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of the Holy Scriptures. But the Characters that are given of these Persons by the Historians who have written of them, are wholly inconsistent with this Conjecture. The great *Scaliger* is of Opinion, De Emendatione, lib. 6. That *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* his Queen was the *Esther* of the Sacred History; and his principal Reason for it, is the Similitude that is between the Names of *Esther* and *Hamestris*. But the great Difference in the Actions and Conduct of these two Persons, is an unanswerable Argument against this Opinion, *Hamestris* being a Person of great Cruelty, and abominable Incontinency: So that how much soever the Names of *Esther* and *Hamestris* may be alike, the Persons could not be the same. But the most antient Evidences that can be had of this Matter, are from the *Greek* Version of the Sacred Text, the *Apocryphal* Additions to the Book of *Esther*, and *Josephus*; and all these agree that *Artaxerxes Longimanus* was the *Abasuerus* of the Scriptures; for *Josephus* positively asserts, Antiq. lib. 1 c. 6. That it was he; and the *Septuagint* through the whole Book of *Esther*, wherever *Abasuerus* is mentioned in the *Hebrew* Text, translate *Artaxerxes*. And the *Apocryphal* Additions to that Book every where call the Husband of *Esther* *Artaxerxes*, who could be no other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; for there are several Circumstances related of him, both in the Canonical and *Apocryphal* *Esther*, which can by no Means be applicable to the other *Artaxerxes*, called *Mnemon*. *Severus Sulpitius*, with many other Writers, as well of the Antients as the Moderns,

Book VIII. come also into this Opinion. And that extraordinary Favour and Kindness which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shew'd the *Jews*, beyond all the other Kings that reigned in *Persia*, first in sending *Ezra*, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, for the repairing the broken Affairs of that People in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and restoring of them again to their antient Prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for upon any other Reason, but that they had in the Bosom of the *Persian* Monarch such a powerful Advocate as *Esther* to sollicite for them.

The Author of the Book of *Esther* is no less uncertain. Many of the *Christian* Fathers attribute this History to *Ezra*. *Eusebius* believes it to be more modern ; Others ascribe it to *Joachim* the High Priest, the Grandson of *Josedec*. Most conceive *Mordecai* to be the Author of it ; and some join *Esther* to him. But *Du Pin's* Conjecture is, That the *Great Synagogue*, to preserve the Memory of this remarkable Event, and to account for the Original of the Feast of *Purim*, order'd this Book to be composed, which they approved, and placed in the Canon of the Sacred Books.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Book of Job.

SOME Account being given of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, the following are those which the *Hebrews* call *Moscelim*, that is, Books written in a *figurative* and *sententious* Style. The first is, that which goes under the Name of *Job*, because it contains the Narrative of a Series of Misfortunes that happen'd to a Man, whose Name was *Job*, the Encomium of that Patience with which he suffer'd, and the Conferences that he had with his Friends upon that Account. Many of the *Jewish Rabbins* pretend that this Relation

tion is altogether a Fiction; but the most reasonable Opinion is, That the Ground-Work of this History is true, but that the Author wrote it in a Poetical Strain, and decorated it with peculiar Circumstances, to render the Narration more profitable and delightful. It cannot be a literal Narration of a Matter of Fact; the Manner wherein it is related, the Style in which it is written, the Converses between God and the Devil, the prolix Discourses of *Job's* Friends, do all prove that it is an Account embellished by the Author, to give a more sensible and affecting Example of a finish'd Patience, and to make the Instructions about the Notions that a Man ought to have in Prosperity, as well as Adversity, the more forcible and extensive. Chap. 24.

The other Books of Scripture inform us, that *Job* is not a feigned Name, since mention is made of him as of a real Person, particularly by *Ezekiel*, Ezek. 14. 14. where he is joined to *Noah* and *Daniel*, and pronounced to have been as righteous as they were. James 5. 11. The Time wherein this Man lived, nor when his History happen'd, is not recorded. The Length of his Life ought to have been above two hundred Years, since he lived a hundred and forty after his Re-establishment, as it is observed at the End of his Book; from whence some have imagined, that he was a great deal more antient than *Moses*; and because there is no Notice taken of the *Levitical Law*, either by *Job* or his Friends, there is great Probability that his Story happened before the *Law* was written, and perhaps whilst the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness. There are three Men mentioned in Scripture of the Name of *Job*: The first was the Grandson of *Shera*, and the Son of *Aram*: The second, the Son of *Nabor*, *Abraham's* Gen. 22. 11. Brother: The third, the Son of *Dishan*, who was Gen. 36. 28. the Son of *Seir*, the Son of *Esau*; he is supposed to have been the last of these, and to have been an Inhabitant of *Uz* in *Idumæa*.

Some of the Learned Criticks ascribe this History to *Job* himself; but the *Rabbins* generally pronounce

Book VIII. *Moses* to be the Author. Others say, that *Job* wrote it originally in *Syriack*, or *Arabick*, and that *Moses* render'd it into *Hebrew*, and added several Passages to it; and some make *Solomon* the Author, discovering, as they think, his Manner of speaking in it.

St. *Jerom* imagined that the Book of *Job*, excepting the two first Chapters, and the End of the last, is written in *Hexameter* Verse, composed of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, mix'd sometimes with other Feet of the same Quantity, tho' not the same Number of Syllables. It seems to be a hard Matter at present to discover the Measure and Cadency of these Verses, but through the Whole we may perceive that Poetical Genius, and those noble, bold, and figurative Expressions, which are the very Soul of Poetry.

This Book is naturally divided into three Parts, though very unequal ones: The first is the Historical Narration of the former Prosperity of *Job*, and of the Miseries with which he was afterwards afflicted; and this is the Subject of the two first Chapters. The second consists of the Speeches of *Job* and his Friends, which is the principal Body of the Treatise. The third Part, which begins at the seventh Verse of the last Chapter, is a short Account of what follow'd after these Conferences between *Job* and his Friends; which concludes the Whole.

CHAP. X.

The Book of Psalms.

THIS Book is called *Sepher Tephilim* by the *Hebrews*, that is, the Book of Hymns, or Praises ; but the *Greeks* called them *Psalms*, (which comes from the Verb $\psiαλλω$, which signifies *to touch sweetly*,) because, with the Voice was joined the Sound of Musical Instruments. Most of the Psalms have a particular Title, signifying either the Name of the Author, or the Person who was to Set it to Musick, or that was to sing it, or the Name of the Instrument that was to be used, or the Tune by which it was to be sung, or the Occasion, or Subject of the Psalm.

Some of the Antients believed that *David* was the sole Author of the Book of *Psalms* : But this is impossible to be true, because the Title of the nineteenth Psalm, and others, tells us, that they were composed by *Moses*. The Psalms have two Sorts of Titles, one in the *Hebrew* Text, which is the true, and the other in the *Greek*, which is frequently false. Such as are ascribed to *David* in the *Hebrew*, are certainly his ; for besides that they agree exactly with the Character and History of that Prince, we are told in Scripture, that he not only composed many Psalms, but ordered them to be sung by the *Levites* upon Instruments : A Custom that lasted among the *Jews* to the Time of *Hezekiah*, who was the Restorer of it, and which continued even after the Return from the Captivity of *Babylon*. There are Psalm 2. 72. 105. some Psalms that have no Title, that are supposed 106. to have been written by *David*, because the Subject-Matter they contain, is suitable to the Circumstances of that Prince.

Book. VIII. The most antient Writer among the *Psalmists* is *Moses*, who was certainly the Author of the ninetieth Psalm, as appears by the Title, *A Prayer of Moses the Man of God*. Most of the *Hebrews* ascribe to him the ten following, which have no Title; but this could not be, for *Samuel* is mentioned in the ninety ninth.

The fiftieth Psalm, and the seventy third, with the ten following, are under the Name *Asaph*, and the Style of them is more lofty than that of the Psalms of *David*. But *Asaph* can hardly be supposed to be the Author of all the Psalms under his Name, for the seventy fourth, the seventy seventh, the seventy ninth, and eightieth, relate to the *Babylonish* Captivity, so that they might be composed by some of the Posterity of that Prophet, who succeeded him in the Office of singing the Divine Praises.

Many of the Psalms are under the Name of the Sons of *Korah*, who caused a Rebellion among the *Israelites*: These were *Levites* who were supposed to have their Names prefixed to these Psalms, not because they were the Authors of them, but because they were to sing them; for the eighty eighth, which is directed to them, is ascribed to *Heman* the *Exrabite*. The same may be said of those Psalms that have *Jeduthun* in the Title, who was one of the chief Singers among the *Levites*. The eighty eighth is attributed to *Heman*, and the eighty ninth to *Ethan*, who were of the Tribe of *Levi*, and had Singers under them. The seventy second, and the hundred and twenty seventh are under *Solomon's* Name: The former was composed by *David* for *Solomon* his Son, who possibly might be the Author of the latter. These are all the Persons whose Names are in the Titles of the Psalms, according to the *Hebrew* Text.

The Names of the Instruments that were to be used, or the first Notes of the Tune with which they were to be sung, are prefixed to some of the Psalms. We find many directed to him that excelleth,



leth, that is, *to the Chief Musician*, to be played on an Instrument of Strings, or on Wind-Musick, or in the Tune of some common Song. Some Titles denote, in general, the Quality of the Psalm, as, *A Song of Instruction*; *A Song of Praise*: And others contain the Occasion for which the Psalm was composed; as that of the third Psalm, *A Psalm of David when he fled from his Son Absalom*.

The Book of *Psalms* was collected by *Ezra*, in the same Measures that he found them: He followed no Order in this Work, either of the Authors, Times, or Matters, and made one entire Volume of them, without dividing them into Classes. The *Jews* have since divided them into five Parts: The First, ending at the forty first Psalm; the Second, at the seventy second; the Third, at the ninetieth; the Last, contains the rest of the Psalms. By this we may understand that Passage in the seventy second Psalm, and the last Verse, *The Prayers of David, the Son of Jesse, are ended*; that is, Here is an End of the Second Book of *David's Psalms*.

There is the Word *Selah* often used (seventy Times at least) in those Divine Poems; but it is not easy to assign the true and proper Import of it. "I cannot, says *Avenarius*, in his *Book of Roots*, "find the certain Meaning of it, though I have "consulted all the Comments of the Rabbies." The *Chaldee* Paraphrase renders it, *perpetuo tempore*, and so several *Rabbins* expound it, but can assign no sufficient Reason for it. Some take it for a *Musical Note*, of no Significancy in itself, but a meer made Word, to direct the Masters in Musick in Singing or Playing. But then there is some Difference among those of this Opinion; for some of the *Hebrew* Writers think it denotes the *Elevation of the Voice*, and that wherever this Word is in the Psalms, the *Choristers* were put in Mind to lift up their Voices. Others of them believe it is a Note, to signify a *Pause*, a Resting, or Breathing for a Time; and accordingly some of the *Jewish* Doctors say, "That they were admonished by
" this

Book. VIII. “ this Word to begin another Sentence or Period.”



But another *Classis* of Interpreters look upon this Word, not as a *Note of Musick*, but of *Observation* or *Remark*, and are perswaded that it is affixed to some Sentences that are very notable, and more especially worthy of our Consideration. But the Conjecture of *Kimchi* seems to have most Reason in it, who joins this and the former Expositions of the Word together, telling us, “ That *Selah* is both “ a Musical Note, and a Note of Emphasis in the “ Sense, whereby we are ordered to observe some- “ thing more than usually remarkable.” It is derived from *Sal*, or *Salal Exaltavit*, and denotes the elevating of the Voice in Singing, and at the same Time the lifting up of the Heart, the serious meditating and considering upon the Thing that is spoken. It is an Argument to prove that this was of Use in Musick and Singing, because it is render’d *διαψαλμα* by the Greek Interpreters, and which is more considerable, because we meet with it in the Psalms only, and in the the third Chapter of *Habbakkuk*, which is a kind of Psalm, or Canticle, as may be observed in the Title of it. And that it is also a Mark of Observation and Meditation, may be gathered from its being joined in the ninth Psalm with *Higgaion*, which signifies *Meditation*; for the Word is deriv’d from *Hagah meditatus fuit*. And tho’ in some Places *Selah* seems to be used where there is no emphatick Word, or Sense, yet it must be consider’d that this must be referred and applied not only to the immediately preceding Word or Verse, but to the whole Set of Verses or Periods about which it is placed; and then we shall find that something remarkable is denoted by it. It calls upon us to revolve in our Minds with great Seriousness the Matter that is before us, and to give Glory to God; and to this Purpose it may be observed, that in the forty sixth Psalm, *Selah* is render’d *δόξα* by the Seventy Interpreters.

Ver. 3.

Ver. 16.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Book of Proverbs.

THE wise *Solomon* succeeded his Father *David* in the Sacred Canon of the Bible. He received from God the Gift of Wisdom and Understanding, and composed three thousand Sentences or Proverbs, and a thousand and five Songs, and the Collection we have at present is, no doubt, a Part of them. His Name is prefixed to the whole Work, *The Proverbs of Solomon the Son of David*. In the twenty fifth Chapter it is observed, that the following Proverbs belong to him; but they were collected by Persons appointed by King *Hezekiah* for that Purpose. *These are also the Proverbs of Solomon which the Men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out.* The thirtieth Chapter begins thus, *The Words of Agur the Son of Jakeb*: The last Chapter is entitled, *The Words of King Lemuel*. From these different Titles we may conclude, that the first four and twenty Chapters may be the genuine Work of *Solomon*; that the five next are a Collection of several of his Proverbs, made in the Time of King *Hezekiah*, and by his Order; and that the two last Chapters were added, and belong to different, tho' unknown Authors; for there is no mention any where made of this *Agur the Son of Jakeb*, nor of King *Lemuel*, whom some pretend to be King *Hezekiah*. However, this is certain, That the two last Chapters are an Addition made afterwards, and of a different Style from the rest. The last is likewise composed of two distinct Parts; the former consisting of Sentences; and the latter, which cannot be the same Author's, is a Description of a *wise Wife*. It is probable, that the End of the twenty fourth Chapter, from the twenty third Verse, which

Book. VIII. which begins thus, *These Things also belong to the Wise*, is another Author's.

It is the Opinion of the *Jews*, that *Solomon* wrote the *Canticles* in his Youth, the *Proverbs* in his Manhood, and the *Ecclesiastes* in the latter End of his Life. Others pretend that the *Proverbs* are the first Work of *Solomon*, *Ecclesiastes* the second, and the *Canticles* the third: But these are trifling Conjectures, from which it is impossible to discover the Truth, or to receive Satisfaction. It may be more proper to observe, that this Proverbical Manner of Speaking and Writing was in great Use and Esteem among the *Hebrews*, and all the Countries of the *East*; whence it was that the Queen of *Sheba* came to prove *Solomon* with hard Questions, Parables, according to the *Chaldee*, Problems, Riddles. This Method of Instruction was practised by the Wise Men of antient Times: *Pythagoras* and *Plato* were much addicted to this abstruse Way, and all their Followers were delighted with mystical Representations: But the Collection of the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* infinitely surpasses all that has been done by Philosophers, whether we consider the Justness of Thought, or the Nobleness of Expression, or the wonderful Varieties and Extent of Matters, or the Wisdom of the Maxims. All here is genuine, sublime, wise, plain, natural, and instructive.

This Book is called *Mische* by the *Hebrews*, which signifies a *Proverb* or *Allegory*, but may be extended to all manner of figurative Sentences. The *Greeks* style it *Παραβολαί*, and the *Latins* *Proverbia*, which in our Language, may more properly be rendered *Sentences*, or *Maxims*.

C H A P. XXVII.

The Book of Ecclesiastes.

THE Name of *Solomon* is not prefix'd to the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, yet the Expression in the Beginning of it, which can be applied to none else, sufficiently proves it to be his; *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem.* The greatest Difficulty that can be raised to make this not to be the Work of *Solomon*, is taken from several *Chaldee* Expressions that are said to be met with in it, and which, it is pretended, were not in use till after the Captivity. Though this were so, yet, even in *Solomon's* Time, there might be some *Arabick* or *Chaldee* Terms mixed with the Sacred Language, which *Solomon*, who conversed with strange Women, might have used. But the Matter of Fact is not certain, and there is scarce one Word to be met with in this Book, but what is really *Hebrew*, and may be found in the preceding Books. The *Jews* believed this to be the Work of *Solomon*, and to be the Effect of his Repentance. It is evident that he who wrote it had reigned a long Time already; that he had built him a magnificent Palace; that he had enjoyed the Pleasures of Life; and that he was reclaimed from the Passion he had for Women.

The Design of this Book is to shew the Vanity, or Insolidity of all sublunary Things. The Author enumerates the particular Objects upon which Men place their Happiness in this World; and then he discovers their Instability by many curious Reflections upon the Pains and Miseries of human Life, and from Death, which puts a Period to all. Upon the whole, his Discourse ends with this Conclusion, *Fear God, and keep his Commandments,*
for

Book VIII. *for this is the whole Duty of Man.* St. Jerom observes, that this pious Inference prevented the Jews from suppressing this whole Book of *Ecclesiastes*:
 “ The *Hebrews* (says he, in his *Commentary* upon
 “ this Passage) had Thoughts of excluding this
 “ Work, as well as many other Writings of *Solo-*
 “ *mon*, which are now lost and forgot, because
 “ this Book asserts that the Creatures of God are
 “ vain; that all Things are as nothing; so that it
 “ seems to prefer Eating and Drinking, and transi-
 “ ent Pleasure before all Things; but that this single
 “ Verse has made it deserve to be placed among
 “ the Divine Books, because it appears that the
 “ End of the Author’s Discourse was to shew, that
 “ we ought above all to *fear God, and keep his Com-*
 “ *mandments.*

This Book is called *Ecclesiastes* by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, that is, the *Preacher*. Among the *Hebrews* it has the Title of *Cobeleth*, which literally signifies a *Collector*, because it is supposed to be a Discourse or Sermon delivered to an Assembly. The *Talmudists* make King *Hezekiah* to be the Author of it: *Kimchi* attributes it to *Isaiah*; and *Grotius* to *Zorobabel*: But the Book itself affords no manner of Foundation for these Conjectures.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Song of Solomon.

THE Name of *Solomon* is prefixed in the Title of this Book by the *Hebrew Text*, and the antient *Greek Version*, though it is ascribed to *Hezekiah* by the *Talmudists*. According to the *Hebrew Idiom*, it is intituled, *Sir Hasi-rim*, *The Songs of Songs*, or a most excellent Song, or *Epithalamium*, after the Manner of an *Idyll*, wherein are introduced, as speaking, a Bridegroom,

a Bride, the Friends of the Bridegroom, and the Companions of the Bride. So that the *Jews* did not allow this Book to be read by any till they were thirty Years old ; yet they did not suppose it included any obscene Matters, but understood it to be an Allegory : For, say they, if what is contained in this Book were not sublime, it would never have been inserted in the Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Some have conceived, that *Solomon* had no other Design in this Work, than to describe his Amours with *Abisag* the *Shunamite*, or with the Daughter of *Pharoah*, because the Letter of this Book represents nothing but the tender Expressions of a Man and a Woman, who love one another passionately : There is no Principle of Morality or Religion in it ; nor is the Name of God so much as once mentioned. Others believe that this Work is wholly Allegorical, and that *Solomon* had no Thoughts of Carnal Love in the composing of it : But the Opinion between these two is the most reasonable ; and it may be safely said, that according to the Historical Sense, it is a Song to celebrate the Marriage of *Solomon* with the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*, who is called *Sulamita*, after the Name of *Solomon* ; and in the mystical Acceptation it denotes the strict Union between *Christ* and his Church, which in the Gospel is compared to that Union which is between a Man and his Wife. This is the Mystery figured out by the Marriage of *Solomon*, and veil'd under the Expressions of his *Epithalamium*, than which nothing can possibly be more elegant. Here we may observe a Fire, a Flame, a Delicacy, a Variety, and Nobleness, and such Charms as are inimitable.

Some have pretended to discover five Scenes in this Song of *Solomon*'s ; but others, with more Reason, have distinguished it into seven Days, or rather seven Parts of the Eclogue, which answers to the seven Days during which the Antients were used to celebrate their Nuptials.



C H A P. XXIX.

The Book of the Prophet Isaiah.

WE are now come to the Prophetical Books, and the Writers of them are commonly divided into two Classes: The First, is of those whose Prophecies are larger, and are styled the *Greater Prophets*: And the Second, of those whose Prophecies are more concise, who are for that Reason called the *Minor* or *Lesser Prophets*. The *Greeks* put the *Lesser Prophets* in the first Place, because, perhaps, they are more antient than the *Greater*; but the *Greater Prophets* have the first Place among the *Latins*. The *Hebrews* reckoned no more than three of the *Greater Prophets*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, for they did not allow *Daniel* to be a Prophet; but he is included by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. The *Lesser Prophets* are twelve in Number, and the Space wherein all these Prophets flourished takes up the Compass of about three hundred Years, from the Reign of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, to the Rebuilding of the Temple, and the City of *Jerusalem*. The Prophetical Books will not give so much trouble concerning the Authors of them as the others, for they are all under the Names of those who composed them, and not one reasonable Objection can be offered to the contrary.

Of those who prophesied after the Division of the Ten Tribes, but before the Captivity of either, *Isaiah* is the first and most eminent. He was of the Blood Royal, his Father *Amoz* being Brother to *Azariah* King of *Judah*. He prophesied from the End of the Reign of *Uzziah*, to the Time of *Manasseh*, “By whose Order, says the *Jewish Tradition*,

dition, he was sawn in two with a Wooden Saw. Chap. 29.
He delivered his Predictions under the Reigns of four Kings, *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Abaz*, and *Hezekiah*. The five first Chapters of his Prophecy relate to the Reign of *Uzziah*: The Vision of the sixth Chapter happened in *Jotham*'s Time. The next Chapters, to the fifteenth, include his Prophecies under the Reign of *Abaz*: And those that happened under the Reigns of *Hezekiah* and *Manasseh* are related in the next Chapters, to the End.

The Style of this Prophet is noble, sublime, and florid. He was the *Demosthenes* of the *Hebrews*, as *Grotius* calls him; the Purity of *Hebraism* is to be seen in him, as that of *Atticism* in the other: He used many Schemes and Figures, but in nothing more he excelled than in that difficult Art of adding Gravity, Force, and Vehemence to what he said. He had, above other Prophets, an Advantage of improving his Style, by reason of his noble Descent, and conversing with Men of great Parts and Elocution. He reprov'd impartially the Vices and Disorders of the Age he lived in, and openly displayed the Judgments of God which were impendent over the *Jewish* Nation: Yet not forgetting to denounce Vengeance on those Foreigners, who were instrumental in inflicting those Judgments, and for their crying Sins deserved to be destroyed, viz. *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Tyrians*, and *Arabians*. He clearly foretold the Deliverance of the *Jews* from their Captivity in *Babylon* by the Hand of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*; and this he expressly mentioned a hundred Years before it came to pass. But his Predictions concerning the *Messiah* are the most remarkable of all: He, in plain Terms, foretold not only the Coming of *Christ* in the Flesh, but all the great and memorable Passages which belonged to him: He speaks as clearly and distinctly of these, as if our Saviour had blessed the World with his Presence at

Book VIII. that very Time, when he wrote his Prophecy : He
 seems to speak, says St. *Jerom*, rather of Things
 past than to come ; and he may rather be called an
Evangelist than a *Prophet*.

CHAP. XXX.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah.

THIS Divine Writer was one of the Priests, the Son of *Hilkiah*, of *Anathoth*, in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, near *Jerusalem*. He was called to the Prophetick Office when he was very young, about the thirteenth Year of King *Josiah*, which he afterwards executed for above forty Years. He was not carried Captive into *Babylon* with the other *Jews*, but remained in *Judea*, to lament the Desolation of his Country. He was afterwards a Prisoner in *Egypt*, with his Disciple *Baruch*, where it is supposed he died in a very advanced Age. Many of the *Christian* Fathers tell us, that he was stoned to Death by the *Jews*, for preaching against their Idolatry ; and some say that he was put to Death by *Pharoah Hophra*, because of his Prophecy against him : But these seem to be Traditions, founded rather upon Conjecture, than upon any certain Account of the Matter. St. *Jerom*, in his Preface to *Jeremiah*, says, that he always kept in a State of Celibacy, which seems to be inferred from this Passage, *Thou shalt not take thee a Wife, neither shalt thou have Sons or Daughters in this Place.*

Chap. 16. v. 2.

The fifty second Chapter does not belong to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which concludes, at the End of the fifty first Chapter, with these Words, *Thus far are the Words of Jeremiah* : It rather belongs to *Ezra*, and contains a Narration of the
 Taking

Taking of *Jerusalem*, and of what happened during the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*, to the Death of *Jechonias*, taken almost entirely out of the Book of *Kings*. The eleventh Verse of the tenth Chapter is written in *Chaldee*. St. *Jerom* has observed upon this Prophet, that his Style was more simple and easy than that of *Isaiab* and *Hosea*; and that he even retains something of the Rusticity of the Village where he was born; but that he was very Learned and Majestical, and equal to those two Prophets in the Sense of his Prophecy.

Part of this Prophecy relates to the Time after the Captivity of *Israel*, and before that of *Judah*, from the first Chapter to the forty fourth; and part of it was in the Time of the latter Captivity, from the forty fourth Chapter to the End: The whole contains Matters of great Worth and Importance. The Prophet lays open the Sins of the Kingdom of *Judah* with great Freedom and Boldness, and reminds them of the severe Judgments which had befallen the Ten Tribes for the very same Offences and Miscarriages, and passionately laments their Misfortune, and recommends a speedy Reformation and Repentance. At length he more peremptorily proclaims God's Vengeance against them, foretelling the grievous Calamities that were approaching, particularly the seventy Years Captivity in *Chaldea*, which began (as some think) with the Carrying away of those of *Judah*. He also dissuades them from breaking Faith with the *Chaldeans*, after they were conquered by them; and shews how unsuccessful they should be in their revolting from them to the *Egyptians*. But even then he foretels their happy Return and Deliverance, and likewise the Recompence which *Babylon*, *Moab*, the *Philistines*, and other Enemies of the *Jews*, should meet with in due Time. Here are also several Intimations concerning the *Messiah*, and concerning his Kingdom and Government in the Times of the Gospel. Here are many remarkable Visions and Types, and historical

Book VIII. cal Passages of considerable Moment, which relate to those Times. So that the whole Book is of inestimable Worth, and such as can no where be found but in the Sacred Canon of the Scriptures.

C H A P. XXXI.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah.

THIS Book (which is supposed to be in *Hebrew Verse*, and so contrived, that in the four first Chapters, every Verse, excepting one, begins with a *Hebrew Letter*, in an Alphabetick Order) was written on the Death of that religious Prince *Josiah*, which appears from what is recorded; *Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the Singing-Men and the Singing-Women spake of Josiah in their Lamentations to this Day, and made them an Ordinance in Israel; and behold, they are written in the Lamentations.* This is confirmed by the *Jewish Historian*, who asserts this Poem to be a Funeral Elegy on that Pious King. *St. Jerom* imagines, that this Prophet laments the Loss of *Josiah*, as the Beginning of those Calamities that followed; and accordingly he proceeds to bewail the miserable State of the *Jews*, and particularly the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was not then come to pass, but is prophetically foretold, it being not unusual with the Prophets to speak of Things to come, as if they were already past; tho' some have conceived that this mournful Song was written after the Taking and Sacking of *Jerusalem*, and is a passionate bewailing of the Destruction of the Temple, and the horrible Consequences of it. The Sacred Penman humbly confesses the Sins of the People, and acknowledges the Divine Justice in all that befel them; to which he adds, a serious Exhortation to Repentance, and comforts them with Hopes

2 Chron. 35. 25.

Antiq. lib. 10.
cap. 6.

Hopes of a Restoration. So that the whole is an exact Pattern of Devotion, in Times of great and national Calamities and publick Sufferings. Chap. 31.

There is a Preface to the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* in the *Greek*, and in the vulgar *Latin*, which is not in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, nor in the *Syriack*, and which was manifestly an additional Piece set as an Argument of this Work.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.

EZEKIEL the Prophet, the Son of *Buzi*, of the House of *Aaron*, was carried Captive to *Babylon* with *Jechoniah*; and therefore the *Æra* whereby he reckons in all his Prophecies, is from this Captivity. He began to prophesy the fifth Year of this Captivity, the thirtieth of his Age, and continued to prophesy during twenty Years. He prophesied at the same Time that *Jeremiah* did in *Judea*. and afterwards in *Egypt*. Many of the same Things he foretold, more especially the Destruction of the Temple, and the fatal Event of those that revolted from *Babylon* to *Egypt*; and at last, the happy Return of the *Jews* into their own Land. He distinctly predicts the Plagues which should be inflicted upon other Nations that were Enemies to the *Jews*, as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Egyptians*, and lastly, the *Assyrians*, and *Babylonians*. In figurative and mystical Expressions, he foretels the *Messiah*, and the flourishing State of his Kingdom. Because the Prophet begins with Visions and Types, and ends with the Measuring of the mystical Temple, therefore (by reason of these Abstrusities and Mysteries) the Beginning and End of this Book were forbidden to be read by the *Jews* before they came to thirty

Book VIII. Years of Age. But the greatest Part of this Prophecy is plain, easy, and intelligible, referring chiefly to the Manners and Corruption of that degenerate Age. Of all the Prophets he abounds the most in enigmatical Visions. St. *Jerom* says, that his Style is neither eloquent, nor mean, but between both. He abounds in fine Sentences, rich Comparisons, and shews a great deal of Learning in prophane Things. He was killed, as it is supposed, by a Prince of his own Nation, whom he had reproved for worshipping of Idols.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Book of Daniel.

DANIEL was of the Progeny of the Kings of *Judah*; he was Contemporary with *Ezekiel*, and was a Captive in *Babylon* at the same Time that he was, being carried thither when he was about eighteen Years of Age. His Name is not placed before his Book, yet there are a great many Passages wherein he speaks in the first Person, which is sufficient Evidence that he was the Author of it. The antient Synagogue owned it as Genuine and Canonical; and the *Talmudists* acknowledge its Authority; but they believe that this, as well as those of *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *Minor Prophets*, with the Book of *Esther*, was digested into the Form in which it is at present by the Great Synagogue. The Style of *Daniel* is not so lofty or figurative as that of the other Prophets; it is historical, clear, and concise: He makes his Narrations and Descriptions simple and natural, and seems to write more like an Historian than a Prophet.

The *Jewish* Writers have refused to receive *Daniel* into the Number of the Prophets, and therefore

fore they place his Book only among the *Hagiographa*; Chap. 33. and they serve the *Psalms* of *David* after the same Manner. The Reason they give for it, in respect of both, is, That they lived not the Prophetick Manner of Life, but the Courtly; *David* in his own Palaces, as King of *Israel*; and *Daniel*, in the Palace of the King of *Babylon*, as one of his chief Ministers in the Government of the Empire. And in respect of *Daniel* they further add, That although he had Divine Revelations deliver'd to him, yet it was not in the prophetick Way, but by Dreams and Visions of the Night; which they reckon to be the most imperfect Manner of Revelation, and below the prophetick. But *Josephus*, one of the most ancient Writers of that Nation, reckons him among the greatest of the Prophets; and says further of him, That he had familiar Converse with God, and did not only foretel future Events, as other Prophets did, but also determined the Time when they should come to pass. And that whereas other Prophets only foretold evil Things, and by that Means drew upon themselves the Hatred both of Princes and People, *Daniel* was a Prophet of good Things to come, and by the good Report of his Predictions procured to himself the good Opinion of all Men. And the Event of such of them as were accomplished, obtained for the rest a Belief of their Truth, and a general Satisfaction that they came from God. But it is sufficient for us *Christians*, that our Saviour confesses *Daniel* to be a Prophet, and so styles him in the Gospel, which to us is a full Decision of this Matter. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12. Matth. 24. 15.

The six first Chapters of this Book are a History of the Kings of *Babylon*, and of what befel some of the Captive *Jews* under their Government. Here we have *Nebuchadnezzar's* remarkable Dream interpreted; we have a Relation of the singular Courage of the three *Hebrew* Youths, who refused to fall down before his Image, with the miraculous Deliverance of them from the Flames. Here is unfolded *Belshazzar's* fatal Doom contained in the

Book VIII. Mystical Hand-Writing upon the Wall, with his Death, that soon follow'd upon it, and the Succession of *Darius* to the Throne, and the Translation of the Monarchy to the *Medes*. It was under this Prince that our Prophet was advanced to his greatest Height of Honour; for whereas he had been a great Courtier and Favourite (and therefore supposed by some to have been an Eunuch) in *Nebuchadnezzar's* Time, and in the Close of *Belshazzar's* Reign was made the third Ruler in the Kingdom, now he is made the first, being set over all the Presidents and Princes of the Realm. This made him envied and hated; but he was persecuted much more for his Religion by the Grandees of the Kingdom, and even by a Decree of the King's own signing, committed to the Den of Lions, there to be devoured. But the Hand of Omnipotence interposed, and he came out thence safe, and his Adversaries and Accusers were sent thither in his Room, who were instantly destroyed. After this, he lived in great Esteem and Prosperity, not only in this King's Reign, but under *Cyrus*, a Monarch of the *Persian* Race, and died about the ninetieth Year of his Age, a Length of Years given but to few in those Days.

As our Author in the former Part of this Book relates Things past as an Historian, so in the six last Chapters he is altogether prophetic, foretelling not only what shall happen to his own Church and Nation, but his Visions and Prophecies reach to future Events, wherein foreign Princes and Kingdoms are concerned. What can be more valuable than his Dream or Vision of the four Secular Monarchies of the World, and of the fifth, which was to be Spiritual, and the Kingdom of the *Messiah*? What is more famous and celebrated than his Discovery (by the Angel *Gabriel's* Information) of the Seventy Weeks, viz. of Years, that is, four hundred and ninety Years, upon the Expiring of which the Empire of the *Messiah* was to be set up? What plain and signal Prophecies does this Book contain concerning

concerning that renowned Conqueror *Alexander* the Great, and his subduing the *Persian* Empire; as also concerning the fierce Wars among his great Captains and Commanders, who succeeded him? Particularly, how clearly are the Actions of *Antiochus* the Great, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Son, described by our Prophet long before those Persons were in being? And many other notable Occurrences relating to the most publick Transactions on the Stage of the World, are prophetically fore-signified and foretold by this Divine Seer, insomuch that we may style this Book *the Apocalypse of the Old Testament*.

This *Daniel* was a very extraordinary Person, both in Understanding and Piety, and his Wisdom did not only extend to Things Divine and Political, but also to Arts and Sciences, and particular to that of Architecture. *Josephus* tells us of a famous Edifice built by him at *Susa*, in the Manner of a Castle, (which he says was remaining in his Time,) and finished with such wonderful Art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful, as if it had been newly built. Within this Structure, he says, was the Place where the *Persian* and *Parthian* Kings used to be buried; and that for the sake of the Founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewish* Nation, even to his Time. The Copies of *Josephus*, that are now extant, do indeed place this Building in *Ecbatana* in *Media*; but *St. Jerom*, who gives us the same Account of it, Word for Word, out of *Josephus*, and professes that he does so, places it in *Susa* in *Persia*; which makes it plain, that the Copy of *Josephus*, which he made use of, had it so; and this, it is probable, was the true Reading; for *Susa* (the same is called *Shushan* in the Scripture) being within the *Babylonish* Empire, we are told, in Holy Writ, that *Daniel* sometimes resided there; and *Benjamin of Tudela* observes in his *Itinerary*, That it has been the common Tradition in those Parts, for many Ages past, that *Daniel* died in that City which is now called *Tuster*; and there they shew his Monument

Antiq. lib. 10.
cap. 12.

Comment. in
Dan. 8. 2.

Book VIII. numment down to this Day. And it is to be consider'd, that *Josephus* calls this Building *Baris*, which is the same Name by which *Daniel* himself calls the Castle or Palace at *Shushan*, or *Susa*; for what we translate *at Shushan in the Palace*, is in the Original *Beshushan Habirah*; where, no doubt, the *Birah* of *Daniel* is the same with the *Baris* of *Josephus*, and both signify this Castle or Palace there built by *Daniel*, while he was Governor of that Province; for there he did the King's Business, that is, was Governor for the King of *Babylon*.

Dan. 8. 2.

Dan. 8. 27.

Part of the Book of *Daniel* is originally written in the *Chaldee* Language, that is, from the fourth Verse of the second Chapter to the End of the seventh; all the rest is in *Hebrew*. The Reason may be, because *Daniel* was now by his long Abode in that Country become, as it were, a *Chaldean*; and perhaps he thought fit to write in the *Chaldean* Language, because he related what belonged to the Kings of *Babylon*, and the Affairs of that Place, which could not be better expressed than in this Tongue.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Prophecy of Hosea.

Amos 7. 42.

THE twelve Lesser Prophets (so called, because their Writings were of a smaller Bulk) are accounted by the *Jews* as one Book; and accordingly *St. Stephen* quoting a Passage out of *Amos*, says, *It is written in the Book of the Prophets. Hosea*, the Son of *Beer*, is placed the first among the Minor Prophets, both by the *Hebrew* Text and the Edition of the *Seventy*; but the *Seventy* observe the following Order in the five others, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Joel*, *Obadiah*, and *Jonah*; whereas the Order of the *Hebrew* Text, and the vulgar *Latin*, is this, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, and *Micah*.
Neither

Neither of them do exactly follow the Chronological Order; according to which, we should dispose both the Greater and Lesser Prophets thus, viz. *Jonah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nabum, Habbakuk, Obadiab, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.*

Hosea deliver'd his Prophecies in the Kingdom of *Israel*, and under the Reign of *Jeroboam* the Second, and his Successors, Kings of *Israel*, and whilst *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Abaz*, and *Hezekiah*, were Kings of *Judah*. His Name is at the Head of the Work; and he frequently speaks of himself in the first Person, so that it cannot be questioned but that he was the Author of this Prophecy: He directs his Predictions wholly against the Kingdom of *Israel*, which consisted of the Ten Tribes, but is by him peculiarly styled sometimes *Joseph*, sometimes *Ephraim*; at other Times *Samaria*, *Bethel*, *Jacob*, and *Israel*; as on the other hand, the Kingdom of *Judah* is called by him *Benjamin*, and sometimes *Jerusalem*. His principal Design, through the whole Book, is to publish the gross Idolatry, and other flagitious Practices of that degenerate People, and to denounce the Divine Judgments against them, and particularly to foretel their Captivity in *Assyria*. He excites them to a due Apprehension of this Severity of God towards them, and exhorts them to an unfeigned Repentance and Reformation. All which is done with a most ravishing Ardency, Affection, and Zeal. As to the Style it may be observed, That as *Ezekiel* was the obscurest of the Greater Prophets, so *Hosea* is of the *Minor* ones: His Style is pathetical, and full of short and lively Sentences.



The Antiquities of the

C H A P. XXXV.

The Prophecy of Joel.

THE Prophecy of *Joel*, the Son of *Pethuel*, follows that of *Hosea* in the *Hebrew* Text; but the Time wherein he prophesied being not inserted in the Beginning of his Prophecy, is upon that Account not so certain. *St. Jerom* believes him to be Contemporary with *Hosea*, because he follows that Prophet in the *Hebrew* Text, and his Opinion he grounds upon this Principle, That the Prophets are disposed according to the Series of Time; and that the Time of a Prophet being not set down, he is to be joined to the Prophet that goes before him: But this Rule does not always hold good. Some place him before *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab*, in whose Time there was a seven Years Famine, which it is pretended he foretold. The *Rabbins* place the Prophet *Joel* under the Reign of *Hezekiah*, or *Manasseh*: Others under the Reign of *Josiah*, in whose Days there was a Famine. *Huetius* asserts, That *Joel* prophesied after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, upon the Account of what is said, *That they had scattered the Children of Israel among the Nations*. But the Prophet might have spoken of a future Thing, as if it had been already past. He says further, that not a Word is said of the Kingdom of *Israel* throughout the whole Prophecy; but this is not certain. They who say that he prophesied before *Amos*, have this to offer for their Conjecture, That this Prophet foretels a Famine at the latter End of the first Chapter, of which *Amos* speaks as of a Thing past. But *Huetius* pretends that these are two different Famines; that the Famine mentioned in *Amos* happened naturally, but that in *Joel* was to be occasioned by the Incursions of the Enemy.

In Seder Olam.

Chap. 3 ver. 2.

Amos, Chap. 4.

The

The Style of this Prophet is figurative, strong, and expressive. He was, according to some, of the Tribe of *Gad*; and others place him in the Tribe of *Reuben*. He upbraids the *Israelites* for their Idolatry, and foretels the Calamities they should suffer, as a Punishment for that Sin; but supports them with the Comfort, that their Miseries should have an End upon their Reformation and Repentance. It may seem extraordinary that God should Command this Prophet to take him a *Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms*: But this ought to be understood either simply as a Vision; or it may be supposed, that God did not command him to commit Adultery, but (as most Commentators explain it) to marry a Wife of an infamous Character.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Prophecy of Amos.

AMOS, who in his Youth had been a Herdsman in *Tekoa*, (a small Country Town, about a Mile and a half from *Jerusalem*,) was sent to the *Kine of Bashan*, that is, the People of *Samaria*, or the Kingdom of *Israel*, to reduce them to Amendment and Repentance. For this Purpose he boldly remonstrates against the crying Sins that prevailed among them, against Idolatry, Oppression, Wantonness, and Incorrigibleness. He spares not those of *Judah*, but reproves them freely for their Carnal Security, their Sensuality, and Injustice. He terrifies both of them with frequent Threatnings, and fears not to pronounce, that their Sins will end at last in the Ruin of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*; which he confirms and illustrates by the Visions of a *Plumb-Line*, and a *Basket of Summer Fruits*. It is observable in

Book VIII. in this Prophecy, that as it begins with Denunciations of Judgment and Destruction against the *Syrians*, the *Philistines*, the *Tyrians*, and other Enemies of the *Jews*, so it concludes with comfortable Promises of restoring the Tabernacle of *David*, and erecting the Kingdom of *Christ*.

This Divine Person was chosen to the Prophectic Office in the Time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Joash*, King of *Israel*, two Years before the Earthquake, which happen'd in the twenty fourth or twenty fifth Year of King *Uzziah*. He is observed not to be so lofty as the rest, and to make use of Comparisons and Expressions taken from the Calling of which he was, and suitable to his State and Profession.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The Prophecy of Obadiah.

OBADIAH's Prophecy is contained in one single Chapter, and is partly a Divine Inveective against the merciless *Edomites*, who mocked and derided the Captive *Israelites* as they passed to *Babylon*, and who, with other Enemies, their Confederates, invaded and oppressed these poor Strangers, and made a great Ravage, and divided the Spoil among them; and it is partly a Prediction of the Deliverance and Salvation of *Israel*, and of the Victory and Triumph of the whole Church over all her Enemies.

The Time when this Prophecy was delivered is wholly uncertain: The *Hebrews* believe that this Prophet was the same with the Governor of *Ahab's* House, mentioned in the first Book of the *Kings*, who hid and fed the hundred Prophets whom *Jezebel* would have destroy'd. Some say he was that

1 Kings 18. 3. 2 Chron. 34. 12. Obadiab whom *Josiah* made Overseer of the Works of

of the Temple. But most make him Contemporary with *Hosea*, *Amos*, and *Joel*: And some believe that he flourished with the Prophet *Jeremiah*, after the Taking of *Jerusalem*. It is more probable that he lived in the Time of *Abaz*, when the *Edomites*, in Conjunction with the *Israelites*, made War against the Tribe of *Judah*, because his Prophecy is wholly directed against the *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Prophecy of Jonah.

THE Prophecy of *Jonah* was directed to the *Ninevites*, as *Obadiah's* to the *Edomites*; and relates how that Prophet being commanded by God to go to *Nineveh*, but disobediently attempting a Voyage another Way, was discovered by a sudden Tempest arising, and was cast into the Sea, and swallowed by a Whale, which, after it had lodged him three Nights and three Days in its Belly, disgorged him upon the dry Shore. Whereupon, being sensibly of his past Danger, and of his surprising Deliverance, he betook himself to that Journey and Embassy which were first appointed him; and arriving at that great City, the Metropolis of all *Assyria*, he, according to his Commission, boldly laid open to the Inhabitants their Sins and Miscarriages, and proclaimed their sudden Overthrow, if they repented not. Upon which the whole City, by Prayer and Fasting, and Humbling themselves, and by a speedy Repentance, happily averted the Divine Vengeance, and prevented their Ruin.

Jonah was the Son of *Amittai* the Prophet, who was of *Gath-hepher* near *Dio-Cæsarea*, of the Tribe of *Zebulon* in *Galilee*. What the *Jews* say, that he was the Son of the Widow-Woman of *Sarepta*, is

Book VIII. a groundless Imagination. He began to Prophecy in the Reign of *Joash*, the Father of *Jeroboam*, King of *Israel*, in the Days of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah* King of *Judah*, and seems to be the most ancient of all the Prophets. The History related in his Prophecy came to pass in the Days of *Pul*, the Father of *Sardanapalus* King of *Nineveh*, who was invited by *Menahem*, and came into the Kingdom of *Israel* with an Army in the Life-time of the Prophet *Hosea*.

2 Kings 14. 25.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The Prophecy of Micah.

Jer. 26. 18.

MICAH prophesied in the Kingdom of *Judah* before the Captivity of *Babylon*, in the Days of *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*, after the Prophets already mentioned, but before *Jeremiah*, who cites him in his Prophecy. He reprehends impartially the reigning Vices both of *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*; and is terrible in his Denunciations of Judgments against both Kingdoms, but more particularly he foretels the approaching Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Yet he leaves not the Church without Support; for he expressly predicts the Confusion of her Enemies, the blessed Arrival of the *Messiah*, and with him the Peace and Prosperity, the Increase and Advancement, the Glory and Triumph of the Church. So that *Micah* seems to be *Isaiah* epitomized, giving us in brief, what the other more largely and amply insisted upon.

The Style of these two Prophets are observed to be lofty and towering, though natural and intelligible.

C H A P. XL.

The Prophecy of Nahum.

NAHUM prophesied after the carrying Captive of the Ten Tribes by *Salmanezar*, a little before the Captivity of the Kingdom of *Judah*. His Prophecy is properly called a *Burden*, that Word, both in the Greater and Lesser Prophets, importing the denouncing of some grievous and heavy Judgment; and such is this which he here threatens to *Nineveh*: For this People it seems returned to their former Sins after *Jonah's* Preaching; and for this Reason, another Prophet is sent to foretel their Overthrow by the *Chaldeans*, upon this their Relapse into their former Wickedness. He uses no kind Invitations to Repentance, as the former Messenger did, but he absolutely and peremptorily proclaims their Ruin; and with a most passionate and melting Eloquence (such as is not to be paralleled in the most celebrated Masters of Oratory) decyphers the dreadful Circumstances that should attend it. The Style of *Nahum* is figurative, and full of Comparisons.

C H A P. XLI.

The Prophecy of Habbakkuk.

WE know nothing certain of the Country, or of the Time wherein *Habbakkuk* liv'd. The *Jews* say that he prophesied in the Days of *Manasseh*, or *Jehoiakim*, just before the Captivity: But others, with more Reason, believe that he flourish'd in the Reigns of *Abaz* and *Hezekiah*.



This Prophet complains of the corrupt State of the *Jews* in those Times, predicting the Invasion of the *Chaldeans* as the just Reward of their Sins. It is remarkable in this Prophecy, (which we find not in any of the rest,) that it is composed in the Way of Dialogue. First, The Prophet speaks from the first Verse of the first Chapter to the fourth : Then God answers, Verse the fifth to the eleventh ; the Prophet replies, Verse the twelfth to the seventeenth ; God's Answer is in the second Chapter to the End. Then follows the Prophet's excellent Prayer. This Prophecy is obscure and hard to be understood. But the Providence of God in suffering the best Men to be miserably treated, and that by the most wicked and vile, is here vindicated, and the Certainty of a happy Revolution is assured. The Prophet, also by propounding the Example of his own singular Faith and Patience in the greatest Difficulties and Extremities, encourages the Pious to wait upon God, to rejoice in him, and to expect Deliverance from their Calamities. The whole was designed to be a Support and Solace to the Faithful in the Time of their Captivity.

C H A P. XLII.

The Prophecy of Zephaniah.

ZEPHANIAH was employed in the Prophetick Office in the Time of King *Josiah* before that Prince had re-established the Worship of God, and the Observation of the Law, in its Purity. He prophesied a little after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, and before that of *Judah* ; so that he was Contemporary with *Jeremiah*.

He freely publishes to the *Jews*, that what incens'd the Divine Wrath against them, was the Contempt of God's Service, their Apostacy, their Treas-

Treachery, their Idolatry, their Violence and Rapine, and other egregious Enormities which were observable in them and their Princes. Such high Provocations as these rendered their Destruction terrible, universal, unavoidable : And then, as most of the Prophets are used, he mingles Exhortations to Repentance, as the only proper Concern in these Circumstances. He adds very severe Comminations against their Enemies, and presages their Destruction. He likewise supports the Faithful with Promises of the certain Restauration of the Church ; of a Release from all their former Pressures and Grievances ; of a Cessation from all their Fears ; of the Continuance of the Divine Presence and Blessing. So that this short Prophecy contains in it all the others, and may justly be said to be an Abridgement of them. The Style of this Prophet is like that of *Jeremiah*, of whom, *St. Isidore* observes, he seems to be the Abbreviator.

C H A P. XLIII.

The Prophecy of Haggai.

HAGGAI prophesied after the Return from the Captivity in *Babylon*, in the Second Year of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, King of *Persia*. The *Jews* were afflicted with a sore Famine; because they neglected to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem* : *Haggai* informed them of the Cause of their Visitation, so that they began to resume the Work. It was upon the first Day of the sixth Month (which answers to about the Middle of our *August*) that the Word of the Lord came by *Haggai*, to *Zerubbabel* Governor of *Judea*, and to *Jeshua* the High-Priest, concerning this Matter ; and upon the twenty fourth of the same Month they applied themselves to provide Stone and Timber,

Book VIII. and other Materials that were necessary for the Building. And to encourage them to go on with Vigour, upon the twenty first Day of the seventh Month, (that is, about the Beginning of our *October*,) they received another Message from God by the same Prophet, which not only assured them of his Presence, and that he would prosper the Work, but promised that the Glory of the latter House, when built, should exceed the Glory of the former; which was accomplished when *Christ* came to this very Temple, and honoured it with his Divine Presence. Upon the twenty fourth of the ninth Month, (about the Beginning of *December*,) he declares to them, that God had changed their Scarcity into Plenty, from the Day that they had laid the Foundations of the Temple, and assures *Zerubbabel* of the Divine Protection. The Prophecy of *Haggai* is clear and historical.

C H A P. XLIX.

The Prophecy of Zechariah.

ZECHARIAH entered upon the Prophetic Office at the same Time with *Haggai*, some Time after the Release from the Captivity; and he was sent to the *Jews* upon the same Message, to reprove them for their Backwardness in erecting the Temple, and restoring the Divine Worship, but especially for the Disorder of their Lives and Manners, which could not but derive a Curse upon them. By several notable Visions and Types he endeavours to confirm their Faith, and establish their Assurance concerning God's Providence with them, and Care over them: And as a Proof and Demonstration of this, he intersperses the most comfortable Promises of the Coming the Kingdom, the Temple, the Priesthood, the Victory,

Victory, the Glory of *Christ* the *Branch*. Nor Chap. 44.
does he forget to assure them of the Ruin of *Babylon*, their most implacable Enemy. Here likewise is foretold the great Number of Converts to the *Christian* Faith; the successful Spreading and Propagating of the Gospel; the wonderful Efficacy of the Holy Spirit in those Days; the Rejection of the unbelieving *Jews*; the utter Destruction of their City, Temple, and whole Nation, by the *Romans*, for their Crucifying the *Messiah*; and other Particulars relating to the Times of the Gospel, which none of the Lesser Propets speak of but this.

This is a different Person from that *Zechariah*, mentioned by *Isaiah*, and from him that was slain by Chap. 8.
the Command of King *Joash* between the Temple 2 Chron. 24. 20.
and the Altar.

CHAP. XLV.

The Prophecy of Malachi.

THE Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* exhorted the *Jews* to rebuild the Temple; but *Malachi* recommends to them the Observation of the Law, and that they would offer their Sacrifices with Purity; which supposes that the Temple was already rebuilt.

The Name of *Malachi*, signifies, *My Angel*, which made *Origen* and *Tertullian* to believe that he was an *Angel Incarnate*. He is called an *Angel* by most of the Fathers; and in the Version of the *Septuagint*: But he was an *Angel* by Office, not by Nature, as he himself styles the Priests *Angels*.

He prophesied about three hundred Years before our Saviour's Time, reproving the *Jews* for their Wickedness after their Return from *Babylon*; particularly he charges them with Rebellion, Sacrilege, Adultery, Prophaneness, Infidelity, but especially,

Book VIII. he condemns the Priests for being careless and scandalous in their Ministry, which was sufficient to give Authority to others to be vitious. At the same Time he forgets not to encourage the *Pious Remnant*, who in that corrupt Age *feared the Lord, and thought upon his Name*. This Prophet, who had pointed before at the *Messias* to be exhibited, (for he expressly says, *He shall suddenly come to his Temple*,) concludes his Prophecy with an Exhortation to *remember the Law*, to live according to its Holy Rules and Injunctions, and with a Promise of *the Coming of the Lord*, who was to be introduced by *Elijah* the Prophet, that is, by *John the Baptist*, who came *in the Spirit and Power of Elias*.

In Sether Olam,
Dan. 9. 24.

The *Jews* have a Tradition, that in the last Year of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, died the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, and with them ceased the Spirit of Prophecy from among the *Israelites*, and that this was the Resignation, or *Sealing-up* of Vision and Prophecy, spoken of by the Prophet *Daniel*.

C H A P. XLVI.

The Apocryphal Books. The Books of Esdras.

THE Books under the Name of *Esdras* are justly excluded the *Jewish Canon*; nor are they allowed to be Canonical by the *Romanists* themselves. They are supposed by some to be written originally in *Greek* by some *Hellenistical Jew*; others imagine they were first written in *Chaldee*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*: The Time is uncertain, though it be generally agreed that the Author wrote before *Josephus*. The first Book is chiefly Historical, and gives an Account of the Return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish Captivity*, the Building

Building of the Temple, and the Establishment of Divine Worship. The Truth it contains is translated from the Canonical Book of *Ezra*, the rest is exceedingly fabulous and trifling. The second Book is written in a prophetical Way, and pretends to Visions and Revelations, but so fanciful, undigested, and absurd, that the Spirit of God could have no Concern in the dictating of them.

Chap. 46.

C H A P. XLVII.

The Book of Tobit.

TOBIT was of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, and one of those whom *Salmanezzer*, King of *Assyria*, carry'd away Captive when he took *Samaria*, and destroyed the Kingdom of *Israel*. This happened in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Hoshea* King of *Israel*, and the sixth of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*. The Tribe of *Nephthali* was indeed carry'd away before by *Tiglath-Pelefer*, King of *Assyria*; but this was not a general Captivity, there were several still left behind. 2 Kings 15. 29.

The Book of *Tobit* was first written in *Chaldee* by some *Babylonian Jew*, and seems in its original Draught to have been the *Memoirs* of the Family to which it relates, first begun by *Tobit*, then continued by *Tobias*, and finished in the last Place by some other of the Family, and afterward digested by the *Chaldee* Author into that Form in which we now have it. It was translated out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin* by St *Jerom*, and his Translation is that which we have in the Vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible. But there is a *Greek* Version much antienter than this, from which was made the *Syriack* Version, and also that which we have in *English* among the *Apocryphal* Writers in our Bible. But the *Chaldee* Original is not now extant. The *Hebrew* Copies, which go about of this Book, as well

Book VIII. as of that of *Judith*, seem to be of a modern Composition. It being easier to settle the Chronology of this Book, than that of the Book of *Judith*, it has met with much less Opposition from Learned Men, and is generally looked upon both by *Jews* and *Christians*, as a genuine and true History, though as to some Matters in it, (as particularly that of the Angels accompanying of *Tobias*, in a long Journey under the Shape of *Azarias*, the Story of *Raguel's* Daughter, the fighting away of the Devil by the Smoke of the Heart and Liver of a Fish, and the Curing of *Tobit's* Blindness by the Gall of the same Fish,) it is much less reconcileable to a rational Credibility. These Things look more like the Fictions of *Homer*, than the Writings of a Sacred Historian, and gives an Objection against this Book, which does not lie against the other.


This Book is very instructive, very affectionate, full of religious and pious Thoughts, and writ in a plain, natural, and easy Style. *Tobit* lived a hundred and two Years in all; lost his Sight at fifty six Years of Age, and recover'd it in the sixtieth. Before his Death, he foretold the Destruction of *Nineveh*, which happen'd under *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Abasuerus*, that is, under *Astyages* and *Nabopolassar*.

C H A P. XLVIII.

The Book of Judith.

THIS Book goes under the Name of a *Jewish* Widow, who is the principal Personage of the History related in it, of which this is the summary Account: *Nabuchodonosor*, King of the *Assyrians*, who reigned in *Nineveh*, having defeated and taken *Arphaxad*, King of the *Medes*, Prisoner, laid a Design of subduing the People of *Asia*, that were Westward of *Nineveh*, and sent *Holofernes*

Holofernes with a great Army; who, striking a Terror wherever he came, made himself Master of *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cilicia*, who voluntarily submitted to his Arms. After these Conquests he came to *Idumæa*, which he took without any Opposition, and there rendezvouz'd his Army. The *Israelites*, alarmed at his Approach, raised all their Forces, seized upon the Hill-Countries, and fortified their Cities. The High Priest *Joachim*, or *Eliakim*, encouraged them to defend themselves stoutly, and order'd them to pray to God for Relief. *Holofernes* amazed, that this People should make Preparations of War against so powerful an Army, enquired of their Neighbours the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* what Force this People had, and what Reason there might be of their not submitting to him. *Achior*, the Chief of the *Ammonites*, relates in few Words the History of that People; and having shewn him how they were sometimes protected, and sometimes forsaken by their God, he says, That if they had offended this God, he would deliver them into his Hands; but if not, then God would defend them, and all his Army could not conquer them. *Holofernes* received this Advice with Indignation, and order'd *Achior* to be carry'd to *Bethulia*, which he immediately besieged, designing to be reveng'd of *Achior*, so soon as he had taken that Place. *Ozias*, the Governor of that City, prepared for its Defence; but the Inhabitants, daunted at the Number of the Enemy, would have surrender'd, and were, with Difficulty, prevailed upon to stay only for five Days. It was then that *Judith*, a rich and beautiful Widow, resolved upon going into the Camp of *Holofernes*, in order to destroy him: For that Purpose she went out of the City, came to the Camp, was taken and brought before *Holofernes*. He was pleased with her, made a great Feast for her, and drank himself drunk in his Tent. After this, he was locked up with her alone: She took her Opportunity, cut off his Head, made her Escape, and carry'd the Head of the General with her to *Bethulia*. A great Hor-

Book VIII.  nor seized the Army of the *Assyrians*; they flew away in great Disorder; the *Israelites* pursued them, kill'd many of them, and became Masters of a very large Spoil. *Judith* sang a Song, and went with all the People to *Jerusalem*, to return Thanks to the Lord. She returned afterwards to *Bethulia*, there lived till she was a hundred and five Years of Age, and during her Life the *Israelites* enjoyed Peace.

But notwithstanding the Circumstances of this History are so particularly recorded, yet Learned Men are not agreed, whether the Book be a Relation of a Matter of Fact, or a Fiction only. The *Romanists* will have it all to be true; for they have received it into the Canon of Divine Writ: But, on the other hand, it is the Opinion of *Grotius*, that it is wholly a Parabolical Invention, written in the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he came into *Judea* to raise a Persecution against the *Jewish* Church; and that the Design of it was to confirm the *Jews* under that Perswasion in their Hopes, that God would send them a Deliverance. By *Judith*, he conceives is meant *Judea*; by *Bethulia*, the Temple or House of God; and by the *Sword*, which went out from thence, the Prayers of the Saints; that *Nabuchodonosor* denotes the Devil; and the Kingdom of *Assyria* signifies *Pride*, the Devil's Kingdom; by *Holofernes* is meant the Instrument, or Agent of the Devil in that Persecution, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who made himself Master of *Judea*, that fair Widow, so called, because destitute of Relief; that *Eliakim* signifies God, who would arise in her Defence, and at length cut off that Instrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her. This particular Explication of the Parable (as he would have it to be) is the peculiar Fancy of this great Man; but otherwise there are abundance of Learned Writers among Protestants, who agree with him, in the general, that this Book is rather a parabolical, than a real History, made for the instructing and comforting the People of the *Jews* under that Figure, and not to give them a Narrative of what

In Præfat.

In Lib. Judith.

was really done. And what has inclined Men of Learning to this Opinion, is the great Difficulty which they suppose belongs to the Chronology of this History, insomuch that they think it utterly inconsistent with all Times, wherever it has been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the Captivity of the *Jews*. But though the Difficulty were much greater than it is, yet that would be no proper Reason for rejecting the History as false; for there are many Histories, as well sacred as profane, which lie under the same Difficulties. If the History be true, it must be placed in the Reign of *Manasseh*, who was carry'd Captive by the King of the *Assyrians*, with part of his People, before the Captivity of *Babylon*.

The Book of *Judith* was originally written in the *Chaldee* Language by some *Jew* of *Babylon*, (which is now lost,) and from thence, at the Desire of *Paula* and *Eustachium*, was by *St. Jerom* translated into the *Latin* Tongue, which is the same Translation now extant in the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible, of which he himself says in the *Preface* before it, that he did not translate it Word for Word, but only render'd it according to the Sense of the Author; and that cutting off the Corruptions of various Readings, which he found in different Copies, he only inserted that into the Translation, which he judged to be the true and entire Sense of the Original. But besides this Translation of *St. Jerom*, there are two others, one in *Greek*, and the other in *Syriack*: That which is in *Greek*, is attributed to *Theodotion*, who flourished in the Time of *Commodus*, who was made Emperor of *Rome* in the Year of *Christ*, a Hundred and eighty. But it must be much antienter; for *Clemens Romanus*, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, (which was written near a hundred and twenty Years before) brings a Quotation out of it. The *Syriack* Translation was made from the *Greek*, and so was also the *Englisb*, which we have at present among the Apocryphal Writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that

Book VIII. that all these three Versions, last mentioned, have several Particulars which are not in St. *Jerom's*; and some of these seem to be those various Readings, which he professes to have cut off as Corruptions of the Text, and particularly that which is added in the thirteenth Verse of the first Chapter, appears to be of this Sort : For there the Battle of *Ragau* is placed in the seventeenth Year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is directly contray to what is in the former Part of the same Chapter ; for there it is positively said, that it was in the twelfth Year of his Reign. And agreeable to this, St. *Jerom* places the Expedition of *Holofernes* (that was the next Year after) in the thirteenth Year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is the Truth of the Matter ; whereas the other following the Blunder of the former Contradiction, makes another, by placing it in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, and so renders that Part of the History wholly inconsistent with itself. In this Particular St. *Jerom's* Version is to be preferred, which gives good Reason to think that it ought to be so in all the rest wherever there is any Difference between them.

C H A P. XLIX.

The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon.

THE Book of *Wisdom* is commonly ascribed to King *Solomon*, either because the Author imitated that King's Manner of writing, or because he sometimes speaks in his Name. It is certain he was not the Author of it ; for it was not written in *Hebrew*, nor was it inserted in the *Jewish* Canon, nor is the Style like that of *Solomon's*; and therefore, St. *Jerom* observes justly, that it smells strongly of the *Grecian Eloquence* ; that it is composed with Art and Method, after the Man-

Manner of the *Greek* Philosophers, very different from that noble Simplicity, so full of Life and Energy, to be found in the *Hebrew* Books. It has been attributed by many of the Antients to *Philo* the *Jew*, but one more Antient than he, whose Works are now extant. This Book is commonly ascribed to an *Hellenistical Jew*, who lived since *Ezra*, and about the Time of the *Maccabees*. Chap. 49.

It may properly be divided into two Parts: The First, is a Description and Encomium of *Wisdom*: The Second, beginning at the tenth Chapter, is a long Discourse in the Form of Prayers, wherein the Author admires and extols the Wisdom of God, and of those who honour him; and discovers the Folly of the Wicked, who have been the professed Enemies of the Good and Virtuous in all Ages of the World.

C H A P. L.

The Book of Ecclesiasticus.

THIS Book is distinguished by this Name, because it was read in the Church; for the Antients divided those Books, which they called *Holy* into two Sorts: Some they called *Canonical*, because being indisputably the Work of the Holy Ghost, they were therefore the *Rule* of Faith and Manners: And others, they called *Ecclesiastical*, because they were read in the *Church*, though only as Books of Piety, but not as Writings of an infallible Authority.

We are informed by the anonymous Preface before this Book, that the Author of it was a *Jew*, called *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, who composed it in *Hebrew*; but it was rendered into *Greek* by his Grandson of the same Name. St. *Jerom* says, that in his Time the *Hebrew* Copy which he saw, was not

Book VIII. not entitled *Ecclesiasticus*, but *Proverbs*. It has been styled by many of the Antients *Πανάρετος*, *The Book of every Virtue*. But the most common Name among the *Greeks*, is, *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*.

It was composed under the High Priesthood of *Onias* the Third, and translated in the Reign of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, or *Ptolomy Physcon*, the Brother of *Ptolomy Philometer*. This Book has been ascribed to *Solomon* by some of the Antients. The Author, without doubt, designed to imitate the Subject and Thoughts expressed in the *Proverbs* of that King, and has borrowed many of his Thoughts, and followed his Method of teaching Morality by Sentences or Maxims, but his Expressions have not the same Force or Vivacity.

This Book begins with an Exhortation to the Pursuit of *Wisdom*. After this follow a great many Maxims of Morality to the forty fourth Chapter, where the Author begins to publish the Praises of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and the most illustrious Persons of the *Jewish* Nation.

C H A P. LI.

The Book of Baruch.

THIS Book bears the Name of *Baruch*, the Son of *Neriah*, who was the Disciple and *Amanuensis* of *Jeremiah* the Prophet. The Subject of it is an Epistle sent, or feign'd to be sent, by King *Jehoiakim*, and the *Jews* in Captivity with him at *Babylon*, to their Brethren the *Jews* that were left still in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, with an historical Preface premised; which relates how *Baruch*, being then at *Babylon*, did in the Name of the King, and of the People, and by their Appointment, draw up this Epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their Approbation;

tion; and then it was sent to *Jerusalem* with a Collection of Money, to *Joachim* the High Priest, the Son of *Hilkiab*, the Son of *Shallum*, and to the Priests, and to all the People, to buy Burnt-Offerings, and Sin-Offerings, and Incense, and to prepare the *Mincha*, and to offer upon the Altar.

Chap. 51.



There are three Copies of this Book: One in *Greek*; and the other two in *Syriack*: One of which agrees with the *Greek*; but the other very much differs from it. In what Language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the Original, or which of them may be so, is difficult to determine. St. *Jerom* rejected it wholly; and the most that can be said for it, is, That *Cyril* of *Jeru-* In Præfat. ad
salem, and the *Laodicean* Council, (held in the Year *Jerem.*
of *Christ* Three hundred sixty four,) do name *Baruch* among the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture: For in both the Catalogues which are given by them of the Canonical Books are these Words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, Lamentationibus, & Epistola*, that is, *Jeremiah with Baruch, the Lamentations and the Epistle*; which Expression may seem to mean the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, the Book of *Baruch*, with the *Epistle* of *Jeremiah* at the End of it, as they are placed together in the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible. But the Answer to this, is, That these Words were intended to express no more than the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, and the *Lamentations* only; that by the *Epistle* is meant no other, than the *Epistle* in the twenty ninth Chapter of *Jeremiah*; and that the Name of *Baruch* is added for no other Reason, than on the Account of the Part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last Chapter to the Book of his Prophecies, which is supposed to be written by *Baruch*, because the Prophecies of *Jeremiah* end with the Chapter before, which is the fifty first, as it is said positively in the last Words of it. And it must be said, that since neither in St. *Cyril*, nor in the *Laodicean* Council, any other of the *Apocryphal* Books are named, it is
very

Book VIII. very improbable, that by the Name of *Baruch*, in either of them, should be meant the *Apocryphal* Book so called, which has the least Pretence of any of them all to be Canonical, as it appeared by the

Hist. of Trent. Difficulty which the Fathers of *Trent* found to
B. 2. make it so.

C H A P. LII.

*The Song of the Three Holy Children.
The History of Susannah. The History of Bel and the Dragon.*

I N the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible, there is added in the third Chapter of the Book of *Daniel*, after the twenty third Verse, between that and the twenty fourth Verse, *The Song of the three Children*; and at the End of the Book, *The History of Susannah*, and of *Bel and the Dragon*; and the former is made the thirteenth, and the other the fourteenth Chapter of the Book in that Edition: But these were never received into the Canon of Holy Writ by the *Jewish* Church; neither are they extant either in the *Hebrew* or the *Chaldee* Language; nor is there any Evidence that they ever were so. That there are *Hebraisms* in them, can prove no more than that they were written by a *Hebrew* in the *Greek* Tongue, who, as is usual, transferred the Idioms of his own Tongue into that in which he wrote. And that they were thus witten originally in the *Greek* Tongue by some *Hellenistical Jew*, without having any higher Fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, That in the History of *Susannah*, *Daniel*, in his Replies to the Elders, alludes to the *Greek* Names of the Trees under which they said the Adultery, which they charged *Susannah* with, was committed, which

Allu-

Allusions can hold good in no other Language. In Chap. 52. the Examination of the Elders, when one of them said, that he saw the Adultery committed ἐπὶ σκῆνον, that is, *under the Mastick-Tree*, Daniel is made to Answer, in Allusion to σκῆνον, *The Angel of God hath received Sentence of God, σκίσαι σε μέσον*, that is, *to cut thee in two*. And when the other Elder said it was ἐπὶ πρίνον, that is, *under an Holm-Tree*, Daniel answers, in Allusion to the Word πρίνον, *The Angel of the Lord waiteth with the Sword, πρίσαι σε μέσον*, that is, *to cut thee in two*. However, the Church of Rome allows both these Histories to be of the same Authority with the rest of the Book of Daniel, and, by the Council of Trent, have given them an equal Place with it among the Canonical Scriptures. But the Antients never did so, but rejected them; and St. Jerom particularly gives them no better Title than the *Fables of Bel and the Dragon*. And others, who have been content to admit them for the Instruction of Manners, have yet never allowed them to be Parts of the Canonical Scripture; and the Protestant Churches give them a Place in their Bibles among the Apocryphal Writings, but allow them not to be Canonical.

CHAP. LIII.

The First Book of the Maccabees.

THE Books of the *Maccabees*, are so called, from Judas, the Son of Mattathias, Sir-named *Maccabeus*, either upon the Account of his Valour, or because he put upon his Standard the first Letters of a Sentence in Exodus, which, joined together, form the Name of *Maccabee*. The Hebrews call them also the Books of the *Assamoneans*, but for what Reason is not certainly known. Josephus and Eusebius imagine that Mattathias was

Book. VIII. the Son of *Hasmoneus*; and it is probable it was the Name of that Family.

In Prologo Galeato

The first Book is a very accurate and excellent History, and comes nearest to the Style and Manner of the Sacred Historical Writings of any extant. It was written originally in *Chaldee* Language, of the *Jerusalem* Dialect, which was the Language spoken in *Judea*, from the Return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*. It was extant in this Language in the Time of *St. Jerom*, for he tells us that he had seen it. The Title which it then bore, was *Scharbit Sar Bene El*, which some translate, *The Scourge of the Rebels against the Lord*; and others, *The Scepter of the Prince of the Sons of God*; a Title agreeable to the Character of *Judas*, who was a valiant Commander of God's People under Persecution. The Author of this Book is not certainly known: Some conjecture it was written by *John Hircanus*, the Son of *Simon*, who was Prince and High-Priest of the *Jews* near thirty Years, and began his Government at the Time where this History ends. Others ascribe it to one of the *Maccabees* themselves; and many think it to be the Work of the *Great Synagogue*. It is most probable that it was composed in the Time of *John Hircanus*, when those Wars of the *Maccabees* were over, either by *John Hircanus*, or by some others employed by him: For it reaches no further than where his Government begins, and therefore in the Time immediately so following, it seems most likely to have been written; and publick Records being made use of, and referred to in this History, it is thought it was composed under the Direction of some publick Authority. From the *Chaldee* it was translated into *Greek*; and after that a Translation was made of it from the *Greek* into *Latin*, and we receive our *English* Version from the same *Greek* Fountain. This Book follows the *Jewish Æra*; the following that of *Alexandria*, which begins six Months after.

C H A P. LIV.

The Second Book of the Maccabees.

THE Second Book of the *Maccabees* consists of several Pieces compiled together; but by what Author, is uncertain. It begins with two Epistles sent from the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, to the *Jews* of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, to exhort them to observe the Feast of the *Dedication* of the new Altar, erected by *Judas* on his purifying the Temple, which was celebrated upon the twenty fifth Day of their Month *Cisleu*. The First begins at the first Verse of the first Chapter, and ends at the ninth Verse of the same Chapter, inclusively: The Second begins at the tenth Verse of the second Chapter, and ends with the eighteenth Verse of the same Chapter. But these Epistles are Additions to the History, and supposed to be spurious. The two last Chapters, likewise, are supposed to be added, because *Jason* (of whose Works this Book is an Abridgement) only wrote what passed in the Reign of *Demetrius*, who succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and of his Son *Eupator*, King of *Syria*: But those next Chapters, contain Things which passed in the Reign of *Demetrius*, who succeeded *Eupator*. What follows after the last Epistle, to the End of the Chapter, is, the Preface of the Author to his Abridgement of the History of *Jason*. This *Jason* was an *Hellenist Jew* of *Cyrene*, of the Race of those *Jews* sent thither by *Ptolomy Soter*. He wrote in *Greek* the History of *Judas Maccabeus* and his Brethren, and of the Purification of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the Dedication of the Altar; and the Wars against *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Eupator* his Son, in five Books. These five Books the Author abridged,

Book VIII. and of this Abridgement, and the other Particulars above-mentioned, compiled the whole Book in the same *Greek* Language; and this proves that Author to have been an *Hellenist* also. It is probable he was a *Jew* of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, for that was the principal Seat of Learning in that Country. This Second Book of the *Maccabees* does by no Means equal the Accurateness and Excellency of the first. There are in the *Polyglot Bibles*, both of *Paris* and *London*, *Syriack* Versions of both these Books; but they are both of them of a latter Date, and made from the *Greek*, though they are observed in some Places to differ from it. And from the same *Greek* are also made the *English* Versions of both these Books, which we have among the *Apocryphal* Writers in our Bibles.

These two Books contain the History of the *Jews* for forty five Years, or thereabouts, from the End of the Reign of *Seleucus Philopator*, to the End of that of *Antiochus Soter*, first brought under Subjection to the Kings of *Syria*, and afterwards restored to their Liberty, and govern'd successively by *Judas Maccabees* and his two Brethren *Jonathan* and *Simon*, chosen High Priests and Princes of the *Jews*.

C H A P. LV.

The Translation of the Septuagint. The History of Aristeeas consider'd.

HAVING taken a short Survey of the History of the Sacred Text, it may be proper to give some Account of the principal Translations of the Scriptures, especially such as were received by the *Jews* before the Dissolution of their Republick, or as long as any Form of Government or Discipline appeared among them. It has been a Question much controverted by
antient

antient and modern Authors, whether there was a *Greek* Version of the *Old Testament*, more antient than that which is supposed to have been made by the *Seventy two* Interpreters, in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*. If we may believe *Megasthenes*, some Part of the Bible was translated into *Greek*, especially the Writings of *Moses*, in the Time of the *Persian* Monarchy. This Author is quoted by *Eusebius*, who likewise produces the Testimony of *Aristobulus*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, to the same Purpose, which imports, That before *Alexander* conquer'd the *Persians*, some Authors had translated that which concerned the Departure of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*, the most considerable Events that befel them, the Taking of their Country, and the Explication of their Law. But these Writers carry small Authority among Learned Men, who generally pronounce them to be spurious, so that they conclude nothing upon this Subject. That which is said further of the Knowledge which some *Pagan* Philosophers had of Things contained in the Books of *Moses*, is very uncertain; and though we should allow it to be true, it will not follow from thence, that there was a *Greek* Version of the *Pentateuch*. They might have had that Knowledge from the *Egyptians*, or even from some *Jews* they conferred with, as *Clearchus* says, that a *Jew* interpreted the Holy Scripture to *Aristotle*. *Origen* asserts, That *Plato* had either learned divers Things from the *Jews*, or had himself read divers Things in the Books of the Prophets. It is then possible, according to *Origen*, that *Plato* had written many Things agreeable to the History and Laws of *Moses*; and that he had drawn Things out of that Fountain, without having read the Sacred Books, and only by Conference with *Jews*.

Chap. 55.

Præparat. Evan.
lib. 9. cap. 3, &
6. & lib. 13.
cap. 11.

Lib. 6. adv. Cels.

The most celebrated Version of the *Hebrew* Text, is the Translation called the *Septuagint*; that was the Work of the *Seventy Jews*, whose History we have written by *Aristeas*, supposed to have been one of

Book. VIII. the Officers of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, who ordered this Version to be made. This Account is written in the Form of a Letter by the Author, to his Brother *Philocrates*. He relates, that *Demetrius Phalereus*, Librarian to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, having undertaken to furnish the Library of that Prince with all the Books in the World, shewed him that the Law of *Moses* deserved highly to be admitted ; and that *Ptolomy* having answered him, that it was his Fault it was not : *Demetrius* replied, that it must be first translated, because it was witten in a Language and Characters unknown to the *Egyptians*. Upon this the King wrote to the High Priest of the *Jews* ; and *Aristeas*, the Author of this History, made use of this Opportunity to obtain the Liberty of the *Jews* who were Captives in *Egypt*, and had been brought thither by *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, Father to *Philadelphus* : For this Purpose he represents unto the King, that he could not send Ambassadors to the *Jews* to demand their Laws, whilst he kept so many of that Nation Captives in his Kingdom ; and that he ought so much the rather to set them at Liberty, because it was the God of *their Law* who made his Reign happy, who knew all Things, and was the Creator of the Universe. The King having asked how many of those Captives there might be in his Kingdom, *Andreas*, one of his Guards, answered, That the Number might be somewhat above a hundred thousand. And do you think, says the King, that this is a moderate Request that *Aristeas* asks ? To this *Sosybius* of *Tarentum*, one of his Favourites, replied, The greater the Indulgence was, the more it became so great King. The Favour was obtained, and a Decree publish'd for the Release of all the *Jewish* Captives in *Egypt* ; and the King order'd twenty *Drachms* a Head to be paid out of his Treasury to the Masters for every *Jewish* Captive, and that they should be immediately set at Liberty. The Price of their Redemption was computed to amount to four hundred *Talents*,

lents, which shews the Number of the redeemed to have been a hundred and twenty thousand. He afterwards redeemed the Children that were born in Servitude, and the Mothers of them; which made the whole Number of the Redeemed amount to a hundred and ninety eight thousand, and the Price of them, at twenty *Drachms* a Head, made the Sum six hundred and sixty *Talents*. When this was put in Execution, *Demetrius* presented a Memorial to the King, which signified, that it was convenient to write to the High Priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to send him a true Copy of the *Hebrew* Original, and six Men out of every Tribe, noted for their Virtue, Learning, and Age, to make an exact Version into the *Greek* Language. Accordingly a Letter was written in the King's Name to *Eleazar* the High Priest, and *Aristeas* our Historian, and *Andrew* were sent with it to *Jerusalem*. Our Author gives a Copy of the King's Letter, and the Names of the *Seventy two* Persons who were to translate the Law. He afterwards gives an ample Account of the magnificent Present sent by King *Ptolomy* to *Eleazar*, with a Description of the City of *Jerusalem*, the Temple, and all its Parts. He speaks of the Plenty of the Country; of the Knowledge and Learning of the Interpreters; and of their Grief at parting with *Eleazar*. He relates a long Discourse of *Eleazar's* upon the *Jewish* Law; and after this long Digression, returns to his History and tells us, in what manner the *Seventy two* Envoys were received by the King; how they presented and unfolded before him the Books of the *Law*, which *Ptolomy* adored. After this he comes with a longer Digression, wherein he gives an Account of the Questions which the King asked the Interpreters for three Days together, and of the Answer given by each; and this he did to try their Learning, and Abilities. At last *Aristeas* comes to the Matter of the Translation, and says only, that *Demetrius* carried those *Seventy two* Persons into an Island along a Peer of seven

Y 4 Furlongs,

Book VIII. Furlongs, which joined the Island to the Continent, and put them into a House upon the Bank of the Sea, where they translated the Law. So that after they agreed upon the Version of each Period, by common Conference, *Demetrius* wrote it down; this they did for seventy two Days together, and upon the last of them they finished the Version. *Demetrius* afterwards caused it to be read in the Presence of an Assembly of *Jews*, who approved of it, and declared it was exact and faithful. He read it also to the King, who was much surpris'd that none of the Historians or Poets had made mention of it. To which *Demetrius* answered, That this Law being Holy and Divine they dared not mix it with prophane Things; and that the Historian *Theopompus*, and the Poet *Theodectes*, having offer'd to mention something of it in their Works, were punished for it; the one by the Loss of his Senses, and the other by the Loss of his Sight. In short, the King gave to each of the *Seventy two*, three rich Garments, two Talents of Gold, and a Cup of Gold of a Talent Weight, and sent them all home into their own Country. This is the Account given by *Aristeas*.

As to the Place where this Version was made, *Philo* the Jew, *Justin Martyr*, and others, tell us, it was in the great Tower in the Isle of *Pharos*, which was set up to direct the Mariners in the dangerous Seas of *Alexandria*; and (if Credit may be given to some *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers) there were distinct Apartments, wherein these Interpreters separately performed the Task which they were set about. They did the Work each of them in divers Rooms, say the *Talmud* and the *Rabbins*. They were put into seventy distinct Cells, when they translated the Bible, says *Justin Martyr*, in his Apology to the *Roman* Emperor; and he adds moreover, that he was at *Pharos*, and saw what was left of those Cells. And with him agree *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and *St. Augustin*; and though an *Arabick*

bick Commentator upon the *Pentateuch* (cited by Chap. 55. Mr. Gregory in his History of the *Seventy two Interpreters*, for whom he is a strenuous Advocate) reports, that the *Seventy* Seniors disagreed in their Translation the first Time, and so were set to it again, yet these Fathers take Notice of no such Thing, but tell us, That though these Translators were separated into distinct Places by themselves, yet they all agreed in the very same Words and Syllables: Which they borrowed, it is likely, from *Philo*, who had expressly said, They all exactly agreed on the same Words, to interpret the *Chaldee* by, (for he called it the *Chaldee*, instead of the *Hebrew*,) as if some Person stood by them, and invisibly dictated to them, although the *Chaldee* might be translated divers Ways, the *Greek* Language being so copious. And he further adds, That there was a Feast yearly in the *Pharos*, whither the *Jews* went to solemnize it, and to see the Place where this Version was made. *Josephus*, who treats purposely of the turning of the Law into *Greek* by King *Ptolomy's* Order, says nothing of the different Cells, nor does he represent the Interpreters as inspired Persons. St. *Jerom*, who was a searching Man, was the first of the Fathers that opposed and contradicted this Story, declaring that he could not believe any Thing concerning these distinct Rooms and Apartments, and the miraculous Agreement of the Translators in these separated Cells, giving this Reason for it, Because neither *Aristeas* nor *Josephus* speak a Word of them. De Vit. Mos. l. 2. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. Præfat. in Pentateuch.

That great Critick Mr. Gregory is not satisfied with this Reason of St. *Jerom*, but asserts roundly, That *Jerom* had made a new Translation of the Bible out of the *Hebrew* himself, wherein he very much differed from the *Seventy*; and so he was obliged to disparage the Cells and the Translators, to make way for his own Translation. But this is an uncharitable Censure of so great a Father. Father *Simon* gives another Account of this Matter: He asserts, That the *Hellenistical Jews* who

Book. VIII. who read the Translation of the *Seventy* in their Synagogues, were the Inventors of this History of the Translators, and put it out in the Name of one *Aristeas*. And the same Person moreover presents us with this new Conceit, That it was called the Translation of the *Seventy*, not from *Seventy* Translators, who were the Authors of it, but from the *Seventy Judges*, that is, the *Sanhedrim* at *Jerusalem*, who authoriz'd and approv'd of it.

The Authority of *Aristeas's* History has been long the Subject of Contention among Learned Men ; but the most prevailing Opinion is, (and indeed it seems to be best supported,) that the whole is a manifest Fiction, contrived by a *Hellenist Jew* of *Alexandria*, to give the greater Authority to this Translation: And the Reasons are supposed to be unanswerable ; for the Author speaks always as a *Jew*, and, which is more, he makes all the Parties concerned speak in the same Manner, and relates abundance of Things which no Man, but a Person instructed in the *Jewish* Religion, could write and explain ; and at the same Time, the Author pretends to be a *Pagan Greek*. The Sum which *Ptolomy* is said to advance for procuring this Version, is wholly incredible ; for the Money he expended to redeem the *Jewish* Captives, the Vessels of Gold and Silver, and the Precious Stones he sent to the Temple, the Money he gave for Sacrifices, the Presents he bestowed upon the Interpreters, and the Charges he was at in fetching them to *Alexandria*, maintaining them there, and sending them back to *Jerusalem*, is computed to amount to about two Millions Sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty Times as much as that Library was ever worth. The Questions proposed to the *Seventy two* Interpreters, do evidently carry with them the Air of Fiction and Romance. The making of *Seventy two* Elders to be sent from *Alexandria* to *Jerusalem* upon this Occasion, and these to be chosen by six
out

out of every Tribe, by the Advice of *Demetrius Phalerens*, looks altogether like a *Jewish* Invention, framed with respect to the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and the Number of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, it being unaccountable that *Demetrius*, a *Pagan Greek*, should know any Thing of their Twelve Tribes, or of the Numbers of the *Seventy two* Elders, of which their *Sanhedrim* consisted. Besides, it is not to be supposed that there were in the whole Nation *Seventy two* Persons, who understood the original Text of the *Hebrew*, and were so well acquainted with the *Greek* Language, as to translate into it; for the *Hebrew* was disused after the Captivity, and *Chaldee* was the common Speech; and till the Time of *Alexander* the Great, the *Jews* had no Communication with the *Greeks*; and it was not above fifty five Years since that Conqueror was at *Jerusalem*; and the Time fixed for this Translation, wherein though some few possibly might have some Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, yet that six out of every Tribe, living in *Judea*, should be so skilful in it, is scarce to be imagined. And after all, there can be no probable Reason given, why *Seventy two* should be sent for this Purpose, when *Seven* were abundantly sufficient. The most antient *Talmudists* say, That there were only five employed in this Work; and this is by much the more likely of the two. As for the Testimony of *Philo* and the *Christian* Fathers, who gave Credit to this History of the Interpreters, and in some Circumstances made Additions to it, it is evident they must either be imposed upon by others, or owe these Particulars to their own Fancy; for so many Contradictions, Uncertainties, and various Accounts, overthrow the Authority of the whole Story, and plainly prove that all that has been deliver'd concerning it, is no more than Fable and Romance, without any other Foundation, excepting, that in the Reigns of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, such a Version of the *Law of Moses* was made by the *Alexandrian Jews* into the *Greek* Language, as those Authors give an Account of. For,

Alexander,

Chap. 55.

Tract. Sopherim,
cap. 1.

Alexander, upon the Building of *Alexandria*, brought a great many *Jews* thither, in order to plant his new City; and *Ptolomy Soter* having fixed the Seat of his Government in that Place, and resolving to encrease the Number of Inhabitants, brought thither many more of this Nation, and indulging them with the same Privileges enjoyed by the *Macedonians*, and other *Greeks*, they soon grew to be a great Part of the People of that City, and by degrees so accustomed themselves to the *Greek Language*, that they forgot their own; so that they could no longer understand the *Hebrew Language*, in which the Scriptures were hitherto first read, nor the *Chaldee*, in which they were afterwards interpreted in every Synagogue, they were obliged therefore to have them translated into *Greek* for their Use, that this Version might serve for the same Purpose in *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, as the *Chaldee Paraphrases* afterwards did in *Jerusalem* and *Judea*. And this was the original and true Cause of the making of the *Greek Version*; which has since, from the Fable of *Aristeas*, been called the *Septuagint*; for that History obtaining Credit both among *Jews* and *Christians*, soon gave that Name of Distinction to that Translation. No more than the *Pentateuch* was at first translated, for at that Time, as has been before observed, no other Books of the Scriptures were publicly read in their Synagogues: But when afterwards, in the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the Reading of the *Prophets* came into use in the Synagogues of *Judea*, and the *Jews* of *Alexandria* were likewise obliged to use the same Method, they were forced to make a Translation also of the *Prophets* into the *Greek Language*. And after this, other Persons translated the rest of the Scriptures for the private Use of the same People, and so the whole Version called the *Septuagint* was compleated; and after it was finished, it was made use of among all the Churches of the *Hellenistical Jews* wherever they were dispersed among the *Grecian Cities*; for that this Translation was made at different Times,

and

and by different Persons, the various Styles in which Chap. 55.
the several Books are found written, the many Ways
in which the same *Hebrew* Words, and the same
Hebrew Things, are translated in different Places,
and the greater Accuracy to be observed in the Tran-
slation of some of the Books above others, are a
full Demonstration.

The *Jews* had the stated Lessons read out of this
Version in their Synagogues, and they had Copies
of it at home for their private Use; and thus they
seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till
the Time of *Christ*. But when the Gospel was
propagated to all Nations, this Version of the *He-
brew* Scriptures was propagated with it among all
that understood the *Greek* Tongue, and as Christia-
nity increased, so did the Credit of this *Greek* Tran-
slation of the Old Testament Scriptures. The
Apostles and Evangelists frequently made Citations
out of it, and so did all the Primitive Fathers of
the Church.

C H A P. LVI.

The Greek Version of Aquila the Jew.

AS this Version grew into use among the
Christians, it grew out of Credit with the
Jews, for the *Christians* urging many Ar-
guments against them out of this Translation, they
resolved to make a new one, that was fitter for
their Purpose, and would serve their Turn better.

The Person who undertook this Work, was
Aquila, a Profelyte *Jew* of *Sinope*, a City of *Pon-
tus*: He was bred a *Pagan*, and apply'd himself to
Magick, and Judicial Astrology; but being affected
with the Miracles done by the Professors of Chris-
tianity in his Time, he became a Convert upon the
same Foot with *Simon Magus*, out of an Expecta-
tion

Book VIII. tion of being able to perform the same Works: But finding his Hopes disappointed, he went on with his Magick and Astrology, which coming to the Knowledge of the Governors of the Church, they admonished him first, and upon his Obstinacy excommunicated him. This Usage enraged him so, he apostatized to the *Jews*, was circumcised, and became a Profelyte to their Religion; and for his Improvement in it, he procured himself to be admitted into the School of *Rabbi Akiba*, the most celebrated Doctor of the *Jewish* Law in his Time, and under him he made such a Proficiency in the Knowledge of the *Jewish* Language, and of the Scriptures that were written in it, that he was thought sufficient for this Work, and accordingly undertook it, and made two Editions of it. The first he published in the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Adrian* the *Roman* Emperor, which was the Year of *Christ* a hundred and twenty eight: But afterwards he revised, and made it more correct, and published a second Edition of it. He stuck closely and servilely to the Letter, rendring Word for Word, as near as he could, whether the Idioms and Proprieties of the Language he translated into, or the true Sense of the Text, would bear it, or no; and therefore his Version is judged rather to have been a good Dictionary, to give the Meaning of the *Hebrew* Words, than a good Interpretation to explain the Sense of the Text.

This Version was received by the *Hellenistical Jews*, and afterwards used everywhere instead of the *Septuagint*, and therefore this *Greek* Translation is often mentioned in the *Talmud*, but the *Septuagint* never. And in this Use of it they continu'd till the Finishing and Publication of both the *Talmuds*. After that Time the Notion grew among them, that the Scriptures ought not to be read in any of their Synagogues, but in the old Form, that is, in the *Hebrew* first, and then by way of Interpretation in the *Chaldee*, and the Decrees of the Doctors were urged for this Method. But the *Hellenistical Jews* after

after so long a Use of a *Greek* Version, not easily coming into this, it caused great Divisions and Disturbances among them, which gave Occasion to a Decree published by *Justinian*, still extant among his *Novel Constitutions*, which ordained that the *Jews* might read the Scriptures in their Synagogues, either in the *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint*, or in that of *Aquila*, according to the Country in which they should dwell. But the *Jewish* Doctors having determined otherwise, their Decrees obtained against the Emperor's, and in a short Time after they rejected both Versions; and ever since the solemn Reading of the Scriptures in their Publick Assemblies has been in the *Hebrew*, and (very rarely) in the *Chaldee* Languages.

Chap. 56.

C H A P. LVII.

The Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrases.

THE *Chaldean* Language is the same which, being used in *Assyria*, the *Jews*, after their Return from *Babylon*, used for their common Language, and in Process of Time became their natural Tongue. This gave Birth to the *Chaldee Paraphrases* of the Original Text of the Bible, called *Targum*, which signifies *Interpretation*, or *Translation*; for the Doctors of the *Jewish* Law finding themselves under a Necessity to make the *Jews* understand the Text of the Holy Scripture after the Captivity, which was read in *Hebrew* in their Synagogues, were forced to explain the Law to them in a Language they understood; and this is the true Origin of the *Chaldee Paraphrases*.

The *Targums*, that are now remaining, were composed by different Persons upon different Parts of Scripture, and are of eight Sorts, 1. *The Targum of Onkelos* upon the five Books of *Moses*. 2. *The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel* upon the *Prophets*,
that

Book VIII. that is, upon *Joshua*, *Judges*, the two Books of *Samuel*, the two Books of *Kings*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *Minor Prophets* 3. *The Targum*, ascribed to *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, upon the *Law*. 4. *The Jerusalem Targum upon the Law*. 5. *The Targum on the five Lesser Books*, called the *Megilloth*, that is, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. 6. *The second Targum upon Esther*. 7. *The Targum of Joseph the One-ey'd*, upon the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the *Proverbs*. 8. *The Targum upon the first and second Book of Chronicles*. Upon *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel* there is no *Targum* at all. Indeed, a great Part of *Daniel* and *Ezra* is written originally in *Chaldee*, and therefore there was no need of a *Chaldee Paraphrase* upon them; but *Nehemiah* is written wholly in the *Hebrew Tongue*, and no doubt antiently there were *Chaldee Paraphrases* upon all the *Hebrew Parts* of those Books, though they are now lost.

The Targum of Onkelos is, without doubt, the most antient that is now extant. He was certainly older than *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, the Author of the second *Targum*, (who is supposed to have lived in our Saviour's Time,) who could have no Reason to omit the *Law* in his *Paraphrase*, but that he found *Onkelos* had done this Work before him, and with that Success in the Performance, which he could not exceed. No *Chaldee Writing*, now extant, comes nearer the Style of what is written in that Language by *Daniel* and *Ezra*, than the *Targum of Onkelos*, which is a good Argument for its Antiquity. It is rather a Version than a Paraphrase, for the *Hebrew Text* is render'd Word for Word, and for the most part with great Exactness: It has ever been preferred by the *Jews* to all other *Targums*, and it being set to the same Musical Notes with the *Hebrew Text*, it is made capable of being read in the same Tone with it in their publick Assemblies; and accordingly the *Jews* thinking themselves obliged to read twice that Section of the *Law*, which was the Lesson

Lesson of the Week, (that is, in the *Hebrew* Original first, and then in the *Chaldee* Interpretation after it,) made use of the *Targum* of *Onkelos* for that Purpose.

The Targum of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, upon the *Prophets*, is next to that of *Onkelos*, in the Purity of its Style, but not in the Manner of its Composition; for *Jonathan* takes the Liberty of a Paraphrast, by enlarging and adding to the Text; for several Stories and Glosses of his own are inserted, which are no Reputation to the Work. The *Jews* not only give him the Preference to all the Disciples of *Hillel*, but equal him even to *Moses* himself.

The Targum ascribed to *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* upon the *Law*, is none of his, as appears sufficiently by the Style: Who was the true Author of it, or when it was composed, is utterly unknown. It seems to have lain long in Obscurity among the *Jews* themselves; for no Notice was taken of it, till it was publish'd in Print at *Venice* about a hundred and fifty Years since, and the Name of *Jonathan*, it is probable, was put before it, for no other Reason than to give it the more Credit, and the better to recommend it by that specious Title to the Buyer.

The Jerusalem Targum upon the *Law*, was so called, because it was written in the *Jerusalem* Dialect. There were three Dialects of the *Chaldean* Language: The first was spoken in *Babylon*, the Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire: The second was the *Commagenian*, or *Antiochian*, that was spoken in *Commagena*, *Antioch*, and the rest of *Syria*: The third was the *Jerusalem* Dialect, which was spoken by the *Jews* after the Captivity. The *Babylonian* and *Jerusalem* Dialects were written in the same Character, but the *Antiochian* in a different, and is the same with what we call *Syriack*, which though it be reckon'd a different Language from the *Chaldee*, is the very same, only expressed in different Characters, and differing a little only in the Dialect. The purest Style which we have of

Book VIII. the *Jerusalem* Dialect, is first in the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, and next in that of *Jonathan*; but the *Jerusalem Targum* is written in a most barbarous Style, intermixed with a great many Foreign Words taken from the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Persian* Languages. This *Targum* is not a continued Paraphrase, as the rest are, but only upon some Parts here and there, as the Author thought the Text most wanted an Explication, and sometimes whole Chapters are passed over. It is written by an unknown Hand, and the Time when it was composed is uncertain, but it is conjectured to have been written some Time after the third Century.

The fifth *Targum*, which is that on the *Megilloth*, and the sixth, which is the second *Targum* on the Book of *Esther*, are written in the corrupted *Chaldee* of the *Jerusalem* Dialect; but the Author of these is unknown. The seventh, which is upon *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the *Prophets*, is equally corrupt, and said to be written by *Joseph the One-ey'd*, who is as much unknown as the Author of the other two. The second *Targum* on *Esther*, is twice as large as the first, and seems to have been written the last of all the *Targums*, by reason of the Barbarity of its Style. The first *Targum* upon *Esther*, is a Part of the *Targum* upon the *Megilloth*, which makes mention of the *Babylonish Talmud*, and therefore must have been written after the Year of *Christ* five hundred. The last *Targum* upon the first and second Book of *Chronicles* was not known till the Year sixteen hundred and eighty, when *Beckius*, from an old Manuscript, publish'd at *Augsberg* in *Germany* that Part which is upon the first Book; and the Paraphrase upon the second, he publish'd three Years afterwards at the same Place.

Leusden. Philol.
Hebræ. Mixt.
Dissert. 5. sect. 5.



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